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ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΑ.

THE WORKES

OF

King Charles

THE MARTYR:

WITH

A COLLECTION

OF

DECLARATIONS,

TREATIES,

And other PAPERS concerning the *Differences*

BETWIXT

His said Majesty

AND HIS

Two Houses of *Parliament*.

LONDON,

Printed by *James Flesher* for *R. Royston*, Book-seller to His most Sacred MAJESTY. MDCLXII.

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TO THE

MOST SERENE AND SACRED

MAJESTY

OF

Charles II.

BY THE GRACE OF GOD,

KING

OF GREAT *BRITAINE*,

FRANCE, AND *IRELAND*,

DEFENDER OF THE FAITH,

RESTORER OF THE CHURCH'S LIBERTY,

THE NATION'S PEACE;

SON and HEIR of CHARLES I.

THESE MEDITATIONS of an INSPIRED SOUL,

DICTATES OF A ROYALL WISDOME,

COUNSELS OF A PEACEFUL SPIRIT,

The WORKS of CHARLES the MARTYR

HUMBLY DEDICATETH

YOUR MAJESTIES

Most Devoted

Subject and Servant,

R. Royston.

THE WORKES

OF

King Charles I.

DEFENDER

OF THE

FAITH.

WITH THE

HISTORY

OF HIS

LIFE:

AS ALSO

OF HIS TRIALL

AND

MARTYRDOME.

JOH. 10. 32.

For which of My Good Deeds?

LONDON,

Printed by *James Flesher* for *R. Royston*, Book-seller to His most Sacred MAJESTY. MDCLXII.

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In this PART are contained

The Life of CHARLES I.

The WORKES of King CHARLES I. *viz.*

ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ, *p.*1.

PAPERS concerning CHURCH-GOVERNMENT, V. *p.*153.

PRAYERS used by His MAJESTY, VII. *p.*191.

MESSAGES for PEACE, XXXVIII. *p.*199.

DECLARATIONS, III. *p.*277.

LETTERS, XLII. *p.*297.

SPEECHES, LIX. *p.*355.

With the History of His TRIAL and DEATH.

CHARLES R.

CHARLES the Second, by the Grace of God, King of *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all Our loving Subjects of what Degree, Condition or Quality ſoever within Our Kingdoms of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, or any of Our Dominions, greeting. Whereas We have received ſufficient Teſtimony of the Fidelity and Loyalty of Our Servant *Richard Royſton* of Our City of *London* Book-ſeller, and of the great Loſſes and Troubles he hath ſuſtained for his Faithfulneſs to Our Royal Father of bleſſed Memory, and Our Self, in the Printing and Publiſhing of many Meſſages and Papers of Our ſaid Bleſſed Father, eſpecially thoſe moſt Excellent Diſcourſes and Soliloquies by the name of Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ. Know ye, That it is Our Royal Will and Pleaſure, and We do by theſe preſents Grant unto the ſaid *Richard Royſton*, his Executors, Adminiſtrators and Aſsignes, the ſole Printing and Publiſhing of the ſaid Meſſages, Papers and Diſcourſes contained in the Book intituled *Reliquiæ Sacræ Carolinæ*, and of all or any other the Works of Our ſaid Royal Father, with other Papers and Declarations concerning Our ſaid Royal Father, in any Volume or Volumes whatſoever. Of which Our Grant and Royal Pleaſure We will and require all Our loving Subjects to take notice; And that none of them preſume to print, or cauſe to be printed, vended, or put to ſale the ſaid Book intituled *Reliquiæ Sacræ Carolinæ*, or any part of the ſaid Papers or Works of Our ſaid Royal Father, within theſe Our Realms or Dominions, or any of them, whether Printed within theſe Our Dominions, or Imported from Forein Parts, contrary to Our expreſs Pleaſure herein declared, without the Licence and Conſent of the ſaid *Richard Royſton*, his Executors, Adminiſtrators, or Aſsignes, under ſuch Penalties as are by the Laws and Statutes of this Our Realm impoſed upon ſuch Perſons as Imprint, Import, Vend, or Put to ſale unlicenſed or prohibited Books; Any Privilege, Cuſtome or Uſage to the contrary notwithſtanding. In witneſs, &c.

Given at Our Court at *White-Hall* the nine and twentieth day of *November*, in the twelfth year of Our Reign.

THE LIFE OF CHARLES I.

CHARLES I. King of Great *Britain*, *France* and *Ireland*, was the Son of *James* VI. King of *Scots*, and *Anne* his Wife a Daughter of *Denmark*. By His Father descended to Him all the rights (together with their blood) of all our Ancient both *Saxon* and *Norman* Kings to this Empire. For the Lady *Margaret*, Sister and sole Heir of *Edgar Atheling* the last surviving Prince of the *English Saxons*, being married to *Malcolme Conmor* King of *Scots*, conveyed to his Line the *Saxon*, and *Margaret* Daughter of *Henry* VII. married to *James* IV. did bring the *Norman* titles and blood. From this Imperial Extract He received not more Honour then He gave to it. For the blood that was derived to Him elaborated through so many Royall veins, He delivered to Posterity more maturated for Glory, and by a constant practice of Goodness more habituated for Vertue.

He was born at *Dunfermeling*, one of the principal Towns of *Fife* in *Scotland*, on *Nov.* 19th *An.* 1600. in so much weakness, that His Baptisme *An.* 1600. was hastened without the usuall Ceremonies wherewith such Royall Infants are admitted into the Church. Providence seeming to consecrate Him to Sufferings from the Womb, and to accustome Him to the exchange of the strictures of Greatness for clouds of Tears.

There was no observation nor augurie made at His Birth concerning the sequel of His Life or course of Fortune (which are usually related of such whose lives have different occurrences from those in others of the same state.) Either the fear of His Death made those about Him less observant of any Circumstances which curious mindes would have formed into a Prediction, He appearing like a Starre that rises so near the point of his setting, that it was thought there would be no time for calculation. Or He being at distance by His birth from the Succession to the Crown (Prince *Henry* then having the first hopes) made men less sollicitous to enquire of His future state, on whom, being born to a private Condition, the Fate of the Kingdom did not depend.

But in the third year of His age, when King *James* was preparing himſelf to remove to the *Engliſh* Throne, a certain Laird of the *Highlands*, though of very great age, came to the Court to take his leave of him, whom he found accompanied with all his Children. After his addreſs full of affectionate and ſage Advice (to which his gray hairs gave authority) to the King; his next application was to Duke
*An.*1602. CHARLES (for in the Second year of his age He was created Duke of *Albany*, Marqueſs of *Ormond*, Earl of *Roſſe*, and Baron of *Ardmanock*) whoſe hands he kiſs'd with ſo great an ardencie of affection that he ſeem'd forgetfull of a ſeparation. The King, to correct his ſuppoſed miſtake, adviſed him to a more preſent obſervance of Prince *Henry*, as the Heir of his Crown, of whom he had taken little notice. The old Laird anſwered that he knew well enough what he did, and that *It was this Child* (who was then in His Nurſes arms) *who ſhould convey his name and memory to the ſucceeding ages.* This then was conceived dotage; but the event gave it the credit of a Prophecy, and confirmed that opinion, *That ſome long-experienced ſouls in the world, before their diſlodging, arrive to the height of prophetick Spirits.*

*An.*1603. When He was three years old He was committed to the Care and Governance of Sr *Robert Cary's* Lady, as a reward for being the firſt Meſſenger of Queen *Elizabeth's* death, whoſe long life had worn the expectation of the *Scotiſh* Nobility into a ſuſpicion, *that the Lords of* England *would never acknowledge her to be dead as long as there was any old Woman of that Nation that could wear good cloathes, and perſonate the Majeſty of a Queen.*

*An.*1604. In the fourth year, after He had wreſtled with a Feaver, He was brought in *October* to the *Engliſh* Court at *Windſor*, where on the *Jan.* 6. following, having the day before been made *Knight* of the *Bath*, He was
*An.*1606. inveſted with the Title of *Duke* of *York*; and in the ſixth year was committed to the Pedagogie of Mr *Thomas Murray*, a perſon well qualified to that Office, though a favourer of Presbyterie.

Under this Tutor, and confined to a retiredneſs by the preſent weakneſs of His body, He was ſo diligent and ſtudious, that He far advanced in all that kinde of Learning which is neceſſary for a Prince, *without which even their naturall Endowments ſeem rough and unpleaſant in deſpight of the ſplendor of their Fortune.* His proficiency in Letters was ſo eminent, that Prince *Henry* taking notice of it, to put a jeſt upon Him, one day put the Cap of the Archbiſhop *Abbot*, (who was then, with the Prince and the Duke and other of the Nobility, waiting in the Privie Chamber for the King's coming out) on his Brother's head; adding, that *If He continued a good Boy, and followed His book, he would make Him one day Archbiſhop of Canterbury.* Which the Childe took in ſuch diſdain, that He threw the Cap on the ground, and trampled it under His feet with ſo much eagerneſs, that He could hardly be reſtrained. Which paſsion was afterward taken by ſome over-curious as a preſage of the ruine of Epiſcopacy by His Power. But the event

ſhewed

ſhewed it was not ominous to the Order, but to the Perſon of the Archbiſhop, whom in His Reign He ſuſpended from the adminiſtration of His Office.

In His eleventh year He was made Knight of the Garter: and in *An.* 1611. the twelfth Prince *Henry* dying *Nov.* 6. He ſucceeded him in the Duke- 1612. dome of *Corniwall* and the Regalities thereof; and attended his Funerall as chief Mourner, on *Decemb.* 7th.

On the 14th of *Febr.* following He performed the Office of Brideman to the Princeſs *Elizabeth* His Siſter, who on that day was married to *Frederick* V. Prince *Elector Palatine*; the gayeties of which day were afterwards attended with many fatall Cares and Expences.

His Childhood was blemiſhed with a ſuppoſed Obſtinacie: for the weakneſs of His body inclining Him to retirements, and the imperfection of His ſpeech rendring diſcourſe tedious and unpleaſant, He was ſuſpected to be ſomewhat perverſe. But more age and ſtrength fitting Him for manlike Exerciſes, and the Publick hopes inviting Him from His Privacies, He delivered the world of ſuch fears: for applying Himſelf to action, He grew ſo perfect in Vaulting, riding the great Horſe, running at the Ring, ſhooting in Croſs-bows, Muskets, and ſometimes in great Pieces of Ordnance, that if Principalitie had been to be the reward of Excellencie in thoſe Arts, He would have had a title to the Crown this way alſo; being thought the beſt Marks-man and moſt gracefull Manager of the great Horſe in the three Kingdoms. His tenacious humor He left with His retirements, none being more deſirous of good counſell, nor any more obſequious when He found it; yea, too diſtruſtfull of His own Judgement, which the iſſue of things proved alwaies beſt when it was followed.

When He was ſixteen years old, on *Nov.* 3d He was created Prince of *An.* 1616. *Wales*, Earl of *Cheſter* and *Flint*, the revenues thereof being aſsigned to maintain His Court which was then formed for Him. And being thus advanced in Years and State, it was expected that He ſhould no longer retain the Modeſty which the ſhades of His Privacy had accuſtomed Him unto, but now appear as the immediate Inſtrument of Empire, and that by Him the Favours and Honours of the Court ſhould be derived to others. But though Providence had changed all about, yet it had changed nothing within Him; and He thought it glory enough to be great without the diminution of others; for He ſtill permitted the Miniſtrie of State to His Fathers Favourites: which gave occaſion of diſcourſe to the *Speculativi*.

" Some thought He did it to avoid the Jealouſies of the Old King, " (which were conceived to have been ſomewhat raiſed by the popu- " larity of Prince *Henry*, whoſe breaſt was full of forward Hopes) For " *Young Princes are deemed of an impatient Ambition, and Old ones to be too nice* " *and tender of their Power; in which though they are contented with a Succeſſor* " *(as they muſt have) yet are afraid of a Partner.* And it was ſuppoſed " that therefore K. *James* had raiſed *Car* and *Buckingham*, like Comets to

"dim the luſtre of theſe riſing Stars. But theſe were miſtaken in the "nature of that King, who was enclined to contract a private friendſhip, "and was prodigal to the objects of it, before ever he had Sons to divert "his Love, or raiſe his Fears.

The Duke of [illegible] and the Earl of [illegible] to Scotland.

"Some that at a diſtance looked upon the Prince's actions, aſcribed "them to a Narrowneſs of Minde, and an Incapacity of Greatneſs: "while others, better acquainted with the frame of His Spirit, knew His "prudent Modeſty enclined Him to learn the Methods of Commanding "by the practice of Obedience; and that being of a peacefull Soul, He "affected not to embroile the Court (and from thence the Kingdome) "in Factions, (the effects of impotent minds) which He knew were "dangerous to a State, and deſtructive to that Prince who gives birth "unto them; that therefore He choſe to wait for a certain, though de-"layed, Grandeur, rather then by the Compendious way of Contraſts "get a precocious Power, and leave too pregnant an Example of "Ruine.

"Others conceived it the Prudence of the Father (with which the "Son complied) who knew the true uſe of Favourites was to make "them the objects of the People's impatience, the ſinks to receive the "curſes and anger of the Vulgar, the hatred of the querulous, and the "envy of unſatisfied ambition: which he would rather have fall upon "Servants, that His Son might aſcend the Throne free and unburthened "with the diſcontents of any. This was the rather believed, becauſe He "could diſpenſe Honors where and when He pleaſed; as He did to "ſome of His own Houſhold; as Sr *Robert Cary* was made Lord *Cary* of "*Lepington*, Sr *Thomas Howard* Viſcount *Andover*, and Sr *John Vaughan* Lord "of *Molingar* in *Ireland*.

An. 1618. The Evenneſs of His Spirit was diſcovered in the loſs of His Mother, whoſe death (preſaged, as ſome thought, by that notorious Comet which appeared *Nov.* 18. before) happened on *Mar.* 2^d *Ann.* 1618. which He bewailed with a juſt meaſure of Grief, without any affected Sorrows, though ſhe was moſt affectionate to Him above all her other Children; and at her Funerall He would be chief Mourner.

The Death of the Queen was not long after followed with a ſharp Sickneſs of the King: wherein his Life ſeeming in danger, the conſequences of his Death began to be lamented. "Dr *Andrews*, then Biſhop "of *Ely*, bewailed *the ſad condition of the Church, if God ſhould at that time de-*"*termine the dayes of the King. The Prince being then onely converſant with* "Scotch-*men, which made up the greateſt part of His Family, and were ill-*"*affected to the Government and Worſhip of the Church of England.* Of this the King became ſo ſenſible, that he made a Vow, "*If God ſhould pleaſe* "*to reſtore his health, he would ſo inſtruct the Prince in the Controverſies of Reli-*"*gion, as ſhould ſecure His affections to the preſent eſtabliſhment.* Which he did with ſo much ſucceſs, as he aſſured the Chaplains who were to wait on the Prince in *Spain*, that He was able to moderate in any emergent diſputations (which yet he charged them to decline, if poſſible.) At

which

which they ſmiling, he earneſtly added, "that CHARLES *ſhould manage a* "*point in Controverſie with the beſt-ſtudied Divine of them all.*

In His 19th year, on *Mar.* 24th, which was the Anniverſary of King *James*'s coming to the Crown of *England*, He performed a Juſting at *White-Hall*, together with ſeveral of the Nobility, wherein He acquitted Himſelf with a bravery equall to His Dignity. And on the Sunday following, attending His Father to the Sermon at St *Paul*'s Croſs, and to the Service in the Quire, He ſhewed as much humble Devotion there, as He had manifeſted Princely Gallantry in His Juſts, admired and applauded by the People for His accompliſhments in the Arts both of War and Peace: That He could behave Himſelf humbly towards His God, and bravely towards His Enemy; pleaſed with the hardineſs of His Body, and raviſhed with His more generous Minde; that the pleaſures of the Court had not ſoftned one to Sloth, nor the ſupremeſt Fortune debauched the other to Impiety. *An.* 1619.

Confident in theſe, and other evidences of a wiſe conduct, the King (without acquainting his Councel) ſends the Prince into *Spain*, there to contract a Marriage with the *Infanta*, and, as a part of the Portion, to recover the *Palatinate*, which His Siſters Husband had loſt, and was by the *Emperour* canteld to the *Duke* of *Bavaria* and the *King* of *Spain*. And herein He was to combate all the Artiſts of State in that Court, the practices of that Church, and put an iſſue to that Treaty wherein the Lord *Digby*, though much converſant in the Intrigues of that Councel, had been long cajoled. *An.* 1622.

To that place He was to paſs *Incognito*, accompanied onely with the Marqueſs of *Buckingham*, Mr *Endymion Porter*, and Mr *Francis Cottington*, through *France*; where, to ſatisfie His Curioſity, and ſhew Himſelf to Love, He attempted and enjoyed a view of the Court at *Paris*, and there received the firſt Impreſsion of that Excellent *Princeſs* who was by Heaven deſtined to His chaſt Embraces. Satisfied with that ſight, no leſſer enjoyments of any pleaſure in that great Kingdome, nor Vanity of Youth, which is hardly curbed when it is allyed to power, could tempt His ſtay, or a diſcovery of His Greatneſs; but with a ſpeed anſwerable to an active body and mind, He out-ſtripped the *French* Poſts which were ſent to ſtop Him, although that King had intelligence of His being within his Dominions immediately after their departure from the *Louvre*.

The certain news of His ſafe arrivall at *Madrid* drew after Him from hence a Princely Train, and raiſed the Cenſures of the World upon the "King; As being too forgetfull of the Inhoſpitality of Princes to each "other, who, when either Deſigne, Tempeſts or Neceſsity have driven "their Rivals in Majeſty upon their Coaſts without a Caution, they let "them not part without ſome tribute to their Intereſt: and a freſh "Example of this was in the King's own Mother, who ſeeking refuge "in *England* with her Siſter Queen *Elizabeth* from a Storm at home, did "loſe both her Liberty and Life.

This

This none daring to minde the King of, his Jester *Archee* made him sensible, by telling him, *He came to change Caps with him. Why,* said the King? *Because* (replied *Archee*) *Thou hast sent the Prince into* Spain, *from whence He is never like to return. But* (said the King) *what wilt thou say when thou seest Him come back again? Mary,* saies the Jester, *I will take off the Fools Cap which I now put upon thy head for sending Him thither, and put it on the King of* Spain's *for letting Him return.*

This so awakened the King's apprehension of the Prince's danger, that it drove him into an exceeding Melancholy, from which he was never free till he was assured of the Princes return to his own Dominions, which was his Fleet in the Sea: and that was not long after. For notwithstanding the contrasts of his two prime Ministers there, *Buckingham* and *Bristol*, (which were sufficient to amaze an ordinary prudence, and disturb the counsels of so young a beginner in the Mysteries of Empire, and the Arts of experienced Conclaves;) the impetuous attempts of the *Spanish* Clergie, either for a Change of His Religion, or a Toleration of theirs; the Spleen of *Olivares*, whom *Buckingham* had exasperated; He so dexterously managed the Treaty of Marriage, that all the Articles and Circumstances were solemnly sworn to by both Kings. By a civil Letter to the Pope (which His Enemies Malice afterwards took as an occasion of Slander) He procured a civil return, with the grant of a Dispensation; baffled the hopes of their Clergy by His Constancy in His own Profession, and vindicated it from the odious aspersions of their Priests, by causing our Liturgie to be translated into the *Spanish* tongue; and by His generous miene enthralled the *Infanta*, for whom He had exposed His Liberty.

Yet having an insight into the practices of that Court, that they would not put the Restitution of the *Palatinate* into the consideration of the Portion, but reserve it as a Super-fœtation of the *Spanish* Love, and as an opportunity for the *Infanta* to reconcile the *English* Spirits, who were heated by the late Warres into an hatred of the *Spaniards*; and that this was but to lengthen out the Treaty till they had wholly brought the *Palatinate* under their power; He conformed His minde to the resolves of His Father, who said, "*He would never marry his Son with a Portion of His* "*onely Sister's Tears*, and therefore inclined to a rupture. But concealing His Purpose, and dissembling His Knowledge of their Designes, He consulted His own Safety and Return, which His Fathers Letters commanded: which He so prudently acquired, that the King of *Spain* parted from Him with all those endearments with which departing Friends ceremoniate their Farewels; having satisfied him by a Proxie left with the Earl of *Bristol*, to be delivered when the Dispensation was come. Which as soon as He was safe on Shipboard, by a private Express, He commanded him to keep in his hands till further Order.

An. 1623. His return to *England*, which was in *October* 1623, was entertained with so much joy and thanksgiving, as if He had been the happy *Genius*

of

the production of juſt Counſels, and aſsiſtances of Government, yet, through the juſt Indignation of Heaven, and the practiſes of ſome unquiet and ſeditious perſons, became the wombs wherein were firſt conceived and formed thoſe monſtrous Confuſions which deſtroyed their own Liberty, cauſed our Miſeries, and the *King*'s Afflictions.

His Firſt Parliament began *June* 18th. At the opening of which the *King* acquainted them with the neceſsity of Supplies for the War with *Spain*, which they importunately had through His Mediation engaged His Father in, and made it as hereditary to Him as the Crown. His Eloquence gave powerfull Reaſons for ſpeedy and large ſummes of Money; did alſo audit to them the ſeveral diſburſements relating both to the Army and Navy, that He might remove all Jealouſies of miſimployment, and give them notice how well He underſtood the Office He had newly entred upon, & how to be a faithful Steward of the Publick Treaſure. But the Projectors of the alteration of Government brought into debate two Petitions, one for Religion, the other for Grievances, formed in King *James*'s time, which delayed the Succours, and increaſed the Neceſsities, which at laſt they anſwered but with two Subſidies, too poor a ſtock to furniſh an Army with; yet was kindly accepted, in expectation of more at the next Seſsion. For the Infection ſeiſing upon *London*, the Parliament was adjourned till *Auguſt*, when they were to meet at *Oxford*: and at that time He paſſed ſuch Acts as were preſented to Him.

At the next Seſſion He gave a complying and ſatisfactory anſwer to all their Petitions, and expected a Retribution in larger Subſidies towards the *Spaniſh* War. But in ſtead of theſe, there were high and furious debates of Grievances, conſultations to form and publiſh Remonſtrances, Accuſations of the *Duke of Buckingham*: Which the King eſteeming as reproaches of His Government, and aſſaults upon Monarchy, diſſolves that Aſſembly, hoping to finde one of a leſs cholerick complexion after His Coronation.

This inauſpicious Meeting drew after it another Miſchief, the miſcarriage of the Deſignes upon *Spain*. For the ſupplyes of Money being ſcanty and ſlow, the Fleet could not goe forth till *Oct.* 8. an unſeaſonable time in the *Britiſh* Seas; and their firſt conteſt was with winds and tempeſts, which deſtroying ſome, ſcattered all the Ships. When they met, a more dangerous ſtorm fell among the Souldiers and Sea-men, where ſmall Pay cauſed leſs Diſcipline, and a contempt of their General, the Lord *Wimbleton*, rendred the attempt upon *Cades* vain and fruitleſs. This was followed by a Contagion (to which ſome conceive diſcontented minds make the bodies of men more obnoxious) in the Navy, which forced it home, more empty of men, and leſs of Reputation.

The Infection decreaſing at *London*, the King performed the Solemnities of His Coronation *Febr.* 2. with ſome alterations from thoſe of His Predeceſſors: for in the Civill He omitted the uſuall Parade of riding from the *Tower* through the City to *White-Hall*, to ſave the Expences

that Pomp required, for more noble undertakings. In the Spiritual there was restored a Clause in the Prayers which had been pretermitted since *Henry* VI. and was this; *Let Him obtain favour for this People, like* Aaron *in the Tabernacle*, Elisha *in the waters*, Zacharias *in the Temple*; *give Him* Peter's *Key of Discipline*, Paul's *Doctrine*. Which though more agreeing to the Principles of *Protestantisme*, which acknowledgeth the Power of Princes in their Churches, and was therefore omitted in the times of Popery; yet was quarrelled at by the Factious party, (who take advantages of Calumny and Sedition from good as well as bad circumstances) and condemned as a new invention of Bishop *Laud*, and made use of to defame both the *King* and him.

After this He began a Second Parliament *Febr.*2. wherein the Commons voted Him four Subsidies, but the Demagogues intended them as the price of the Duke of *Buckingham*'s blood; whom Mr *Cooke* and Dr *Turner* with so much bitterness inveighed against, as passing the modesty of their former dissimulation they taxed the *King*'s Government. Sr *Dudley Digges*, Sr *John Elliot* and others carried up Articles against him to the Lord's House, in which, to make the Faction more sport, the Duke and the Earl of *Bristol* did mutually impeach each other. By these contrasts the Parliament were so highly heated, that the Faction thought it fit time to put a *Remonstrance* in the forge, which according to their manner was to be a publick Invective against the Government. But the
*An.*1626. *King* having notice of it, dissolves the Parliament *June* 18th *An.*1626. and the Bill for the Subsidies never passed.

This misunderstanding at home produced another War abroad. For the King of *France* taking advantage of these our Domestick embroilments begins a War upon us, and seiseth upon the *English* Merchants Ships in the River of *Bourdeaux*. His pretence was, because the *King* had sent back all the *French* Servants of the Queen, whose insolencies had been intolerable. But the world saw the vanity of this pretext in the Example of *Lewis* himself, who had in the like manner dimitted the *Spanish* attendants of his own Queen: and that truly the unhappy Counsels in Parliament had exposed this Just Prince to forein injuries. Which He magnanimously endeavoured to revenge, and to recover the goods of His abused Subjects; and therefore sent the Fleet designed for Justice upon *Spain* to seek it first in *France*. But the want of Money made the Preparations slow; and therefore the Navy putting out late in the year was by Storms forced to desist the enterprize. So that what was the effect onely of the malice of His Enemies, was imputed by some to a secret Decree of Heaven, which obstructed His just undertakings for Glory.

*An.*1627. The next year the *King*, quickned by the Petitions of the *Rochellers*, who now sued for His Protection, as well as by the Justice of His own Cause, more early prosecuted His counsels, & sent the Duke of *Buckingham* to attach the Isle of *Rhe*; which though alarmed to a greater strength by the last year's vain attempt, yet had now submitted to the *English* Valour,

lour, had not the Duke managed that War more with the Gayeties of a Courtier then the Arts of a Souldier. And when it was wiſedome to forſake thoſe attempts which former neglects had made impoſsible, being too greedy of Honour, and to avoid the imputation of fear in a ſafe retreat, he loaded his overthrow with a new Ignominy, and an heavier loſs of men, (the common fate of thoſe *Who ſeek for glory in the parcells, loſe it in the groſs.*) Which was contrary to the temper of his Maſter, who was ſo tender of humane blood, that therefore He raiſed no Warres, but found them; and thought it *an opprobrious bargain to purchaſe the fruitleſs Laurels, or the empty name of Honour, with the lives of men, but where the Publick Safety required the hazard and loſs of ſome particulars.*

This Expedition being ſo unhappy, and the Miſeries of *Rochel* making them importunate for the *King*'s Aſsiſtance, His Compaſsionate Soul was deſirous to remove their Dangers, but was reſtrained by that neceſsitous condition the Faction had concluded Him under. To free Himſelf from which, that He might deliver the oppreſſed, He doth pawn His own Lands for 120000 pounds to the *City*, and borrows 30000 l. more of the *Eaſt-India* Company: but this was yet too narrow a Foundation to ſupport the charges of the Fleet, and no way ſo natural to get adequate ſupplies as by a Parliament; which He therefore ſummons to meet *Mar.* 17th, intending to uſe all Methods of Complacency to unite the Subjects Affections to Himſelf.

Which in the beginning proved ſucceſsfull, for the modeſty of the Subjects ſtrove with the Piety of the *King*, and both Intereſts contended to oblige, that they might be obliged. The Parliament granted the *King* five Subſidies, and He freely granted their Petition of Right, the greateſt Condeſcenſion that ever any *King* made, wherein He ſeemed to ſubmit the Royal Scepter to the Popular *Faſces*, and to have given Satisfaction even to Supererogation. *An.* 1628.

Theſe auſpicious beginnings, though full of Joy both to Prince and People, were matter of envy to the Faction; and therefore to form new Diſcontents and Jealouſies, the Demagogues perſwaded the Houſes that the *King*'s Grant of their Petition extended, (beyond their own Hopes and the Limits themſelves had ſet, and what He had expreſsly mentioned and cautioned) even to the taking away His Right to *Tonnage* and *Poundage*. Beſides this, they were again hammering a *Remonſtrance* to reproach Him and His Miniſters of male-adminiſtration. Which Ingratitude He being not able to endure, on *June* 26th adjourns the Parliament till *Oct.* 20. and afterward by Proclamation till *Jan.* 20th following.

In the interim the *King* haſtens to ſend ſuccors to *Rochel*: and though the General, the Duke of *Buckingham*, was at *Portſmouth* aſſaſsinated by *Felton*, armed (as he profeſſed) with the publick hatred; yet the Preparations were not ſlackned, the *King* by His perſonal induſtry doing more to the neceſſary furniſhing of the Fleet in ten or twelve dayes then the Duke had done in ſo many moneths before. But in the mean while *Rochel* was barricadoed to an impoſsibility of Relief. Therefore the

Earl of *Lindſey*, who commanded the Forces, after ſome gallant, yet fruitleſs, attempts returned to *England*, and the *Rochellers* to the Obedience of the *French* King.

As Providence had removed the great Object of the Popular hate, and (as was pretended) the chief obſtruction of the Subjects Love to their *King*, the Duke of *Buckingham*; ſo the *King* Himſelf labours to remove all other occaſions of quarrel before the next Seſsion. He reſtores Archbiſhop *Abbot*, who for his remiſsneſs in the Diſcipline of the Church had been ſuſpended from his Office, and was therefore the Darling of the Commons becauſe in diſgrace with the *King*, (ſo *contrary are the affections of a corrupted State to thoſe of their Governours*) to the adminiſtration of it again. Dr *Potter*, the great *Calviniſt*, was made Biſhop of *Carliſle*. Mr *Mountague*'s book of *Appello Cæſarem* was called in. Proclamations were iſſued out againſt Papiſts. Sr *Thomas Wentworth*, an active Leader of the Commons, was towards the beginning of this Seſsion, as Sr *John Savil* had been at the end of the laſt, called up into the Lord's Houſe, being made Viſcount *Wentworth*, and Lord *Preſident* of the North.

But the Honours of theſe Perſons (whoſe parts the *King*, who well underſtood men, thought worthy of his favour and employment) ſeeming the rewards of Sedition and the ſpoils of deſtructive Counſels, the Demagogues were more eager in the purſuit of that which theſe had attained unto, by the like arts. And therefore deſpiſing all the *King*'s obliging practices, in the next Seſsion they aſſumed a power of reforming Church and State, called the Cuſtomers into queſtion for Levying *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, made now their Invectives, as they formerly did againſt the Duke, againſt the Lord Treaſurer *Weſton*; ſo that it appeared that not the perſons of men, but the *King*'s truſt of them, was the object of their Envy, and His Favour, though never ſo Vertuous, marked them out for Ruine. And upon theſe points they raiſed the heat to ſuch a degree, that fearing they ſhould be diſſolved ere they had time to vent their paſsions, they began a Violence upon their own Body (an Example which laſted longer then their Cauſe, and at laſt produced the overthrow of all their Priviledges.) They lockt the Doors of the Houſe, kept the Key thereof in one of their own Pockets, held the Speaker by ſtrong hand in the Chair, till they had thundred out their Votes, like dreadfull *Anathemaes*, againſt thoſe that ſhould Levy, and, which was more ranting, againſt ſuch as ſhould willingly pay the *Tonnage* and *Poundage*. This Force the *King* went with His Guard of Penſioners to remove; which they hearing, adjourned the Houſe; and the *King* in the Houſe of Lords declaring the Injuſtice of thoſe Vipers who deſtroyed their own Liberties, diſſolved the Parliament.

While the winds of Sedition raged thus furiouſly at home, more gentle gales came from abroad. The *French* King's deſigns upon other places required Peace from us, and therefore the Signiorie of *Venice* by

by her Ambaſſadors was moved to procure an Accord betwixt *Charles* and *Lewis*; which the *King* accepted. And not long after the *Spaniard* preſ- *An.* 1629.
ſed with equall neceſsities deſired Amity; which was alſo granted. The *King* being thus freed from His domeſtick Embroilments and forein Enmities, ſoon made the World ſee His Skill in the Arts of Empire, and rendred Himſelf abroad more conſiderable then any of His Predeceſſors. And He was more glorious in the eyes of the good, and more ſatisfied in His own breaſt, by confirming Peace with Prudence, then if He had finiſhed Warres with deſtroying arms. So that His Sceptre was the *Caduceus* to arbitrate the differences of the Potentates of *Europe*. His Subjects likewiſe taſted the ſweetneſs of a Reign which Heaven did indulge with all its favours, but onely that of valuing their Happineſs. While other Nations weltred in blood, His people enjoyed a profound Peace, and that Plenty which the freedome of Commerce brings along with it. The *Dutch* and *Eaſterlings* uſed *London* as the ſureſt Bank to preſerve and increaſe their Trading. The *Spaniſh* Bullion was here coined, which advantaged the *King*'s Mint, and encreaſed the Wealth of the Merchants, who returned moſt of that Money in our native Commodities.

While He diſpenſed theſe Bleſsings to the People, Heaven was liberall to Him in giving Him a Son to inherit His Dominions, *May* 29. *An.* 1630. which was ſo great matter of rejoycing to the People of *An.* 1630.
uncorrupted minds, that Heaven ſeemed alſo concerned in the Exultation, kindling another Fire more then Ordinary, making a *Star* to be ſeen the ſame day at noon. (From which moſt men preſaged that that Prince ſhould be of high Undertakings, and of no common glory among Kings: which hath ſince been confirmed by the miraculous preſervation of Him, and Heaven ſeemed to conduct Him to the Throne.) For this great bleſsing the *King* gave publick Thanks to the Author of it, Almighty God, at St *Paul*'s Church; and God was pleaſed in a return to thoſe thanks with a numerous Iſſue afterwards to increaſe this Happineſs. *For neither Armies nor Navies are ſuch ſure props of Empire as Children are. Time, Fortune, private Luſts, or Errors may take off, or change Friends: but thoſe that Nature hath united muſt have the ſame Intereſt, eſpecially in Royall Families, in whoſe Proſperities ſtrangers may have a part, but their Adverſities will be ſure to cruſh their neareſt Allies.*

Proſpering thus in Peace at home, a ſmall time aſsiſted His frugality to get ſuch a Treaſure, and gave Him leaſure to form ſuch Counſels as might curb the Inſolence of His Enemies abroad. He confederated with other Princes to give a check to the *Auſtrian* Greatneſs, aſsiſting by His Treaſure, Arms and Counſel, the King of *Swēden*, to deliver the oppreſſed *German* States from the Imperial Oppreſsions. And when *Guſtavus*'s fortune made him inſolent, and he would impoſe unequall Conditions upon the *Paltſgrave*, the *King*'s Brother in law, He neceſsitated him notwithſtanding his Victories to more eaſie Articles.

*An.*1631. The next year was notorious for two Trials: one of the Lord *Audley* Earl of *Caſtlehaven*, who being accuſed by all the abuſed parts of his Family of a prodigious wickedneſs and unnatural uncleanneſs, was by the *King* ſubmitted to a triall by his Peers, and by them being found guilty, was condemned, and his Nobility could be no patronage for his Crimes; (but in the King's eyes they appeared more horrid, becauſe they polluted that Order) and was afterwards executed.

The other was of a triall of Combate at a Marſhal's Court, betwixt *Donnold* Lord *Rey*, a *Scotiſh High-lander*, and *David Ramſey*, a *Scotiſh* Courtier. "The firſt accuſed the laſt to have ſollicited him to "a Confederacy with the Marqueſs *Hamilton*, who was then Com- "mander of ſome Forces in aſsiſtance of the King of *Sweden*: in which "*Ramſey* ſaid all *Scotland* was ingaged but three; and that their friends "had gotten proviſion of Arms and Powder out of *England*; that "the Court was extremely corrupted; and that the matters of Church "and State were ſo out of frame as muſt tend to a Change.

There were no Witneſſes, and the Defendant denying what the Appellant affirmed, the Triall was thought muſt be by Duel. In order to which the *King* grants a Commiſsion for a Court-Marſhal: where though the preſumptions of *Ramſey*'s guilt were more heightned, yet the *King* hinders any further proceſs by Combat, which is doubted whether it be lawfull; either thinking none ſo fooliſh as to ſtrive for Empire which He found ſo full of Trouble; or knowing that *Magiſtracy being the ſole Gift of Heaven, it was vain to commit a crime in hope of enjoying it, or in fear of loſing it*: (which was the Principle upon which Excellent Princes have neglected the diligent Inquiſition of Conſpiracies) and fatally continues *Hamilton* in that favour as did enable him afterwards more falſly to act that Treaſon of which he was then accuſed.

*An.*1632. Some Tumults in *Ireland* ſhewed a defect in that Government, which made the *King* ſend over as Deputy thither the Lord *Wentworth*, a moſt accompliſhed Perſon in affairs of Rule, of great Abilities equall to a Miniſter of State. The *King*'s choice of him he ſoon juſtified, by reducing that tumultuary people to ſuch a condition of Peace and ſecurity as it had never been ſince its firſt annexion to this Crown, and made it pay for the Charges of its own Government, which before was deducted out of the *Engliſh* Treaſury: their Peace and Laws now opening acceſſes for Plenty.

This enjoyment of Peace and Plenty through all the *King*'s Dominions made Him mindfull of employing ſome fruits of it to the Honour of that God that cauſed it; and not to let ſo great a Proſperity wholly corrupt the minds of men to a neglect of Religion, (which is uſuall) He ſhewed His own Zeal for the Ornaments of it, and ſpent part of His Treaſure towards the repair of St *Paul*'s Church, and by His Example, Admonitions and Commands drew many of His Subjects to a Contribution for it; and had reſtored it to its primitive luſtre and firmneſs, adorned it to a magnificence equall with the Structure, which

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is ſuppoſed the goodlieſt in the Chriſtian World, had not the Malice of His Enemies forced Him to Arms, mingled His Morter with the blood of innocent people, and ſacrilegiouſly diverted all the Treaſure and Materials gathered for this pious deſigne, to maintain an impious and unjuſt War: and afterwards to diſhonour His cares for Religion, they barbarouſly made it a Stable for their Horſe, and Quarters for their unhallowed Foot.

Some reaſons of State drew the *King* from *London*, *May* 13. to receive the Imperiall Crown of *Scotland*. Himſelf profeſſed that *He had no great ſtomack to the Journey, nor delight in the Nation, being a race of men that under the Scheme of an honeſt animoſity and ſpecious plain-dealing were moſt perfidious.* A full Character of their great Movers. Yet as He had been nobly treated all along His Journey by the *Engliſh* Nobility, ſo was He there magnificently received and crowned at *Edinburgh*, *June* 10th. But the King ſoon found all thoſe Careſſes falſe. For the Nobility and Laick Patrons could not concoct His *Revocation* (though legal and innocent) of ſuch things as had been ſtolne from the Crown during His Father's Minority, with a Commiſsion for *Surrendry* of *Superiorities* and *Tithes* to be retaken from the *King* by the preſent Occupants (who could as then pretend no other Title then the unjuſt uſurpation of their Anceſtors) on ſuch conditions as might bring ſome Profit to the Crown, (to which they juſtly belonged) ſome Augmentation to the Clergy, and far more eaſe and benefit to the common People, whom by advantage of thoſe illegal Tenures they oppreſſed with a moſt bitter Vaſſalage. This Act of His Majeſty being ſo full of equity and publick good, thoſe whoſe greatneſs was builded upon Injuſtice did not barefacedly oppoſe it, but endeavoured to hinder that and all the other deſignes of Peace and Order, by oppoſing in the Parliament next after the Coronation the Act of *Ratification* of all thoſe Laws which King *James* had made in that Nation for the better regulating the affairs of that Church, both as to the Government and Worſhip of it. *An.* 1633.

This was highly oppoſed by ſuch as were ſenſible of their diminution by a legal reſtitution of their unrighteous Poſſeſsions. And although the King carried it by the major part of Voices; yet to prevent their own fires with the publick Ruine, they did moſt aſsiduouſly ſlander it among the People as the abetting of *Popery*, and the betraying their Spiritual Liberty to the *Romiſh* yoke. Theſe Calumnies received more credit by the King's Order for a more decent and reverend Worſhip of God at His Royal Chappel at *Edinburgh*, conformably to the *Engliſh* Uſage.

Their noiſe grew lowder by the Concent of their party of *Malecontents* in *England*, who alſo took advantage to diffuſe their poiſon from the King's book of Sports, which King JAMES had in his time publiſhed in *Lancaſhire*, and was now ratified by *King* CHARLES for a more univerſal Obſervance. The Occaſion of which was the Apoſtaſie of many to *Popery*, (whoſe Doctrines and Practices are more

indulgent to the licentious) through the rigid opinion of ſome Preachers, who equall'd all Recreations on the Sabbath (as they call'd it) to the moſt prodigious tranſgreſsions. On the contrary, ſome of the ignorant Teachers had perverted many to down-right *Judaiſme*, by the conſequence of ſo ſtrict an Obſervance of the Sabbath. And ſome over-buſie Juſtices of Peace had ſuppreſſed all the ancient Feaſts of the *Dedications* of Churches. The *King* therefore intended by this Edict to obſtruct the ſucceſs of the Enemies on both ſides, and to free His People from the yoke of this Superſtition. But (*ſuch is the weakneſs of Humane Prudence, that the Remedies it applies to one Inconvenience are pregnant of another; and whereas the Generality of men ſeldome doe good but as neceſsitated by Law, when Liberty is indulged all things are ſoon filled with Diſorder and Confuſion.* And ſo) it happened in this, that the Vulgar abuſing the *King*'s Liberty, (which was no more then is granted in other Proteſtant Churches) and committing many undecencies, made many well-temper'd Spirits too capable and credulous of thoſe importunate Calumnies of the Faction, that His Majeſty was not well-affected to Religion.

An. 1634. The boldneſs of the *Pickeroons*, *Turks*, and *Dunkirk*-Pirates infeſting our Coaſts, damaging our Traffique, the uſurpation of the *Holland* Fiſhers on the *King*'s Dominion in the Narrow Seas, and His Right diſputed in a Tract by the Learned *Grotius*, call the *King*'s next Cares for His own Honour, and the People's Safety. But the Remedy appeared exceeding difficult; the furniſhing of a Navy for ſo honourable an undertaking being too heavie a burden for His Exchequer; which (although not emptied by any luxuriant Feaſts, nor profuſely waſted on ſome prodigall and unthrifty Favourite, nor laviſhed on ambitious deſignes, from all which deſtructions of Treaſure no King was more free) was but juſt ſufficient for ordinary and neceſſary Expences of State and Majeſty. And though it was moſt juſt for Him to expect the Peoples Contribution to their own Safety, who were never richer then now, nor had they ever more Security for their riches then they now had by His Conceſsions of Liberty: yet knowing how powerfull the Faction alwaies was to diſturb the Counſels of Parliament, He feared that from their Proceedings the common Enemies would be incouraged (as formerly) to higher Inſolencies, and the envious Demagogues would contemn their own ſafety to ruine His Honour. He alſo accounted it a great unhappineſs to be neceſsitated to maintain His State by extraordinary waies, and therefore refuſed to renew *Privie Seals* and *Loans*, the uſe of which He debarred Himſelf of in granting the Petition of Right. Therefore conſults His Atturney-General *Noy*, whether the *Prerogative* had yet any thing left to ſave an unwilling people. *Noy* acquaints Him with *Ancient Precedents of raiſing a Tax upon the Nation for ſetting forth a Navie in caſe of danger*, and aſſures Him of the Legalitie of the way in proceeding by Writs to that effect. Which Counſel being embraced, there were Writs directed to the ſeverall Counties for ſuch a Contribution that in the whole might build, furniſh and main-

maintain 47 Ships for the ſafety of the Kingdome. And by theſe the *King* ſoon ſecured and calmed the Seas; but the Faction endeavoured to raiſe a Tempeſt at Land.

They complained of Invaſions on their *Spiritual* Liberties, becauſe *An.*1635. the Biſhops endeavoured in theſe years to reduce the Ceremonies of the Church to their primitive Obſervance, of which a long Proſperity had made men negligent: and time had done that to the Spiritual Body which it doth to the Natural, daily amaſſed thoſe Corruptions which at length will ſtand in need of cure. Therefore when they took this proper Method of reforming a corrupted State in bringing things back to their Original Inſtitution, both His *Majeſty* and they were defamed with deſigns of *Popery*.

This Tax of Ship-money was pretended a breach to their Civil Liberties, and contrary to Law, becauſe not laid by a Parliament. Therefore thoſe who ſought the People's favour to alter the preſent Government, by ſeeming the ſingular Patrons of their Rights, refuſed to pay *An.*1636. the Tax, and ſtood it out to a Triall at Law. The Juſt *Prince* declined not the Triall, and permitted Monarchy and Liberty to plead at the ſame Bar. All the Judges of the Land did juſtifie by their Subſcriptions, that *it was legall for the King to levy ſuch a Tax*; and their Subſcriptions were enrolled in all the Courts of *Weſtminſter*-Hall. And when it came to be argued in the *Exchequer*-Chamber, ten of them abſolutely declared for it; onely two, *Crooke* and *Hutton*, diſſented from that opinion to which they had formerly ſubſcribed, not without the ignominie of Levity unbeſeeming their places. And as the *King* was thus victorious in the Law, ſo was He at Sea; and having curbed the Pirates, He alſo reduced the *Hollanders* to a precarious uſe of His Seas.

Amidſt all theſe Difficulties and Calumnies the *King* hitherto had ſo governed, that ſober men could not pray for, nor Heaven grant in Mercy to a People any greater Happineſs then what His Reign did afford. The *Britiſh* Empire never more flouriſhed with Magnificent Edifices; the Trade of the Nation had brought the wealth of the *Indies* home to our doors; Learning and all good Sciences were ſo cheriſhed, that they grew to Admiration, and many Arts of the Ancients, buried and forgotten by time, were revived again. No Subjects under the Sun richer, and (which was the effect of that) none prouder. Security increaſed the Husband-mans ſtock, and Juſtice preſerved his Life; none being condemned as to Life, but by the lawfull Verdict of thoſe of an equal Condition, the Jury of his Peers. The poor might Reverence, but needed not Fear the Great: and the Great though he might deſpiſe, yet could not injure his more obſcure Neighbour. And all things were ſo adminiſtred, that they ſeemed to conſpire to the Publick good; except that they made our *Happineſs too much the cauſe of all Civil Commotions*, and brought our Felicity to that height, that by the neceſſity of humane nature, which hath placed

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all things in motion, it must necessarily decline. And God provoked by our sins did no longer restrain and obstruct the arts and fury of some wicked men, who contemning their present certain enjoyments, hoped for more wicked acquisitions in publick Troubles; to overwhelm every part of the *King*'s Dominions with a deluge of Blood and Misery, and to commence that War, which as it was horrid with much slaughter, so it was memorable with the Experiences of His Majesties Vertues; Confusions, like Winds, from every Coast at once assaulting and trying His Righteous Soul.

The first Storm arose from the North, and the flame first broke out in *Scotland*, where those Lords who feared they should lose their spoils of Religion and Majesty, took all occasions to hasten the publick Misery (which at last most heavily lay upon their Countrey, the hands they had strengthened and instructed to fight against their Prince, laying a more unsupportable slaverie upon them then their most impious Slanders could form in the imaginations of the credulous that they might fear from the *King*) by calumniating the *King*'s Government, raising fears of Tyranny and Idolatry, forming and spreading seditious Libels. The Author, or at least the abettor, of one of which was found to be the Lord *Balmerino*, a Traitor by nature, being the Son of one who had before merited death for his Treasons to King *James*, yet found that mercy from him as the Son now did from King *Charles*, to have his Life and Estate continued after condemnation. Yet this perfidious man interpreted the *King*'s Clemencie for his own Vertue; and he that had dared such a Crime, could not be changed by the Pardon of it; and as if he had rather received an Injury then Life, he was the most active in the approaching Rebellion.

For the Rabble, that delights in Tumults, were fitted by this and
An. 1637. other Boutefeus for any occasion of contemning the *King*'s Authority (though His designes, that were thus displeasing to the Nobless, were evidently for the benefit of the Populacy) and at last took fire from the Liturgie, something differing from ours, (lest a full consent might argue a dependency upon the Church of *England*) which some *Scotish* Bishops had composed and presented to the *King* for the use of their Church; which the *King*, who was desirous that those who were united under His Command might not be divided in Worship, confirmed, and appointed to be first read *July* 13. at *Edinburgh*, a City alwaies pregnant with suspicions and false rumours. But it was entertained with all the instruments of Fury that were present to a debauched multitude: for they flung cudgels and sticks at the Dean of *Edinburgh* while he was performing his Office; and after that was done, re-inforced their assault upon the Bishops, whom the Earls of *Roxbrough* and *Traquaire* pretended to protect, who indured some affronts, that their Patience might provoke a greater rage in the Multitude, which a vigorous punishment had easily extinguish'd. For *they that are fierce in a croud, being singled, through their particular fears become obedient. And that*

rabble

rabble that talks high againſt the determinations of their Prince, when danger from the Laws is within their ken, diſtruſt their companions, and return to ſubjection.

But it ſoon appeared that this was not the bare effort of a mutinous Multitude, but a long-formed Conſpiracie; and to this Multitude, whoſe preſent terrour was great, yet would have been contemptible in a ſhort ſpace, there appeared Parties to head them of ſeveral Orders. Who preſently digeſted their Partiſans into ſeveral Tables, and concocted this Mutiny into a formal Rebellion. To proſecute which they mutually obliged themſelves and the whole Nation in a *Covenant* to extirpate *Epiſcopacie*, and whatſoever they pleaſed to brand with the odious names of *Hereſie* and *Superſtition*, and to defend each other againſt all Perſons, not excepting the *King*.

To reduce this people to more peacefull Practices, the *King* ſends Marqueſs *Hamilton* (one who being careſſed by His Majeſties Favour had riſen to ſuch a degree of wealth and greatneſs, that now he dreamed of nothing leſs then Empire to bring his power to perfection, at leaſt to be Monarch of *Scotland*, to which he had ſome pretenſions by his birth) as His Commiſsioner. Who with a *ſpecies* of Loyalty diſſembled that pleaſure which he took in the oppoſition of the Covenanters, whoſe firſt motions were ſecretly directed by his counſels, and thoſe of his dependents, *Traquaire* and *Roxbrough*, for all his Allies were of that party (contrary to the cuſtome of that Countrey, where all the Members of a Family eſpouſe the part of their Head though in the utmoſt danger :) and his Mother rid armed with Piſtols at her Saddle-bowe for defence of the Covenant. By his actings there new ſeeds of Diſcontents and War were daily ſown, and his oppoſitions ſo faint, that he rather encreaſed then allayed their fury: By ſeveral returns to His *Majeſty* for new Inſtructions he gave time to the Rebels to conſolidate their Conſpiracy, to call home their Exiles of Poverty that were in forein Armies, and provide Arms for open Force : By his falſe repreſentations of the ſtate of things, he induced the *King* to temporize with the too-potent Corruption of that Nation (an artifice *King* JAMES had ſometimes practiſed) and by granting their deſires, to make them ſenſible of the evils which would flow from their own counſels. Therefore the *King* gave Order for revoking the *Liturgie*, the *High-Commiſsion*, the Book of *Canons*, and the Five *Articles* of *Perth*.

But the Covenanters were more inſolent by theſe Conceſsions, becauſe they had gotten that by unlawful courſes and unjuſt force which Modeſty and Submiſſion had never obtained; and imputing theſe Grants to the *King*'s Weakneſs, not His Goodneſs, they proceeded to bolder Attempts: Indicted an Aſſembly without Him, in which they aboliſhed *Epiſcopacy*; excommunicated the *Biſhops* and all that adhered to them. Afterwards they ſeiſed upon the *King*'s Revenue, ſurpriſed His Forts and Caſtles, and at laſt put themſelves into Arms.

Provoked with theſe Injuries the *King* amaſſes a gallant Army, in which was a very great appearance of Lords and Gentlemen, and with

with these marches, and incamps within two miles of *Berwick*, within sight of the Enemy. But their present Condition being such as could endure neither War nor Peace, they endeavoured to dissipate that Army, which they could not overthrow, by a pretence to a Pacification. For which they petitioned the *King*, who yielded unto it out of His innate tenderness of His Subjects Blood. So an Accord was made *June* 17.
An. 1639. and the *King* disbands His Army, expecting the *Scots* should doe the like, according to the Articles of Agreement.

But they being delivered from Fear, would not be restrained by Shame from breaking their Faith. For no sooner had the *King* disbanded, but they protested against the *Pacification*, printed many false Copies of it, that might represent it dishonourable to the *King*, retained their Officers in pay, changed the old Form of holding Parliaments, invaded the Prerogatives of the Crown, and sollicited the *French* King for an aid of men and money.

This perfidious abuse of His Majestie's Clemency made those that judge of Counsels by the issue to censure the King's Facility. "Some "wondred how He could imagine there would be any Moderation in so "corrupt a Generation of men, and that they who had broken the Peace "out of a desire of War, should now lay aside their Arms out of a love to "Quiet. That there would be alwaies the same causes to the *Scots* of "disturbing *England*, and opposing Government, their unquiet nature "and Covetousness: therefore unless some strong impression made "them either unable or unwilling to distract our quiet, the *King* was "to look for a speedy return of their Injuries. Others attributed the "Accord to the *King*'s sense that some eminent Officers in his own Camp "were polluted with Counsels not different from the Covenanters: "and that *Hamilton* His Admiral had betraied the seasons of fighting by "riding quietly in the *Forth* of *Edinburgh*; and had secret Conference "with his Mother, the great Nurse of the Covenant, on Shipboard. But "most referred it to the *King*'s innate tenderness of His Subjects Blood, "and to His Prudence not to defile His Glory with the overthrow "(which seemed probable) of a contemptible Enemy, where the "gains of the Victory could not balance the hazards of attempting it.

An. 1640. While men thus discourse of the *Scots* Perfidiousness, the *King* prepares for another Army, and in order thereto calls a Parliament in *Ireland*, and another in *England*, for assistances against the Rebels in *Scotland*. The *Irish* granted Money to raise and pay 8000 men in Arms, and furnish them with Ammunition. Yet this Example, with the *King*'s account of the Injuries done to Him and this Nation by the *Scots*, and his promise of for ever acquitting them of Ship-money if now they would freely assist Him, prevailed nothing upon the *English* Parliament, whom the Faction drew aside to other Counsels. And when the King sent Sr *Henry Vane* to re-mind them of His desires, and to demand six Subsidies, he industriously (as his own and his Sons following actions declared)

named

named twelve Subſidies; which gave ſuch an opportunity and matter for ſeditious Harangues, that the Houſe was ſo exaſperated, as that they were about to Remonſtrate againſt the War with *Scotland.* To prevent this ominous effect of the falſeneſs of His Servant, the *King* was forced to diſſolve the Parliament *May* 5. yet continued the Convocation, which granted Him 4. s. in the pound for all their Eccleſiaſticall Promotions. But the Laiety that in the Houſe had not time to declame againſt His Majeſties Proceedings, did it without doors; for being diſperſed to their homes, they filled all places with ſuſpicious rumours and high diſcontents: and in *Southwark* there was an open Mutiny began, which was not pacified without much danger, and the Execution of the principal Leaders.

The *King* thus betrayed, defamed and deſerted by thoſe who ſhould have conſidered that in His Honour their Safety was embarqued, though He had no leſs cauſe to fear ſecret Conſpiracies at Home, which were more dangerous becauſe obſcure, then the *Scots* publick Hoſtility; yet vigorouſly proſecuted his undertaking, and raiſed a ſufficient Army: but could not doe it with equal ſpeed to His Enemies, who had ſoon re-united their diſperſed Forces; and incouraged by the Faction, with whom they held Intelligence, in *England*, contented not themſelves to ſtand upon the defence, but invaded us, and advanced ſo farre before all the *King*'s Army could be gathered together, that they gave a defeat to a Party of it ere the rear could be brought up by the Earl of *Strafford*, who was appointed General, or the *King* could come to encourage them with His Preſence.

He was no ſooner arrived at His Army, but there followed Him from ſome *Engliſh* Lords a Petition, conformable to the *Scotch Remonſtrance*, which they called the *Intentions of the Army.* So that His Majeſty might juſtly fear ſome attempts in the South, while He was thus defending Himſelf from the Northern injuries. The *King* anſwered the Petitioners, *That before their Petition came He had reſolved to ſummon all the Peers to conſult what would be moſt for the Safety of the Nation and His own Honour.* Who accordingly met *Sept.* 24. Where it was determined that a Parliament ſhould be called to meet *Nov.* 3. and in the mean time a Ceſſation ſhould be made with the *Scots*, with whom ſome Commiſsioners from the Parliament ſhould treat.

Nov. 3. began that Fatal Parliament, which was ſo tranſported by the Arts of ſome unquiet perſons, that they diſhonoured the name and hopes of a Parliament, ingulfed the Nation in a Sea of Blood, ruined the *King*, and betrayed all their own Priviledges and the People's Liberty into the power of a phanatick and perfidious Army. And although His Majeſty could not hope to find them moderate, yet He endeavoured to make them ſo; telling them at their meeting, that He was reſolved to put Himſelf freely upon the Affections of His *Engliſh* Subjects; that He would ſatisfie all their juſt Grievances, and not leave to malice it ſelf a ſhadow to doubt of His deſire to make this a glorious and flouriſh-

ing Kingdom. He commended to their care the chaſing out of the Rebels, the Proviſions of His own Army, and the Relief of the oppreſſed Northern Counties.

But the Malignity of ſome few, and the Ignorance of more, employed that Aſſembly in other matters: firſt, in purging their Houſe of all ſuch as they conceived would not comply with their deſtructive enterpriſes; and for ſuch men they either found ſome fault with their Elections, or made them Criminals in ſome publick Grievance; though others of a deeper guilt they kept among them, that their Offences might make them obnoxious to their power, and obſequious to their commands. Then with compoſed Harangues they declamed upon the publick Grievances, and reckoned up caſual Misfortunes amongſt deſigned Abuſes of Government, every way raiſing up Contumelies againſt the preſent Power: and that which was fulleſt of Detraction and Envy was applauded as moſt pregnant with Liberty. Thus pretending ſeveral Injuries had been done to the People, they raiſed the Multitude to hopes of an unimaginable Liberty, and a diſcontent with the preſent Government. After this they ſet free all the Martyrs of Sedition, that for their malignant Libels had been impriſoned, and three of them were conducted through *London* with ſuch a company of people adorned with Roſemary and Bayes, as it ſeemed a Triumph over Juſtice and thoſe Tribunals that ſentenced them. Then they fell upon all the chief Miniſters of State: they impeached the Earl of *Strafford*, Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*; after him the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Lord *Finch*, Keeper of the Great Seal, the Judges that according to their Oath had determined Ship-money legal, and others; ſome of which fled, thoſe that were found were clapt in Priſon: ſo that the *King* was ſoon deſpoiled of thoſe that were able or faithful to give Him Counſel, and others terrified in their Miniſtery to Him.

While the Factious thus led the Houſe, their Partiſans without by their Inſtructions formed Petitions againſt the Government in Church and State; to which they ſeduced the ignorant Rabble in the City and ſeveral Counties to ſubſcribe, and in a tumultuous manner to preſent them to their Patriots. Who being animated by the ſucceſs of their Arts, fell to draw up a Bill for *Triennial* Parliaments, wherein the Power of calling that great Councel of the Nation was, upon refuſall of the *King*, and the neglect of others, devolved upon Conſtables. Which prophanation of Majeſty though the *King* diſſwaded them from, yet they perſiſted in; and He paſſed it.

An. 1641. After five Moneths time (for ſo long a ſpace they took to rake up Matter and Witneſſes to juſtifie their accuſation, and to give leiſure to the Court for Overtures of gainfull Offices to the great Sticklers againſt him; which not appearing) the Earl of *Strafford* is brought to his Triall in *Weſtminſter*-Hall before the Lords as His Judges: (the *King*, *Queen* and *Prince* ſitting behind a Curtain in an adjoyning Gallerie) and round about the Court ſtood the Commons. His Accuſers and Witneſſes

Witneſſes were *Engliſh*, *Scotch* and *Iriſh*, (and indeed ſo brave a Perſon could not be ruined but by the pretended hatred of the whole Empire.) The *Engliſh* were ſuch as envied his Vertues, and greatneſs in the *King*'s Favour. The *Scotch*, becauſe they knew his Prudence able to counterwork their Frauds, diſcover their impudent Cheats, and his wiſe management to overthrow their Force. The *Iriſh* hatred aroſe from his juſt and neceſſary Severity in his Government, whereby he had reduced them from ſo great a Barbarouſneſs that was impatient of Peace, to a Civility that was fertile of Plenty; and by Artifices, Husbandry and Commerce had rendred that tumultuary Nation ſo rich, that they were now able to repay to the *Engliſh* Treaſury thoſe great Debts which their former Troubles and Commotions had contracted. Although thoſe of this Nation were *Papiſts*, and ſworn Enemies both of the *Engliſh* name and State, and were even then practiſing and meditating their Rebellion, (which they hoped more eaſie when ſo wiſe a Governour was removed) and ſo prone enough of themſelves to the Crime; yet were they much careſſed by the Faction, that theſe in the name of the whole Kingdom ſhould preſs the *Earl* with envie to the Grave.

His Charge conſiſted of twenty eight Articles (that their number might cover their want of Evidence.) To all which the *Lieutenant* (whoſe Patience was not overcome, nor his nature changed by the Reproaches of his Accuſers) anſwers with ſo brave a Preſence of Spirit, ſuch firm Reaſons, and ſo clear an Eloquence, that he whom the mercenary Tongues of their Lawyers had rendred as a Monſter of men, could not be found guilty of Treaſon, either in the particulars or the whole. So that his Enemies were filled with madneſs that their Charge of Crimes appeared no other then a Libel of Slanders; and the diſ-intereſſed Hearers were (beſides the pleaſure they received to find ſo great Endowments polluted with no hainous Crimes) ſenſible of the unhappineſs of thoſe who are *Miniſters of State among a Factious people, where their proſperous Counſels are not rewarded, and unſucceſsfull, though prudent, are ſeverely accuſed: when they erre, every one condemns them, and their wiſe Advices few praiſe; for thoſe that are benefitted envy, and ſuch as are diſappointed hate thoſe that gave them.* And ſuch ſeemed the Fate of this Excellent Counſellour, whom nothing elſe but his great Parts, his Maſter's Love and Truſt had expoſed to this Danger.

The Faction being obſtructed this way, by the Earl's Innocency and Abilities, from taking away his Life, move the Houſe to proceed by a Bill of *Attainder*, to the making a Law after the Fact, whereby they Vote him guilty of High Treaſon: yet adde a Caution, that it ſhould not be drawn into a Precedent, ſeeking to ſecure themſelves from a return of that Injuſtice upon themſelves which they acted on him, intending to proſecute what they falſly charged him with, the Alteration of Government. Which yet paſſed not without a long debate and contention: for many that had none but honeſt hopes, diſdained to adminiſter to the Intereſt of the Faction in the blood of ſo much Innocent Gallantry; and

that were prudent ſaw how ſuch an Example opened the avenues to ruine of the beſt Perſons, when once expoſed to publick hatred. Therefore they earneſtly diſſwaded ſuch a proceed. And fifty nine of the moſt eminent openly diſſented when it came to the Vote; whoſe Names were afterwards poſted, and marked for the fury of the Rabble, that for the future they might not oppoſe the deſignes of the Factious, unleſs they deſired to be torn in pieces.

In two dayes the Lower Houſe paſt the Bill, ſo ſwift were the Demagogues to ſhed blood: but the Lords Houſe was a little more deliberative (the *King* having amongſt them declared His ſenſe of the Earl's Innocencie:) of whoſe ſlow Reſolves the Faction being impatient, there came a ſeditious rabble of about 5 or 6000 of the dreggs of the people, armed with Staves and Cudgels, and other Inſtruments of Outrage, (inſtigated by the more unquiet Members both of the Houſe of Commons and the City) to the Parliament doors, clamouring *Juſtice, Juſtice*: and the next day, to raiſe their Fury, there was a report ſpred among them of ſome endeavours to prepare an Eſcape for the *Lieutenant* of *Ireland*; therefore with more fierceneſs they raiſed their clamours, ſome objecting Treaſon to him, others their Decay of Trade, and each one either as he was inſtructed (for ſome of the Houſe of Commons would be among them, to direct their Fury, and to give ſome order to their Tumult, that it might appear more terrible,) or the ſenſe of his own neceſsities and luſts led him, urged his different motives for Juſtice: and at laſt, heated by their own motion and noiſe, they guard the doors of the Houſe of Peers, offer inſolencies to the Lords, eſpecially the Biſhops, as they went in, and threaten them if their Votes diſagree from their clamours. And when they had thus made an aſſault on the Liberty of the Parliament (which yet was pretended to be ſo Sacred) they afterward ſet upon the neighbouring *Abbey-Church*; where forcing open the doors they brake down the Organs, ſpoiled all the Veſtments and Ornaments of the Worſhip: from thence they fly to Court, and diſturb the Peace of it with their undecent and barbarous clamours: and at laſt were raiſed to that impudency, as to upbraid the *King*, (who from a Scaffold perſwaded them as they paſſed by to a modeſt care of their own private affairs) with an unfitneſs to reigne.

When ſome Juſtices of the Peace, according to the Law, endeavoured to ſuppreſs thoſe Tumults by impriſoning the moſt forward and bold Leaders, they themſelves were impriſoned by the Command of the Commons, upon pretext of an injury offered to the Liberties of the Subject; of which one was (as they then dictated) *That every one might ſafely petition the Parliament*: yet when the *Kentiſh* men came to petition for ſomething contrary to the Guſt of the Faction, they cauſed the *City* Gates to be ſhut upon them; and when other Counties were meditating Addreſſes for Peace, by threatnings they deterred them from ſuch honeſt undertakings. And when ſome prudent Perſons minded

minded the Demagogues how diſhonourable it was for the Parliament not to ſuppreſs ſuch Mutinies, they replied, that *their friends ought rather to be thanked and careſſed.*

By theſe and other Arts having wholly overthrown the freedom of that Council, and many with-drawing themſelves from ſuch Outrages, when ſcarce the third part of the Peers were preſent, the Faction of that Houſe likewiſe paſſed the Bill, the Diſſenters being out-voted onely by ſeven Voices. Yet all this could not prevail upon the *King*, though the Tumults were ſtill high without, and within He was daily ſollicited by the Lords of His Palace (who now looked upon the Earl as the Herd doth on an hurt Deer, and they hoped his Blood would be the Luſtration of the Court) to leave the Earl as a Sacrifice to the Vulgar rage. Nor did the *King* any wayes yield, till the Judges (who were now obſequious to the pleaſures of the Parliament) declared He might doe it by Law, and the Earl by his own Letters devoted himſelf as a Victime for the publick Peace and His Majeſties Safety: and then overcome with Importunities on all hands, and being abuſed by bad dealing of the Judges (as Himſelf complained to the Biſhops whom He conſulted in that Caſe, and who anſwered, *that if the* King *in Conſcience found him not guilty in matter of Fact, He ought not to paſs it; but for matter of Law, what was Treaſon, they referred Him to the Judges, who, according to their Oath, ought to carry themſelves indifferently betwixt Him and His Subjects*) He at laſt with much reluctancie ſigned a Commiſſion to ſome Lords to paſs that Bill of *Attainder*, and another for *Continuation of the Parliament during the pleaſure of the Two Houſes.*

"The paſſing of theſe two Bills, as ſome thought, wounded the "*King*'s Greatneſs more then any thing He ever did. The firſt, becauſe "it cut off a moſt exquiſite Inſtrument of Empire, and a moſt faithfull "Servant: and none did more make uſe of this to pollute His Honour, "then thoſe who had even forced Him to it; like thoſe malignant and "damned Spirits who upbraid unhappy Souls with thoſe Crimes and "ruines to which they themſelves have tempted and betrayed them. But "the heavieſt Cenſor was Himſelf, for He never left bewailing His "Compliance, or rather Connivence, with this Murder, till the iſſue of "His Blood dried up thoſe of His Tears.

"By the other Bill He had, as ſome cenſured, renounced His Crown, "and granted it to thoſe men who at preſent exerciſed ſo Arbitrary a "Power, that they wanted nothing but length of time to be reputed "Kings, and this they now had gotten. But the more Speculative con-"cluded it an act of eſpeciall Prudence, for the *King* made that an evi-"dence of His ſincere intention to oblige His people, and overcome "the Malice of His Enemies with Benefits: which the Faction would "have uſurped, and by the boldneſs of the attempt ingaged the People to "them as the onely Patrons of their Liberty. And they were furniſhed "with an Example for it by their Confederates in *Scotland*, who indicted "an Aſſembly without the *King*'s leave, and continued it againſt

"His pleaſure; and (as *all imitations of Crimes exceed their firſt pattern*) "it was conceived theſe men whoſe furies were more unjuſt, and ſo "would be more fierce, intended to improve that Precedent to the ex- "tremeſt guilt.

The Bill was no ſooner ſigned, but they haſtened the Execution; and ſo much the more eagerly, becauſe the *King* deſired, in a moſt paſſionate Letter delivered by the *Prince* to the Lords, that that Excellent Soul which found ſo much Injuſtice on Earth, might have the more time to fit it ſelf for the Mercy of Heaven. But this favour which became Chriſtians to grant, agreed not with the Religion of his Adverſaries, and therefore the ſecond day after he was brought to the Scaffold on *Tower-Hill*, (in his Paſſage thither he had a ſight of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, whoſe Prayers and Bleſſing he with a low Obeiſance begged, and the moſt pious Prelate beſtowed them with Tears,) where with a greater preſence of mind then he had looked his Enemies in the face did he encounter Death, and ſubmitted his neck to the ſtroke of the Executioner. "He was a perſon of a generous "Spirit, fitted for the nobleſt enterpriſes, and the moſt difficult parts of "Empire. His Counſels were bold, yet juſt, and he had a Vigour proper "for the Execution of them. Of an Eloquence, next to that of His Maſter's, "maſculine, and moſt excellent. He was no leſs affectionate to the "Church then to the State, and not contented while living to defend "the Government and Patrimony of it, he commended it alſo to his "Son when he was about to die, and charged his abhorrencie of Sacri- "lege. His Enemies called the Majeſty of his Miene in his Lieutenancy, "Pride, and the undaunted execution of his Office on the contumacious, "the Inſolencie of his fortune. He was cenſured for committing that fatal "Errour of following the *King* to *London* and to the Parliament after the "Pacification with the *Scots* at *York*; and it was thought that if he had "gone over to his charge in *Ireland*, he might have ſecured both him- "ſelf and that Kingdom for His Majeſties Service. But ſome attributed "this Counſel to a neceſsity of *Fate, whoſe firſt ſtroke is at the brain of "thoſe whom it deſignes to ruine*, and brought him to feel the effects of "Popular Rage, which himſelf in former Parliaments had uſed againſt "Government, and to find the Experience of his own advices againſt the "Duke of *Buckingham*. *Providence teaching us to abhorre over-fine Counſels by "the miſchiefs they bring upon their Authors.*

The Fall of this Great Man ſo terrified the other Officers of State, that the Lord *High Treaſurer* reſigned his Staff to the Hands from whence he received it; the Lord *Cottington* forſook the Maſterſhip of the Court of *Wards*; and the *Guardian* of the Prince returned Him to the *King*: Theſe Lords parting with their Offices, like thoſe that ſcatter their Treaſure and Jewels in the way, that they might delude the violence of their greedie purſuers. But the *King* was left naked of their faithfull Miniſtery, and expoſed to the Infuſions and Informations of thoſe who were either Complices or Mercenaries to the Faction, to whom they diſcovered his moſt private Counſels. When

When the Earl of *Strafford* was dead, then did the Parliament begin to think of ſending away the *Scots*, who hitherto had much impoveriſhed the Northern Counties, and increaſed the charges of the Nation: but now they were voted to receive 300000 l. under the notion of a Brotherly aſſiſtance, but in truth, deſigned by the Faction, as a reward for their Clamours for the *Earls* Blood; yet were they kept ſo long till the *King* had paſſed away more of His Prerogative, in ſigning the Bills to take away the *High-Commiſſion* and the *Star-Chamber*. After which ſpoils of Majeſty they disband the *Engliſh* and the *Scotch* Armies, *Auguſt* 6. and on the 10th of that Moneth the *King* follows them into *Scotland*, to ſettle, if it were poſsible, that Kingdom. But the *King* ſtill found them as before: when He ſatisfied their greedie appetites, then would they offer Him their Lives and Fortunes; but when gain or advantage appeared from His Enemies, they appeared in their proper nature ungrateful, changeable and perfidious, whom no favours could oblige, nor any thing but Ruine was to be expected by building upon their Love.

While the *King* was in *Scotland* labouring to ſettle that Nation by granting all that the Covetouſneſs and Ambition of their Leaders pretended was for the Publick good, and ſo aimed at no leſs then a Miracle, by His Benefits to reduce *Faith* (which, *like Life, when it is once departed doth never naturally return*) into thoſe perfidious breaſts; the Parliament adjourns, and leaves a ſtanding *Committee* of ſuch as were the Leaders or the Servants of the Faction. Theſe prepared new Toils for His Majeſties return, and by them was the *Grand Remonſtrance* formed: in it were reckoned for Grievances all the Complaints of men that were impatient of Laws and Government; the Offences of Courtiers, the unpleaſing Reſolves of Judges, the Neglects or Rigours of the Miniſters of Juſtice, the undigeſted Sermons of ſome Preachers, yea the Poſitions of ſome Divines in the Schools, were all exaggerated to defame the preſent Government both in Church and State, and to magnifie the skill of theſe State-Phyſicians that offered Preſcripts for all theſe Diſtempers. Beſides, more eaſily to abuſe the *Vulgar, who reckon Misfortunes as Crimes*, unpleaſing accidents were repreſented as deſigns of Tyranny; and thoſe things which had been reformed, were yet mentioned as continued burthens. From which the people were aſſured there could be no deliverance but by the wiſedome and magnanimity of the Remonſtrants.

To prepare the way for this, the moſt opprobrious parts of it were firſt whiſpered among the Populacie, that by this ſeeming ſuppreſsion men impatient of Secrets might more eagerly divulge them, and the danger appear greater by an affected ſilence. Then prodigious Calumnies (which none but ſouls prone to any wickedneſs could believe of ſo Great a man) were formed of the *King*, and ſuch ſuſpicions raiſed of Him and His Friends, as might force them to ſome Injuries which hitherto they forbore, and by ſecuring themſelves increaſe the Publick fears. For *Slanders do rather provoke moſt men then amend them*;

and the provoked think more of their ſafety, then to adjuſt their actions againſt their malicious Slanderers. And when the minds of men were made thus ſollicitous concerning Dangers from the *King*, to make them more pliable and ductile, there was repreſented to them an inevitable anger of Heaven againſt the preſent ſtate of things both in Church and State, teſtified by many Prodigies that were related, and portentuous Preſages of Ruine. Certain Prophecies (for a credulity to which the *Engliſh* Vulgar are infamous) from unknown Oracles are divulged, which ænigmatically deſcribe the *King* as a Monſter, and from ſuch a Prince muſt proceed a change of Government. Some vain perſons alſo, that gave themſelves up to the Impoſture of Aſtrologie, were hired to terrifie the people with the unſignificant Conjunctions of Stars, and from them to foretell ruines to the better part of the World, and an imminent deſtruction on men of the Long Robe, and Alterations of States.

Theſe were done to temper the minds of men by a ſuperſtition for a guidance of their Miniſters, who being conceived to be the Ambaſſadours of Heaven, were ſuppoſed to have it in their Commiſsion, to declare the Conditions of War and Peace: and theſe, either through the ſame weakneſs capable of the like terrors with the Vulgar, or (which is more to be abhorred) corrupted, as ſome were, by the Careſſes and gainfull hopes that the Faction baited them with, did juſtifie their fears, and increaſe them by applying ſome obſcure Prophecies in Scripture to the preſent times and People; compared the pretended Corruptions of our Church with the Idolatries of *Iſrael*, and whatſoever was condemned in the Holy Records, was paralleſ'd with the things they diſliked here, and all the Curſes that God poured upon His irreconcileable and obdurate enemies, were denounced againſt ſuch as differ'd from them, or would not joyn with the Faction.

To make theſe Harangues more efficacious, the Authors of them received the Reverence of the Demagogues, who (deſpiſing, queſtioning and expoſing to Affronts ſuch ſober Divines as would have cured the madneſs of the People,)appropriated to ſuch Teachers the Titles of Saints, Faithfull Miniſters, Pretious men; and they on the other ſide made a return of Epithets to their Maſters, of the Servants of the Moſt High, ſuch as were to doe the Work of the Lord; That by their Counſels men were to expect new Heavens and a new Earth; that they were men that ſhould prepare the Kingdom for Jeſus Chriſt, and lay the Foundations of the Empire of the Saints which was to laſt a Thouſand years. To make the Cry yet louder, they permitted all Sects and Hereſies a Licence of publick profeſsion, (which hitherto Diſcipline, the Care of the Common Peace and Religion had confined to ſecret corners) and permitted the Office of Teaching to every bold and ignorant undertaker; ſo that at laſt the dreggs of the People uſurped that Dignity, and Women,

who

who had parted with the natural modeſty of their Sex, would not onely ſpeak, but alſo rule in the Church. All theſe, in gratitude for their Licentiouſneſs, ſtill perſwaded to their hearers the admiration of the Authors of it, and bitterly inveighed againſt thoſe whom the Care both of the Souls and Fortunes of men would excite to repreſs them, in many of their Raptures denouncing Wo and Judgement to the lawful Governours in Church and State.

While all theſe Methods of Ruine were preparing here, the ſame anger of God, the ſame madneſs of men raiſed up another Tempeſt in *Ireland*. For the *Popiſh* Lords and Prieſts of *Ireland* (who were the prime compoſers of the Tragedies there,) were incouraged by the Succeſs of the *Scots, who by a proſperous Rebellion* (as the Hiſtorian of thoſe Troubles writes) *had procured for themſelves ſuch large Priviledges,* to an imitation, which the preſent Jealouſies in *England* (where mutual Contraſts would employ all their force upon one another,) promiſed to be ſecure. And they had an happy opportunity by the Vacancie in Government through the ſlaughter of the Earl of *Strafford*, with whom the *Iriſh* Lords (while they proſecuted him in *England*) had removed all thoſe other inferiour Magiſtrates that were moſt skilful in the affairs of that Kingdom, by accuſing to the Faction ſome of them of Treaſon, and others of an inclination to the *Earl*, and had got preferred to their charges ſuch as were either altogether unacquainted with the *Genius* of that People, or favourers of the Conſpiracy. A ſtrength they had alſo ready; for thoſe 8000 which had been liſted for the *Scotiſh* Expedition were unſeaſonably disbanded, and the *King* in foreſight they might cauſe ſome miſchief in their own Countrey, had therefore promiſed 4000 of them to the King of *Spain*: yet would not the Parliament conſent to their departure, becauſe (as the *Iriſh* Lords ſuggeſted) it would diſpleaſe the King of *France*; and when the *King* promiſed to ſend as many to the *French* Camp, that likewiſe was not reliſhed. The Common Souldiers of that Army being thus made uſeleſs, and therefore like men of their employment moſt fierce when they were to be diſmiſſed from the dangers of War, were eaſily drawn into the Rebellion, although very few of their Officers were polluted with the Crime.

The *Iriſh* Lords and Prieſts being allured by theſe our Vices and theſe ſeveral opportunities, began their Rebellion *Oct.* 23. The *Iriſh* throughout that whole Kingdom on a ſudden invading the unprovided *Engliſh* that were ſcattered among them, deſpoiling them of their Eſtates, Goods, and many thouſands of their Lives, without any reſpect of Sex, Age, Kindred, or Friendſhip, and made them as ſo many Sacrifices to their bloodie Superſtition. They miſſed but a little to have ſurpriſed *Dublin*. But their Conſpiracie being detected there and in ſome few other places, the *Engliſh* name and intereſt was preſerved in that Kingdom, till they could receive Succours from hence.

The *King* had the firſt intelligence of it, in its very beginnings, in

in *Scotland*, and thereupon ſent Sr *James Stuart* to the Lords of the Privie Councel in *Ireland*, to acquaint them with His Knowledge, and Inſtructions, and to carry all that Money that His preſent Stores could ſupply. Beſides, He moves the Parliament of *Scotland*, as being neareſt, to a ſpeedie help; who decline their Aids, becauſe *Ireland* was dependent upon the Crown of *England*. At the ſame time alſo He ſends poſt to the Parliament of *England*; who leſs regard it, the Faction applauding their fortune, that new Troubles were ariſen to moleſt the *King*, and that the Royall Power being thus aſſaulted in all three Nations, there muſt ſhortly ariſe ſo many new Commonwealths. Beſides that it yielded freſh matter of reproach to His Majeſty, to whoſe Counſels at firſt ſecretly they whiſpered, and at laſt publickly imputed that horrid Maſſacre. Which Slanders were coloured by the Arts of the *Iriſh* Rebels, who, to diſhearten the *Engliſh* from any reſiſtance, bragged *that the Queen was with their Army; That the King would come amongſt them with Auxiliary forces; That they did but maintain His Cauſe againſt the Puritans; That they had the Kings Commiſſion for what they did*, ſhewing indeed a Patent that themſelves had drawn, but thereto was affixed an Old broad Seal that had been taken from an obſolete Patent out of *Farnham* Abbey, by one *Plunckett*, in the preſence of many of their Lords and Prieſts, as was afterwards atteſted by the Confeſſion of many. *That the Scots were in Confederacy with them*, to beget a faith of which, they abſtained from the lives and fortunes of thoſe of that Nation among them.

On the other ſide, to encourage the Natives of their own party, they produce fictitious Letters, wherein they were informed from *England* that *the Parliament had paſſed an Act, that all the Iriſh ſhould be compelled to the Proteſtant Worſhip; that for the firſt offence they ſhould forfeit all their Goods, for the ſecond their Eſtates, and for the third their Lives.* Beſides, they preſent them with the hopes of Liberty: *That the Engliſh Yoke ſhould be ſhaken off; that they would have a King of their own Nation; and that the Goods and Eſtates of the* Engliſh *ſhould be divided among the Natives.* And with theſe hopes of Spoil and Liberty the *Iriſh* were driven to ſuch a Fury, that they committed ſo many horrid and barbarous acts as ſcarce ever any Age or People were guilty of.

In the mean while nothing was done for the relief of the poor *Engliſh* there, but onely ſome Votes paſſed againſt the Rebels, till the *King* returned to *London*, which was about the end of *November*: where He with the Queen and the Prince were magnificently feaſted by the Citizens, and the chief of them afterwards by Him at *Hampton*-Court. For he never neglected any honeſt Arts to gain His Peoples love; to which they were naturally prone enough, had not His Enemies methods and impulſes depraved their *Genius*. But this much troubled the Faction, who envied that Reverence to Majeſty in others which was not in themſelves, and they endeavoured to make theſe loves ſhort and unhappy;

happy; for they discountenanced the prime advancers of this Honour to the *King*, and were more eager to render Him odious. For having gotten a Guard about them, they likewise insinuated into the people dangerous apprehensions as the cause of that Guard, and every day grew more nice, and jealous of their Priviledges, and power. The *King*'s advices to more tenderness of His Prerogative, or His Advertisements of the scandalous Speeches that were uttered in their House, they interpret as encroachments upon their Grandeur, and upbraided the *King* for them in their Petitions to Him.

But their greatest effort upon Majesty was the Remonstrance; after which they took all occasions to magnifie the apprehensions of those Fears which they had falsly pretended to in it. This the Faction had before formed, and now brought into the House of Commons; where it found a strong opposition by those wise men that were tender of the publick Peace and Common Good: though those who preferred their Private to the Generall Interest, and every one that was short-sighted and improvident for the future, were so fierce for it, that the Debates were continued all night till ten a clock the next morning, so that many of the more aged, and persons of best fortunes (not accustomed to such watchings) were wearied out, and many others, not daring to provoke the Faction in this their grand Designe, left the House; so that at last they carried it, yet but by eleven Votes. Which they presented with a Petition to take away the Votes of Bishops in the House of Lords, and the Ceremonies in the Church, and to remove those Persons from His Trust which they could not confide in; yet named none, but onely accused all under the name of a *Malignant Popish* party. Which they had no sooner delivered then they caused it to be published in print.

To which the *King* answers in another publick Declaration, but so much to the discontent of the Demagogues, to find their Methods of Ruine so fully discovered as they were in His Majesties Answer, that they had recourse to their former sovereign Remedy, which sober men accounted a crime, and an indignity to Government, the Tumults of the Rabble. Who in great numbers and much confusion came up to *Westminster*, some crying out against Bishops, others belching their fury against the Liturgie, and a third party roaring that the Power of the *Militia* should be taken out of the *King*'s hands. To their Clamours they added rude Affronts to those Lords whom their Leaders had taught them to hate, and especially to the Bishops, at their going in or coming out of the House: and afterwards drawing up to *White-Hall*, they appeared so insolent, as it was evident they wanted onely some to begin, for there were enough to prosecute an assault upon the *King* in His own Palace.

The Bishops thus rudely excluded from their Right and Liberty of coming to the Parliament, Twelve of them afterwards protest against the Proceedings of it, during their so violent Exclusion.

Which

Which Proteſtation the Commons preſently accuſed of High Treaſon, and cauſed their Commitment to the *Tower*; where they continued them till the Bill againſt their Votes in the Lords Houſe was paſt, that they might not produce their reaſons for their Rights, and againſt the Injuſtice offered unto them, and then afterwards releaſed them.

The *King* alſo ſaw it neceſſary to take a Guard of ſuch Gentlemen as offered their Service for His Safety, and to prevent the prophaning of Majeſty by the rude fury of the People, who uſed to make their Addreſſes acceptable at *Weſtminſter*, by offering in their paſſage ſome baſe Affronts at *White-Hall*. But when the terror of this Guard had reduced them to ſome leſs degree of Impudencie, they then, inſtructed by their Heads, laboured to make it more unſafe to the *King*, by ſeeking to raiſe the Rage and Jealouſie of the whole City againſt Him. For at midnight there were cries out in the Street, that all People ſhould ariſe to their defence; for the *King* with His *Papiſts* were coming to fire the City, and cut their throats in their beds. Then which though nothing was more falſe, yet it found the effects of truth; and the People by ſuch Alarms being terrified from ſleep, the impreſſions of thoſe nightly fears lay long upon their Spirits in the day, and filled them almoſt with Madneſs.

The *King* therefore, not alwaies to incourage theſe Violences with Patience, but at laſt by a courſe of Juſtice to take off thoſe whom He had found to be the Authors of theſe deſtructive Counſels, the grand Movers of theſe Seditious practices, and, which was more, the Inviters of a Forein Force, the *Scotch* Army, into this Nation; commands His Atturney General to accuſe Five Members of the Houſe of Commons, and one of the Lords, upon Articles of High Treaſon, to be tried according to the Laws of the Land: and He alſo ſends ſome other Officers to ſeal up their Trunks and Cabinets in their ſeveral Lodgings, and to ſecure their Perſons. This being related to the Houſe of Commons (wherein the Faction was now grown more powerful, and with whom did joyn many men of Integrity in this Occurrence, being too carefull of the Priviledges of their Houſe, which yet ſecure none of the Members againſt Juſtice for Murder, Felony, or Treaſon) they were ſo farre from admitting the *King*'s Charge againſt them, that they accuſed the *King* of breach of Priviledge, and Vote all thoſe guilty of Enmity to the Commonwealth that ſhall obey the *King* in any of His Commands concerning them.

This obſtruction of Juſtice ſo far moved the *King*, together with the Advice of ſome of His Councel that were alſo of the Houſe of Commons, as alſo an hope of rooting up the Faction this way, that none through the hope of Concealment ſhould be incouraged to conſpire the publick Ruine, that He Himſelf, with about an hundred Lords and Gentlemen and their followers, went to the Houſe of Commons: Where commanding His Attendants to move no further then the Stairs, to offer no violence, nor return any uncivil language to

any

any although provoked, Himſelf with the *Paltzgrave* onely enters the Houſe, and demands that the Incendiaries might be delivered into His hands, with whom He promiſes to deal no otherwiſe then according to the Law. But they whom He ſought, being before informed (as it is reported) of the *King*'s coming by the ſecret Intelligence of Marqueſs *Hamilton*, and a Court Lady (who having loſt the Confluence of Servants with her Beauty, ſought now to prevent a ſolitude by politick miniſteries) had forſook the place, and withdrawn themſelves into the Sanctuary of the *City*. Wherefore the *King* having renewed His Charge, without injury to any immediately departs.

But the Faction would not let Him ſo reſt, but proſecuted this attempt of His with all the Clamours that they poſſibly could raiſe, ſpread the ſparks of Diſſenſion far and wide, make the common people mad with Fears and Diſtractions, ſtir up ſome in ſeveral Counties to bring Petitions for the impeached Members and their Violated Privileges; and at laſt prepare an armed Rabble diſpoſed into Order to bring the accuſed Demagogues to the Houſe from their Coverts in *London*. This coming to the knowledge of the *King*, although many Gallant and faithfull Perſons profered their Service by mingling with the Rout, or by being as Spectators, to curb any Inſolencies that ſhould be attempted on Him; yet was He reſolved to withdraw Himſelf with the Queen and their Children to *Windſor*, that He might permit their Fury to languiſh when it had no oppoſition, and to give time for their jealouſies and rumours to wax old and periſh. For *the firſt Indignation of a mutinous Multitude is moſt fierce, and a ſmall delay breaks their conſent*: and *Majeſty would have a greater Reverence, if any, at a diſtance.*

The *King*'s Wiſedome was perceived by His Enemies, and therefore to counterwork it, and not to let the people ſleep without fear, leſt they ſhould come to be ſober, and return to the love of Obedience, ſtrange reports were every day brought of dangers from the *King*: That troops of Papiſts were gathered about *Kingſton* upon the *Thames*, where the County Magazine was lodged, under the command of the Lord *George Digby*, who was then famed to be a *Papiſt*, (though at that time he was an elegant Aſſertor of the Proteſtant Faith,) and Col. *Lunsford*, who was characteriſed to be of ſo monſtrous an appetite that *he would eat Children.* And parties were ſent to take them both, which found no ſuch dreadful Preparations. At other times, when the People on the Lord's dayes were at Divine Worſhip, they were diſtracted from it by Alarms, that the *Papiſts* (who and from whence none could tell) were up in Arms, and were juſt then about to fire their Houſes, and mix their Blood with their Prayers: That there were forces kept in Grotts and Caves under ground, that ſhould in the night break out into the midſt of the City, and cut all their throats: And what was more prodigious, and though ridiculous, yet had not a few believers in *London*, That there were deſigns by Gunpowder to blow up the *Thames*, and choak them with the water in their beds. Thus were the people

taught to hate their Prince, and by bloodie news from every Quarter they were inſtructed to that Cruelty which they vainly feared, and to adore thoſe by whoſe Counſels they were delivered from ſo unexpected Dangers.

By all this the Faction gained the repute of Modeſty inferiour to their ſuppoſed Truſt, when they demanded nothing elſe but the Command of the Tower, and the *Militia* of all the Counties in *England*, together with the Forts and Caſtles of the ſame. For all which they moved the Houſe of Commons to petition: who deſiring the Conjuncture of the Lords in the ſame, were wholly refuſed by them. Therefore ſtemm'd by the Faction they petition alone. Which unlimited Power the *King* abſolutely refuſed to grant unto them, who He foreſaw would uſe that, as they had all His other Conceſſions, to the ruine of the Author of their Power. Yet was pleaſed to conſent, after He had demonſtrated the prejudice they required to the *Engliſh* Nation, that they might ſend over an Army of 10000 *Scots* into *Ireland*, and deliver unto them the ſtrong Town and Port of *Carickfergus*, one of the chief Keyes of that Kingdom: which was done to oblige the *Scots* to them in their future deſigns. And alſo He was pleaſed to wave the Proſecution of the Impeached Members, and was willing to grant a Free and General Pardon for all His Subjects, as the Parliament ſhould think convenient.

But all this could not content them who had immoderate deſires, and they were more diſcontented that they could not uſurp the *King*'s Rights, then if they had loſt their own Privileges: therefore to bring the Lords to a concurrence with them, the hitherto proſperous art of Tumultuous Petitions was again practiſed, and great Numbers from ſeveral Counties were moved to come as Earthquakes, to ſhake the Fundamentall Conſtitutions of their Houſe, and to require that neither the Biſhops nor the Popiſh Lords ſhould continue in their ancient Right to Vote among the Peers. By this means they ſhould weaken the *King* in the Voices of that Houſe, and whoſoever they could not confide in, they could fright him from Voting againſt them, by expoſing him as Popiſh to the Popular Fury. For this was the method of uſing the Petitions. The moſt common Anſwer was with Thanks, and that *the Houſe of* Commons *were juſt now in conſideration thereof.* The Petitioners were taught to reply, that *They doubted not of the care of the* Commons *Houſe, but all their diſtruſt was in the Houſe of* Lords, *where the Popiſh Lords and Biſhops had the greateſt Power, and there it ſtuck, whoſe names they deſired to know*: and in this they were ſo earneſt, that they would not willingly withdraw whileſt it was debated, and then they had leave to depart with this Anſwer, *That the Houſe of* Commons *had already endeavoured Relief from the* Lords *in their Requeſts, and ſhall ſo continue till Redreſs be obtained.* Such Petitions as theſe were likewiſe from the ſeveral Claſſes of the inferiour Tradeſmen about *London*, as *Porters*, *Water-men*, and the like: and that nothing of teſti-

fying

fying an univerſal Importunity might be left unattempted, *Women* were perſwaded to preſent Petitions to the ſame effect. While the Faction thus boaſted in the ſucceſs of their arts, Good men grieved to ſee theſe daily Infamies of the ſupreme Council of the Nation, all whoſe Secrets were publiſhed to the loweſt and weakeſt part of the People: and they who clamoured it as a breach of their Privilege, that the *King* took notice of their Debates, now made them the ſubjects of diſcourſe in every Shop, and all the corners of the Street; where the good and bad were equally cenſured, and the Honour and Life of every Senator expoſed to the Verdict of the Rabble. No Magiſtrate did dare to doe his Office, and all things tended to a manifeſt Confuſion: So that many ſober Perſons did leave *the Kingdom*, as *unſafe, where Factions were more powerful then the Laws. And Juſt Perſons choſe rather to bear then to ſee the Miſeries and Reproches of their Countrey.*

On the other ſide, to make the *King* more plyable, they tempt Him by danger in His moſt beloved Part, the *Queen*, concerning whom they cauſed a Rumour, that *they did intend to impeach Her of High Treaſon.* This Rumour made the deeper Impreſſion, becauſe they had raiſed moſt prodigious Slanders (which are the firſt Marks for deſtruction of Princes) on Her; and when they had removed all other Counſellors from the *King*, She was famed to be the Rock upon which all hopes of Peace and Safety were ſplit: That She commanded no leſs His Counſels then Affections, and that His Weakneſs was ſo great, as not to conſent to or enterprize any thing which She did not firſt approve: That She had perverted Him to Her Religion, and formed deſignes of overthrowing the Proteſtant Profeſſion. Theſe and many other of a portentuous falſhood were ſcattered among the *Vulgar, who are alwayes moſt prone to believe the Worſt of Great Perſons: and the uncontrolled Licence of reporting ſuch Calumnies is conceived the firſt Dawning of Liberty.* But the Parliament taking notice of the Report, ſent ſome of their Houſe to purge themſelves from it, as *an unjuſt Scandal caſt upon them.* To which the *Queen* mildly anſwers, *That there was a general Report thereof, but She never ſaw any Articles in writing, and having no certain Author for either, She gave little credit thereto; nor will She believe they would lay any Aſperſion upon Her, who hath been very unapt to miſconſtrue the actions of any One perſon, and much more the Proceedings of Parliament, and ſhall at all times wiſh an Happy Underſtanding between the King and His People.*

But the *King* knowing how uſual it was for the Faction by Tumults and other Practices to tranſport the Parliament from their juſt Intentions in other things, and that they might doe ſo in this, reſolved to ſend Her into *Holland*, under colour of accompanying their Eldeſt *Daughter*, newly married to the Prince of *Orange*; but in truth to ſecure Her, ſo that by the fears of Her danger (who was ſo dear unto Him) He might not be forced to any thing contrary to His Honour and Conſcience, and that Her Affections and Relation to Him might not betray Her Life to the Malice of His Enemies. With Her He

alſo ſent all the Jewels of the Crown, that they might not be the ſpoils of the Faction, but the means of the ſupport of Her Dignity in forein parts, if His Neceſſities afterwards ſhould not permit Him to provide for Her otherwiſe. Which yet She did not ſo employ, but reſerved them for a ſupply of Ammunition and Arms, when His Adverſaries had forced Him to a neceſſary Defence. It was ſaid that the Faction knew of this conveyance, and might have prevented it, but that they thought it for their greater advantage that this Treaſure ſhould be ſo managed, that the *King* in confidence of that aſſiſtance might take up Arms, to which they were reſolved at laſt to drive Him. For they thought their Cauſe would be better in War then Peace, becauſe their preſent Deliberations were in the ſenſe of the Law actual Rebellions; and a longer time would diſcover thoſe Impoſtures by which they had deluded the People, who would ſoon leave them (as many now did begin to repent of their Madneſs) to the Vengeance which was due to their practices, unleſs they were more firmly united by a communion of guilt in an open aſſaulting their Lawful Prince.

The *King* haſtens the ſecurity of the *Queen*, and accompanies Her as far as *Dover*, there to take his farewell of Her; a buſineſs almoſt as irkſome as death, to be ſeparated from a Wife of ſo great Affections and eminent Endowments: and that which made it the more bitter was, that the ſame cauſe which forced Her Separation from Him ſet Her at a greater diſtance from His Religion, (the onely thing wherein their Souls were not united) even the Barbarity of His Enemies who profeſſed it, yet were ſo irreconcileable to Vertue, that they hated Her for Her Example of Love and Loyalty to Him. While He was committing Her to the mercy of the Windes and Waves, that She might eſcape the Cruelty of more unquiet and faithleſs men, they proſecute Him with their diſtaſtefull Addreſſes, and at *Canterbury* preſent Him with a Bill for taking away Biſhops Votes in Parliament. Which having been caſt out of the Houſe of Peers ſeveral times before, ought not by the Courſe and Order of Parliament to have been admitted again the ſame Seſſion. But the Faction had now uſed their accuſtomed Engine, a Tumult, and it was then paſſed by the Lords, and brought hither together with ſome obſcure Threats, that if it were not ſigned, the *Queen* ſhould not be ſuffered to depart. (By ſuch impious Violences did they make way for that which they call'd *Reformation.*) This His *Majeſty* ſignes, (though after it made a part of His penitential Confeſsions to God) in hopes that that Bill being once conſented to, the Fury of the Faction, which with ſo great Violence purſued an abſolute Deſtruction of the Eccleſiaſtical Government, would be abated, as having advanced ſo far in their deſigne to weaken the *King*'s Power in that Houſe by the loſs of ſo many Voices, which would have been alwayes on that ſide where Equity and Conſcience did moſt appear. But He ſoon found the Demagogues had not ſo much

much Ingenuity as to be compounded with, and they made this but a ſtep to the Overthrow of that which He deſigned to preſerve.

When His *Majeſty* was come back as far as *Greenwich*, He met with many informations how averſe the Faction was to Peace, and that their Proceedings were raiſed to a level with their Principles, which ſome of them publiſhed, *That the Alteration they did intend, and which was neceſſary both in Church and State, muſt be made by Blood.* Therefore they endeavoured by their Calumnies to create an Hatred of Him, and to deſpoil Him of all the hopefull Effects of His Condeſcenſions. For *when a Prince is once hated, his Benefits doe him no leſs hurt then Injuries.* In order to this, Mr *Pym* had publickly charged Him with a Connivence at leaſt, if not with the Contrivance of the *Iriſh* Rebellion: becauſe many Papiſts had His *Majeſties* immediate Warrant for their tranſport thither. This the *King* requires ſatisfaction for, ſhewing the Falſhood and Malice of the Defamer, by giving an Account of the date of the ſeveral Warrants. But the Faction ſo far prevailed as to make it a Publick Sin, and the Houſe was perſwaded to believe and acknowledge it to be their common ſenſe. Many others had uttered ſeditious Speeches in the Houſe, eſpecially Maſter *Marten*, a man of all Uncleanneſſes, a publick contemner of Religion and Honeſty, that had waſted a large Patrimony (which he had likewiſe unjuſtly morgaged to ſeveral and different Creditors) in the moſt infamous Luſts, and ſought a greater licence and freſh ſupplies for them by the ruine of the State; at which he was powerfull, being of as impure and laſcivious a Wit as he was of Life, wherewith he uſed to prophane God and His Vicegerents: yet ſerving the ends of Confuſion, had his name among the Catalogue of thoſe that were to doe the *Work of the Lord.* Beſides the attempts upon His Honour, they endeavour another upon His Family, and to ſeize upon the *Prince.* Which the *King* hearing, ſends for Him and the *Duke* of *York*, and immediately removes to *Theobalds* in order to His journey towards the North, where He intended to ſettle His abode, till He ſaw what Iſſue this Storm would have.

This removal of the *King* was variouſly cenſured. "Some thought "it unadviſedly done, to withdraw ſo far from *London*, to leave His "chief City wholly to the practices, and expoſe His Friends there to "the Impoſtures and Injuries of His Enemies. Others, eſpecially the "friends of the Faction, defamed it as a preparing Himſelf for that "War which followed. But others concluded it as an act of Neceſsity, "and where there was no choice for Prudence. For when He had paſſed "more obliging Acts, and parted with ſo much of His Prerogative and "ſo many undoubted Rights of His Crown, as could not be equalled "by the Grants of all His Predeceſſors, yet He found that He had effected "nothing more by giving, then to make the Faction more eagerly de-"ſire what they knew He muſt in Honour and Conſcience deny; and "that the People were ſo bewitched as not to ſee, *it is ſafer to truſt*

"*Him who was contented with a leſs degree of Power, then thoſe whoſe ambi-*
"*tion and avarice knew no bounds*: Who being thus deluded as ſo far
"to adminiſter to the Luſts of their Diſturbers, would not fail their
"aſsiſtance to ſeize upon His Perſon, unleſs in time He did pro-
"vide for His Liberty. Nor could it be imagined that He meditated
"a War, who to make His people happy (if they had not deſpiſed their
"own Mercies) had deprived Himſelf of a power to manage it. For
"beſides thoſe Acts formerly mentioned, He had ſigned many other
"as prejudicial to ſuch an undertaking. For He had paſſed Acts
"againſt His own power of Impreſsing Souldiers, His right to Ton-
"nage and Poundage, the Stannary Courts, Clerk of the Market, the
"Preſidial Courts in the North, and Marches of *Wales*; whereby He
"had not onely diminiſhed His Greatneſs, and that Reverence which
"was due to the Crown, but alſo ſo ſtreightned His Revenue as it
"was not able to maintain *Diſcipline, without which no hopes of Victory,*
"*eſpecially in a Civil War*. Beſides, His Enemies in every County had in-
"jured His *Fame*, which *is of great moment in the deciding Controverſies*
"*by the Sword*; and the City of *London*, which is the grand Treaſurie
"of the Wealth and Strength of the whole Nation, was now en-
"ſlaved by the Rabble to their commands. All which conſiderations
"as they could not eſcape ſo Wiſe a Prince, ſo would they not permit
"the Deſignes of War, eſpecially in that Breaſt, to which it was equally
"miſerable to ſuffer the ſpilling of His Subjects blood, as to expoſe
"Himſelf to Ruine. So that His departure from *London* was not of
"Deſigne, but Neceſsity, nor was there in it more of Fear then Shame;
"for He could no longer endure thoſe deteſtable *Spectacula* in which
"Tumults like Beaſts were let looſe to aſſault the Majeſty of Go-
"vernment.

While the *King* thus provides for His Liberty, the Faction pro-ceed to uſurp the *Militia*, which His Majeſty had denied, and the Lords were aſhamed to ask: therefore they privately incourage their Partiſans in all the Cities and Boroughs where they were moſt power-full, to appoint Muſters, to arm and train their youth, and module them into Companies; which afterwards (though contrary to the Law) they move the Lower Houſe to vote Legal, and to make an Order in the name of the Parliament for the conſtituting of Deputies to the ſame purpoſe in every County: and at laſt, by the Tumults which they raiſed, the Threats they uſed to divulge the names of the diſſen-ting Lords, and ſecret promiſes to ſome others (for Mr *Pym* told the Earl of *Dover*, *he muſt look for no Preferment unleſs he joyned with them*) they prevailed upon the Houſe of Peers, when many of the moſt eminent were abſent, to joyn in a Petition for the *Militia*, upon pre-tence of great Dangers at home, and more prodigious terrors from abroad, pretending that by Intelligence from *Paris*, *Rome* and *Venice*, they were aſſured of great deſignes to overthrow the Parliament, to-gether with the Proteſtant Religion; (whoſe fate and Intereſt they would

would have it imagined, was ſo twiſted with theirs, that like thoſe Twins they could not laugh nor grieve but in Conjunction.) This Paper being preſented to His Majeſty, whoſe Soul was wholly devoted to Peace, when it did not betray Religion and the Truſt Heaven had committed unto Him, He propoſes to them Expedients whereby they might be aſſociated with Him in the Power of the *Militia*, which Honour and Conſcience forbad Him to deveſt Himſelf wholly of, and paſsionately adjures them to lay aſide their vain and empty Terrors, whereby they diſtracted and divided the People, not ſuffering them to enjoy the Peace and Gracious Conceſsions wherein He had exceeded the Goodneſs of all His Predeceſſors.

But they, who had projected to themſelves the whole Power, would not be contented with a Partner in it, and therefore deſpiſing His Indulgence, and neglecting His Admonitions, the next day in furious Votes declared themſelves ſole Maſters of the *Militia*: and to make the People believe there was truth in their falſe Fears, they command ſtrict Watches to be kept in all ſuſpected places, Beacons to be new ſet up, the Sea-marks to be watched, and the Navy to be new rigged and fitted for the Sea. New Plots were alſo diſcovered, and Strange and unheard-of Counſels to murder the moſt Eminent Patriots are brought to light. *A Taylor in a ditch hears ſome deſperate Cavaliers contriving the Death of M^r* Pym. *A Plaiſter alſo taken from a Plague-ſore was ſent into the Houſe to the ſame perſon, that the Infection firſt ſeiſing on a Member of the quickeſt ſenſes, might thence more impetuouſly diffuſe it ſelf upon all the moſt Grave Senators.* Such like plots as theſe, and whatſoever could be deviſed, were publiſhed to make the Vulgar think thoſe demands of the Faction ſeem modeſt, (their dangers being ſo great) which were very unjuſt.

And leſt the *King* ſhould at His coming into the North make uſe of that Magazine at *Hull* (which at His own Charges He had provided for the *Scotch* Expedition) for His own defence, the Faction, to ſecure that and the Town for their future purpoſes, ſend down Sr *John Hotham*, without any Order or Commiſsion from either Houſe of Parliament, to ſeiſe on them. This man of a fury and impudence equall to their commands, when the *King*, petitioned by the Gentlemen of *Yorkſhire* to employ thoſe Arms and that Ammunition for the Safety and Peace of that County, (where ſome of the Factious Members of Parliament had begun to form the like Seditions with thoſe of *London*,) would have entred *Hull*, *April* 23. inſolently ſhut the *An.* 1642. Gates upon Him, and would not permit Him, though with but twenty Attendants, for He offered to leave the Guard of Noblemen and Gentlemen which followed Him without. The *King* thereupon proclaims him Traitor, and by Letters complains of the Indignity, and requires Satisfaction. But the Faction rendred the Act ſo glorious, that the Houſe of Commons by their Votes approved what he had done without their Command, and clamoured that the *King* had done them an

injury, in proclaiming ſo innocent a Member, Traitor: Ordered the Earl of *Warwick*, to whom they had committed the Command of the Navie, to land ſome men out of the Ships at *Hull*, and to tranſport the Magazine there from thence to *London*. An Order of Aſsiſtance was alſo given to ſeveral of their Confidents, as a Committee of both Houſes to reſide at *Hull*, and the Counties of *York* and *Lincoln* were commanded to execute their commands. Beſides, they ſent a Commiſsion to *Hotham* to proſecute the Inſolencies he had begun, and kindle that War which took fire on the whole Nation, and in a ſhort ſpace conſumed him and his Son, who were executed by the Inſtructors of his Villany: For he fell under that ſame Fate which attends all the Inſtruments of Great Crimes, to be Odious and ſuſpected by thoſe that made uſe of them. Therefore they gave ſuch a power to the Lord *Fairfax* in *Yorkſhire* as did conclude the diminution, and ſubmiſſion of *Hotham* to his Commands. This cauſed him to reflect with grief and madneſs upon his firſt miniſtery to the Faction, which appeared every day more monſtrous to his Conſcience, being now ſpoiled of that Grandeur that he hoped would have been its reward, and awakened by thoſe Deſolations in the whole Kingdom which followed it, and were but as the Copies of his Original Treaſon. Therefore he thought to expiate his former guilt by ſurrendring the Town to Him from whom he had detained it. But his practices were diſcovered to the Faction by One whom they had ſent thither in pretence to preach the Goſpel, but in truth ſecretly to ſearch into the intrigues of his Counſels: ſo that he periſhed in his deſigne, being neither ſtout nor wiſe enough in juſt enterpriſes, nor of a pertinacie ſufficient for a proſperous Perfidiouſneſs. And although in his Ruine the *King* obſerved how great a draught was offered to the higheſt thirſt of Revenge, yet He did truly bewaile him: and indeed he was ſo much the more to be pitied, becauſe his cruel Maſters deluded him to a ſilence of their black Secrets with a falſe hope of Life till the Ax was upon his Neck. So betraying his Soul to a ſurpriſe by his Spiritual enemies, as his pretended Spiritual Guides had done his Body to them.

The Inſolency of *Hotham*, who acted according to his Inſtructions and late Commiſsion, beginning acts not uſual in Peace, nor juſtifiable by Law, (for he iſſued out Warrants for the Trained Bands to march into *Hull* with their Arms, where he forced them to leave them, and nakedly return to their homes, that ſo they might be obnoxious to his Violence) and the practices of the Committee which were ſent down into the North, to debauch the People in their Loyalty, made the *King* intend His own Security by a Guard; which the Gentry and Commonalty of *Yorkſhire*, that were witneſſes of the Injurie offered to their Prince, did willingly and readily make up. No ſooner had the *King* expreſſed His intention of ſuch a Guard, but the Faction, who were watchful of all opportunities of beginning a War, and ingaging thoſe that either through Fear or Weakneſs had hitherto ſubmitted to their Impoſtures, in a more

more obliging guilt, (for now the greateſt part of the Peers, who were of the moſt ancient Families and nobleſt Fortunes, and a very great number of the Houſe of Commons, Perſons of juſt hopes and fair Eſtates, who perceiving the deſigns of the Diſturbers, ſcorned any longer to be their Slaves, yet not thinking it ſafe to provoke the fury of the Vulgar Tumults by a preſent oppoſition, had withdrawn from the Parliament to follow the *King* and His Fortune, and every day ſome more were ſtill falling off) took this occaſion to commence our Miſeries, and open thoſe Sluces of Blood which polluted the whole Kingdom. For upon the firſt Intelligence of it they filled the Houſe of Commons and the City with Clamours, that *His Majeſty had now taken Arms to the overthrow of them and the Proteſtant Religion*; and that *they were not any longer to think the Happineſs of the Kingdome did depend upon the* King, *or any of the Regal Branches of that Stock; that it would argue no want either of Duty or Modeſty, if they ſhould depoſe Him.* By theſe Harangues they ſo heated the Parliament, that was now more penurious then before in perſons of Honour and Conſcience, to ſuch a degree of Fury, that unmindful how they themſelves for eight moneths before upon impoſſible Fears and improbable Jealouſies had taken a Guard, they Reſolved upon the Queſtion, that the *King by taking to himſelf ſuch a Guard did intend to levy War againſt the Parliament.* With an equall fury they iſſue out Commiſsions into all parts of the Kingdom, and appoint certain dayes for all the Trained Bands to be put into a poſture of War, ſending down ſome of their Members to ſee to the execution of theſe Commands, and to ſeiſe on the Magazines in the ſeveral Counties.

To all theſe their violent and unjuſt attempts the *King* firſt oppoſes the Law, in ſeveral Declarations manifeſts the Power of Arms to be the ancient and undoubted Right of the Crown, by many Proclamations charges all men under the Crime and Penalties of Treaſon to forbear the Execution of thoſe Ordinances which were publiſhed to licence their Rebellion, and anſwers with a wonderful Diligence and Eloquence all the fictitious Pretenſions of the Parliament to that Power, in their ſeveral Remonſtrances. But though the *King* had in the judgement of all underſtanding and unintereſſed perſons the Juſter Cauſe, and the more powerful Pen, yet the Faction's *Haſt, which is moſt efficacious in civil Diſcords*, the Slanders they had raiſed of Him, and impreſſed in the minds of the People, the terrors of that Arbitrary power which the Houſe of Commons had a long while exerciſed in the vexatious proſecution of all ſuch as did oppoſe their imperious Reſolves, (for they would by their Meſſengers ſend for the Great Earls and Prime Barons of the Kingdom as Rogues and Felons, and weary them and others with a tedious and chargeable Attendance, oppreſs them with heavy and unproportionable Cenſures, and reſtrain them by Illegal Impriſonments) and the hopes of licence and ſpoil in the ruine of Church and State, had ſo preoccupated the Minds of

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the inferiour Multitude, that neither Law nor Religion could have the leaſt conſideration in their practices; and thoſe Perſons whom His Majeſty appointed as Commiſsioners of *Array*, in few places found that Obedience which was due to the juſt Commands of a Gracious Prince, who vainly expected that Reverence to Juſtice in others which Himſelf gave.

After the experience of their Power in theſe their Succeſſes at Land, and having gotten the whole Navie at Sea, being made Maſters of the moſt and greateſt Strengths of the Kingdom, they then thought it might be ſafe for them to publiſh the aims and ends of their moſt deſtructive deſignes; which if ſooner manifeſted, when the *King* by His Meſſage of 20th of *Jan.* from *Windſore* Caſtle adviſed them *to preſcribe the limits of their Privileges, give full Boundaries to His own Power, and propoſe what was in their judgements proper to make the People happy; and moſt religiouſly promiſed an equall tenderneſs of theirs and the Peoples Rights as of His own, and what was for the Publick good ſhould not be obſtructed for His Particular emolument*; they had juſtly drawn upon themſelves all that popular hatred which they endeavoured to fling upon the *King*, and had been buried under thoſe ruines which they projected for the Grave of Majeſty. But then the Faction confided not ſo much in their own force, nor were the Vulgar then ſo blinded with fury as to chuſe their own Deſtruction: and therefore to that Meſſage of Peace nothing was returned but Complaints, that *by ſuch Adviſoes their Counſels were diſturbed, that it was contrary to their unbounded Privileges to be minded of what was neceſſary.* But now they were furniſhed with a Power equal to their Ambition, they thought it expedient to confirm their newly-gotten Empire with ſome pretenſions to Peace; but with a great deal of Caution, that the affectation of it might not diſappoint them of their hopes, which were all built upon War and Confuſion. Therefore they formed the Conditions ſuch as the *King* could not in Honour or Conſcience grant them, nor expect Peace by them. Or if He did, they ſhould be inſtated in ſuch a Grandeur, that they might reap for themſelves all the reproachful Honours and unlawful gains of an Arbitrary power, the thing they aimed at, and leave the *King* overwhelmed with ſhame and contempt for their miſcarriages in Government. Theſe Conditions were digeſted into Nineteen Propoſitions; which when preſented to the *King*, He ſaw by an aſſent to them He ſhould be concluded to have depoſed Himſelf, and be but as an helpleſs and idle Spectator of the Miſeries ſuch Tyrants would bring upon the People whom God had committed to His Truſt. Therefore He gave them that denial which they really deſired and expected, and adjuſts His refuſall in a Declaration, wherein He ſets forth the Injuſtice of each Propoſition. His Anſwer He ſent by the Marqueſs of *Hertford* and Earl of *Southampton*, Perſons of great Integrity and Prudence, with Inſtructions to treat in the Houſe of Peers upon more equal Conditions.

But it behoved the Faction not to let the Kingdom ſee any way

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to Peace, therefore denying any admittance to thoſe Lords, before ever the *King*'s Anſwer could publickly diſcover who were the obſtructours of the Peoples quiet, they Ordered a Collection to be made of Money and Plate, to maintain Horſe, Horſe-men and Arms for the enſuing War. The ſpecious Pretences for which were *the Safety of the King's Perſon, and the taking Him out of the hands of Evil Counſellors, the Defence of the Privileges of Parliament, the Preſervation of the Proteſtant Religion, and the maintenance of the ancient Laws of the Land.* Such inviting cauſes as theſe inflamed the Minds of the Multitude, and filled them with more aiery hopes of Victory then the noiſe of Drums and Trumpets. But that which was moſt powerful were the Sermons of ſuch who, being diſpleaſed with the preſent Eccleſiaſtical Government, were promiſed the richeſt Benefices, and a partage of the Revenues which belonged to Biſhops, Deans and Chapiters. Theſe from their Pulpits proclaimed War in the Name of Chriſt the Prince of Peace, and whatſoever was contributed to the ſpilling of the blood of the Wicked, was to build up the Throne of the meekeſt Lamb; and beſides the ſatisfaction they were to expect from the Publick Faith, which the Parliament promiſed, there was a larger Intereſt to be doubled upon them in the Kingdom of Saints that was now approaching. Deluded by theſe Artifices and Impoſtures, People of all Conditions and all Sexes, ſome carried by a ſecret Inſtinct, others hurried by ſome furious Zeal, and a laſt ſort led by Covetouſneſs, caſt into this Holy Treaſurie the Banck for Blood, all the Ornaments of their Family, all their Silver Veſſels, even to their Spoons, with the Pledges of their firſt Love, their Marriage-rings; and the younger Females ſpared not their Thimbles and Bodkins, the obliging Gifts of their *Inamorato's*, from being a part of the Price of Blood. But while theſe Preparations were made at *London*, the *King* at *York* declares againſt the Scandal, that *He intended to Levy War againſt the Parliament*, calling God to witneſs how far His deſires and thoughts were from it; and alſo thoſe many Lords who were witneſſes of His Counſels and Actions, do publiſh to the World by a Writing ſubſcribed with all their Names, to the number of Forty and odde, that *they ſaw not any colour of Preparations or Counſels that might reaſonably beget the belief of any ſuch Deſigne, and were fully perſwaded that He had no ſuch intention.*

But all was in vain, for the Faction choſe that the People ſhould be rather guilty of committing Rebellion, then onely of favouring the Contrivers of it, and decreed to try whether by a proſperous Succeſs they could change their Crimes to Vertue. Therefore they haſtened all they could to raiſe Horſe and Foot to form an Army equal to their Uſurpation: which was not difficult for them to doe, for they being Maſters of *London*, whoſe multitudes deſirous of Novelty were eaſily amaſſed for any enterpriſe, eſpecially when the entring into this Warfare might make the Servant freer then his Maſter, (for ſuch was the Licence was indulged to

thoſe

thoſe youths that would ſerve the Cauſe) 20000 were ſooner gathered then the *King* could get 500. The City alſo could afford them more Ordnance then the *King* could promiſe to Himſelf common Muskets: and to pay their Souldiers, beſides the vaſt ſummes that were gathered for *Ireland* (which though they by their own Act had decreed ſhould not be uſed for any other enterpriſe, yet now diſpenſe with their Faith, and imploy it to make *England* as miſerable as that Iſland) and the Contributions of the deluded ſouls for this War; they ſeiſed alſo upon the Revenues of the *King*, *Queen*, *Prince*, and *Biſhops*, and plunder the Houſes of thoſe Lords and Gentlemen whom they ſuſpected to be Favourers of the *King*'s Cauſe. And in contemplation of theſe advantages, they promiſed their credulous party an undoubted Victory, and to leade Majeſty Captive in Triumph through *London* within a Moneth, by the Conduct of the Earl of *Eſſex*, whom they appointed General.

Thus did they drive that Juſt and Gracious *Prince* to ſeek His Safety by neceſſary Arms, ſince nothing worſe could befall Him after a ſtout, though unhappy, Reſiſtance, then He was to hope for in a tame Submiſion to their Violence. Therefore though He perfectly abhorred thoſe Sins which are the Conſequences of War, yet He wanted not Courage to attempt at Victory, notwithſtanding it ſeemed almoſt impoſsible againſt ſo well-appointed an Enemy. Therefore with an incredible diligence moving from place to place, from *York* to *Notingham*, from thence to *Shrewsbury* and the Confines of *Wales*, by diſcovering thoſe Abilities with which His Soul was richly fraught unto His deluded Subjects, He appeared not onely worthy of their Reverence, but of their Lives and Fortunes for His Defence; and in all places incouraging the Good with His Commendations, exciting the Fearfull by His Example, diſſembling the Imperfections of His Friends, but alwaies praiſing their Vertues, He ſo prevailed upon thoſe who were not men of many Times, nor by a former Guilt debauch'd to Inhumanity, that He had quickly contracted an Army greater then His Enemies expected, and which was every day encreaſed by thoſe Lords and Gentlemen who refuſed to be polluted any longer with the practices of the Faction by ſitting among them, and being Perſons of large Fortunes had raiſed their Friends and Tenants to ſuccour that Majeſty that now laboured under an Eclipſe. Moſt men being moved with Pity and Shame to ſee their Prince, whoſe former Reigne had made them wanton in Plenty, to be driven from His own Palaces, and concluded under a want of Bread, to be neceſsitated to implore their aide, for the preſervation of His and their Rights. So that notwithſtanding all the Impoſtures of the Faction and the Corruptions of the Age, there were many great Examples of Loyalty and Vertue. Many Noble Perſons did almoſt impoveriſh themſelves to ſupply the *King* with Men and Money. Some Private men made their way through numerous dangers to joyn with and fight under

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His Colours. Many great Ladies and vertuous Matrons parted with the Ornaments of their Sex to relieve His wants, and ſome bravely defended their Houſes in His Cauſe when their Lords were otherwhere ſeeking Honour in His ſervice. Both the Univerſities freely devoted their Plate to ſuccour their Prince, the Supreme Patron and Incourager of all Learning; and the Queen pawned Her Jewels to provide neceſſaries for the Safety of Her Husband. Which Duty of Hers, though it deſerved the Honour of all ages, was branded by the Demagogues with the imputation of Treaſon.

This ſudden and unexpected growth of the Strength of the *King* after ſo many years of Slanders, and ſuch induſtrious plots to make Him odious and contemptible, raiſed the admiration of all men, and the fears of that credulous Party who had given up their Faith to the Faction, when they repreſented the *King* guilty of ſo much Folly and Vice (and ſome corrupted Citizens had repreſented Him as a Prodigie of both in a Scene at *Guild-Hall* in *London*, an art uſed by Jeſuites to impreſs more deeply a Calumny,) that they could not imagine any perſon of Prudence or Conſcience would appear in His Service, and they expected every day when, deſerted by all as a Monſter, He ſhould in Chains deliver Himſelf up to the Commands of the Parliament. "Some attributed this ſtrange increaſe in power to *the na-*
"*turall Affection of the Engliſh to their Lawfull Sovereign, from whom though*
"*the Arts and Impulſes of Seditious Demagogues may a while eſtrange and*
"*divorce their minds, yet their Genius will irreſiſtibly at laſt force them to their*
"*firſt Love*; and therefore they urged the ſaying of that Obſerving
"States-man, that *if the Crown of* England *were placed but on an Hedge-*
"*ſtake, he would be on that ſide where the Crown was.* Others referred it to the
"full evidence of the wickedneſs of His Adverſaries, for their Counſels
"were now diſcovered, and their Ends manifeſt, not to maintain the
"common Liberty, which was equally hatefull to them as Tyranny
"when it was not in their hands, but to acquire a Grandeur and Power
"that might ſecure and adminiſter to their Luſts: and it was now
"every where publiſhed what Mr *Hambden* anſwered to one who in-
"quired *What they did expect from the* King; he replied, *That He ſhould*
"*commit Himſelf and all that is His to our Care.* Others aſcribed it to the
"fears of ruine to thoſe numerous Families and Myriads of people
"which the change of Government deſigned by the Parliament muſt
"neceſſarily effect. But this, though it argued that *Cauſe exceeding bad by*
"*which ſo great a part of a Community is utterly deſtroyed, without any abſolute*
"*neceſſity for preſerving the whole*; yet made but an inconſiderable Addi-
"tion to the *King*, whoſe greateſt Power was built upon Perſons of the
"Nobleſt Extract and the faireſt Eſtates in *England*, of which they could
"not eaſily ſuſpect to be deveſted without an abſolute overthrow of all
"the Laws of Right and Wrong, which nevertheleſs was to be feared
"by their invaſions on the *King*'s moſt undoubted Rights. For *when*
"*Majeſty it ſelf is aſſaulted, there can be no ſecurity for private Fortunes*;

"*and thoſe that decline upon deſigne from the paths of Equity, will never* "*reſt till they come to the Extremity of Injuſtice*; as theſe afterwards did. "Beſides thoſe that imputed the ſpeedie amaſsing of theſe Forces to "the Equity of the *King*'s Cauſe, His moſt Powerful Eloquence, In- "defatigable Induſtry, and moſt Obliging Converſe; there were an- "other ſort that, ſuſpending their Judgements till all the Scenes of War "were paſſed, reſolved all into the Providence of God: Who though He "were pleaſed to ſingle Him out of all the Kings of the Earth as the fit- "teſt Champion to wreſtle with Adverſity, and to make Him glorious "by *Sufferings*, which *being well born truly prove men Great*; yet would He "furniſh Him (almoſt by a Miracle) likewiſe with ſuch Advantages, "in the conduct of which His Prudence and Magnanimity might evi- "dence that He did deſerve Proſperity, and by clearing up even this "way His eminent Vertues, warn the following Ages from a Credu- "lity to unquiet Perſons, ſince the beſt of Princes was thus infamouſly "ſlandered.

From all theſe concurring Cauſes, each one in their Way and Order, did the *King*'s ſtrength ſo far increaſe, as that He won many Battels, and was not far from Conqueſt in the Whole War; had not God ſeen fit to afflict this ſinfull Nation with Numerous and moſt Impious Tyrants, and make us feel, that *no Oppreſsions are ſo unſupportable as thoſe which are impoſed by ſuch as have made the higheſt Pretenſions to Liberty*: of which we had bitter experience after the War was finiſhed that was now begun. For there had been ſome ſlight Conflicts ere this in the ſe- veral Counties betwixt the Commiſſioners of *Array* and the *Militia*, with various Succeſſes; which require juſt Volumes and compleat Hiſtories to relate, and cannot be comprehended in the ſhort View of the *King*'s Life, where it is onely intended to ſpeak of thoſe Battels in which the King in Perſon gave ſufficient evidence of His Wiſedom and Valour. The firſt of which was at *Edge-Hill* on *Oct.* 23. For the *King* had no ſooner gotten a conſiderable Force, though not equal to thoſe of His Enemies, but He marched towards *London*, and in His way thither met with *Eſſex*'s Army that were come from thence to take Him. The *King* having viewed their Army by a Proſpective-glaſs from the top of that Hill, and being asked afterwards by His Officers what He meant to doe, *To give them battel* (ſaid He with a preſent Courage) *it is the firſt time I ever ſaw the Rebels in a body: God, and good mens Prayers to Him, aſsiſt the Juſtice of My Cauſe*: and immediately prepared for the Fight; which was acted with ſuch a fury, that near 6000 were ſlain upon the place. Night concluded this Battel, which had comprehended the whole War, had not the *King*'s prevailing Horſe preferr'd the Spoils to Victory, and left the Enemy ſome advantage to diſpute for her. But the *King* had all the faireſt marks of her favour. For though He had loſt His General, yet He kept the Field, poſſeſſed the dead Bodies, opened His way toward *London*, and in the very ſight of *Eſſex*, (who accounted it a Victory that He was not totally routed and killed,) took

Banbury,

Banbury, and entred Triumphantly into *Oxford* (which He had deſigned for His Winter-quarters) with 150 Colours taken in fight. And having aſſured that place, He advances towards *London*, whether *Eſſex* had gotten before Him, and diſpoſed his baffled Regiments within 10 miles of the City; yet the *King* fell upon two Regiments of them at *Brainford*, took 500 Priſoners, and ſunk their Ordnance. From thence intending to draw nearer *London*, He had intelligence, that the *City* had powred forth all their Auxiliaries to re-inforce *Eſſex*'s Troops; to which being unwilling to oppoſe His Souldiers wearied with their March, nor thinking it ſafe to force an Enemy to fight upon *Neceſſity*, which *inſpires a more then Ordinary Fury*, He retreats to *Oxford*, having taught His Enemies, that He was not eaſily to be Overcome.

For in the management of this Battel He did not onely undeceive the abuſed world of thoſe Slanders which His Enemies had polluted Him with, but He exceeded that Opinion His own Party had of His Abilities. And though He parted from *London* altogether unexperienced in Martial affairs, yet at *Edge-Hill* He appeared a moſt Excellent Commander. His Valour was alſo equal to His Prudence, and He could as well endure Labours as deſpiſe Dangers. And by a communication of toils, encouraged His Souldiers to keep the Field all the night, when they ſaw He refuſed the refreſhments of a Bed; for He ſought no other Shelter from the injuries of the Air then His own Coach. Theſe Vertues and this Succeſs made ſuch an impreſsion on the Parliament, that though they took all courſes to hide the Infamy of their worſted Army, yet in more humble Expreſsions then formerly they Petitioned the *King* for a Treaty of Peace, which His Majeſty very earneſtly embraced. But the Faction, who were frighted with theſe Tendencies to an Accommodation, cauſe ſome of the City to petition againſt it, and to make profer of their Lives and Fortunes for the proſecution of the War. Encouraged by this they form their Propoſitions like the Commands of Conquerours, and ſo ſtreighten the Power and Time of their Commiſsioners, that the Treaty at *Oxford* became fruitleſs, which there had taken up all the *King*'s employment this Winter, though abroad His Forces were buſie in ſeveral Parts of the Nation, not without honour.

At the Opening of the Spring the Queen comes back to *England*, *An.* 1643. bringing with Her ſome conſiderable Supplies of Men, Money and Ammunition, and Her coming was entertained with ſuch a Series of Succeſſes, that the *King* that Summer was Maſter of the North and Weſt, except ſome few Garriſons. Which ſo diſmaied the Parliament, that very many of them were preparing to quit the Kingdom: and had the *King* followed His own Counſels, to march immediately towards *London*, and not been fatally overborn at a Council of War, (which, it is ſaid, His Enemies at *London* did aſſure their Party would ſo be) firſt to attempt *Glouceſter*, He had, in the judgement of all diſcerning men, then finiſhed the War with glory. But here He lay ſo long till *Eſſex* had gotten a Recruit from *London*, and came time enough to

relieve the Town; though in his return the *King* neceſsitated him to fight, worſted him near *Newbery*, and ſo bravely followed him the next day, that He forced the Parliaments Horſe which were left in the Reer to ſeek their ſafety by making their way over a great part of their Foot; yet loſt on His ſide much Noble Blood, as the Earls of *Carnarvan* and *Sunderland*, and Viſcount *Falkland*. This laſt was lamented by all, being equally dexterous at the Pen and Sword, had won ſome Wreathes in thoſe Controverſies that were to be managed by Reaſon, and was eminent in all the Generous parts of Learning, above any of his Fortune and Dignity. After this Encounter the *King* returns to *Oxford*, to conſult with thoſe Members of both Houſes that had left the Impoſtures and Tumults at *London*, to joyn with Him for the common benefit, who being as to the Peers the far greater, and as to the Commons an equal Number with thoſe at *Weſtminſter*, they aſſumed the Name and Authority of Parliament, and deliberated of the wayes of Peace, and means to prevent the Deſolations which the Faction ſo furiouſly deſigned, who were now reſolving to encreaſe our Miſeries by Calling in the *Scots* to their aſsiſtance.

For though they pretended ſo highly to God's Cauſe, as if they had the certainty of ſome Divine Revelation, yet they would not truſt Him for their Preſervation, notwithſtanding their pretences to his Cauſe had furniſhed them with ſo vaſt a Treaſure and ſo mighty a Strength; but would invite others to the Violation of moſt ſacred Oaths, to ſin againſt all Laws and every Rule of Juſtice, that themſelves might be ſecure in their Uſurpations. And that Perfidious Party that then ruled in *Scotland*, hoping for as great advantages as their former Wickedneſs had yielded, contrary to all Obligations which the *King*'s Goodneſs had laid on them, and their free and Voluntary Execrations, (as was that of *Alexander Leſley*, who lifting up his arms and hands to Heaven, wiſhed *they might rot to his body before he died, if ever he ſhould heave them up hereafter, or draw his ſword, againſt ſo gude a King,*) drew that People once more into Rebellion againſt their Prince; and to make them more eager, and think the Enterpriſe eaſie, they firſt raiſed a report that the *King* was deſerted by moſt of His Nobility.

The Parliament at *Oxford* having by a Letter moved the Earl of *Eſſex* to endeavour Peace, did alſo declare againſt this Invaſion of the *Scots* by another Letter ſent to them, in which alſo they acquaint them with the falſneſs of their officious Lie, and ſhew how inconſiderable a Number of Lords were with thoſe that invited them in. The *King* Himſelf writes alſo to put them in minde of their ſeveral Ingagements to be Quiet. But with an Inſolencie fit for moſt perjured Souls, they commanded the Letters to be burned by the hand of the Hangman. A more ſecret falſhood He alſo found in the Marqueſs *Hamilton*, whoſe Treaſons now came to be more ſuſpected. For His Majeſty having written to him, to uſe all his Power and Intereſt to keep his Countrey-men at home, (which had not been difficult for one of his

Grandeur

Grandeur in that unquiet Nation) he by ſome ſecret arts doth more inflame them; and to cover his Perfidiouſneſs, flies from *Scotland* to *Oxford*, as ſeeking a ſhelter for his Loyalty; but indeed to be a Spy in the *King*'s Counſels. But his Treaſons had out-ſtripp'd him and his Brother, the Earl of *Lanerick*, who came with him, therefore they were both forbidden the Court. *Lanerick* not willing to tarry till a further Diſcovery, gets out of *Oxford*, flies to thoſe at *London*, and by them was employed in the *Scotch* Army; which made *Hamilton*'s Treachery more evident, and he was ſent Priſoner to *Pendennis* Caſtle. But the diſhonour of that Nation was in a great meaſure repaired by the Gallantry and Faithfulneſs of the Marqueſs *Montroſſe*, who being commiſſion'd by the *King*, with an incredible Induſtry by ſmall numbers of men won many Battels, and overthrew well-formed Armies: and had not the Fate of his Maſter, which was to be betraied by thoſe He truſted, been likewiſe common to him, he had forced that Nation to Juſtice and Quiet.

But ere *Montroſſe* could get his Commiſſion, the *Scots* were entred into *England*: whoſe coming that it might be leſs odious to the People, who now grew cold in their zeal to the Cauſe, and ſaw themſelves deluded into ſo continued dangers, the Faction make uſe of ſuch frauds as ſhould make the People either think them neceſſary aſſiſtances, or might divert their thoughts from apprehending the Miſeries they brought with them to this Nation; therefore they invent new Slanders of the *King* and His Party. *That His Majeſty did intend to tranſlate Monarchy into a Tyranny: that He would ſeiſe upon all their Eſtates who had any way oppoſed Him, and make their perſons Slaves: that there was no hope of Pardon from Him, who was ſo mercileſs: that He would take away all their Liberties and Privileges as forfeited, deſtroy the Proteſtant Religion, and introduce Popery, which at* Oxford *He did practiſe Himſelf, and that all men muſt be forced to goe to Maſſe.* As for His Party they ſet them out to be ſuch Monſters, that the lower ſort of People doubted whether the Cavaliers had the ſhapes of men. For ſad relations were printed and publiſhed of their inhumanity and barbarous murders: that *they did feaſt upon the Fleſh of Men, and that they fed their Dogs and their Horſes with the ſame Diet, to make them more fierce for the blood of the Godly Party: that no mans houſe was ſo poor and mean that a Cavalier would think beneath his rapine.* Thus they wrought upon the melancholy ſpirits of ſome by fear. For thoſe of a moroſe and cholerick temper they had proper divertiſements: they permitted to them a tumultuary Reformation, to pull down the Pictures and Images of Chriſt, the Virgin *Mary*, and the Saints; which with great Solemnity they committed to the flames, that they might ſuffer as it were another Martyrdome. All Croſſes, though ſet up for Ornament and Uſe in the Streets of *London*, and other places, they pulled down: they invade the Churches, and there deface what their Humour or Rapine would call Superſtition, pull down the Organs, tear the Surplices; and all this was ſuffered to pleaſe the Rabble, who delight in violences

and ſuch oſtentations of their fury, and to make them in ſomething or other guilty, that they might deſpair of Pardon.

For others, who were to be wrought upon by Religion, they entertain them with Faſts, publick Thankſgivings for ſlight Victories, and ſolemn Spiritual meetings (as they called them;) where whatſoever the Faction dictated was commended by the Speakers to their unwary hearers as the Oracles of Heaven: and being thus wrapp'd up in thoſe true delights which accompany the Worſhip of God, they were ſecurely ſwallowed by them, as Poiſon when it is offered in a Sacramental Chalice. To pleaſe their Miniſters whom hitherto they had uſed as their Properties and Inſtruments of their Arts, Presbytery is ſet up, that they alſo might have an Imaginary Empire: but it was not intended they ſhould exerciſe it. For the pretenſions of that to a *Divine Right* did ſo terrifie them who were reſolved againſt all Government that was not ſubject unto or dependent on theirs, that they preſently raiſed all the other Sects, *Independents*, *Eraſtians*, (who for the moſt part were Lawyers, that could not endure to hear of any Thunderbolts of Excommunication, but what was heated in their own forges) *Anabaptiſts*, *Seekers*, and *Atheiſts* (of which there were many ſprung up, who ſeeing how Religion was abuſed to carnal and unjuſt Ends, began firſt to deſpiſe that, and afterwards to deny God) to write and declame againſt this new Politie, as the moſt ſevere and abſolute Tyranny under the Sun, and the tenth Perſecution. But this ſeeming modeſty of admitting a Church-Government ſerved their ends for the preſent, till they could acquire a greater ſtrength, in confidence of which they might ſlight the Terrors of the Law, and the Anathema's of the Church. The Liturgie alſo was aboliſhed, under pretence of a Spiritual Liberty, for it was accuſed of putting a reſtraint upon the Spirit, but in truth, becauſe it had ſo frequent Offices for the *King*. To theſe were added the Covenant, the Fetters of the *Scotiſh* Slavery: this was to bind the whole Nation to the Intereſts of the Faction, and was uſed as the *Water of Jealouſie*, to diſcover thoſe whom they did ſuſpect. Therefore all the Conſpirators, of what Sect ſoever, whether Independents or Anabaptiſts, though they refuſed to take it themſelves, (becauſe it did oblige to the Preſervation of the *King*'s Perſon and Authority) yet were as eager Impoſers of it as the Presbyterians (who in ſimplicity urged it as the Fundamental Conſtitution of their Empire) upon all who they thought would not proſtitute their Souls to their deſignes, or had any thing fit to be made their Spoils. And by this onely Engine many thouſand Perſons and Families were miſerably ruined, eſpecially of the Clergie.

To oblige more faſtly thoſe that had no patience to expect nor hopes to receive any reward for their Service againſt their *Prince* in the other life, and ſo would not be ſatisfied with the ſhews of Religion, but ſought more ſolid encouragements in the ſpoils of it, the Lands of the Biſhops were expoſed to ſale, and that at ſuch eaſie rates

as

as might invite the hazards of the Purchaſe, ſatiate their boundleſs Covetouſneſs, and ingage them in a pertinacious faith to their Merchants. To cement all theſe diſtinct Humours in one common pleaſure, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was prepared for a Sacrifice, and about this time began his Trial, which continued a whole year, being when the Houſes were at leiſure called by ſeveral moneths and weeks to anſwer to his Charge, that by his frequent paſſages as a Priſoner he might give a pleaſant Diverſion to the *Rabble, who are delighted with the ruines and misfortunes of great Perſons*, and by their injuries and reproaches he might be reduced to ſuch a weakneſs of Spirit as was not competent with the defence of his Cauſe. But his Cauſe and his Conſcience were impregnable, and he overthrew their Slanders, though he could not their Power.

By theſe arts and ways was the Winter ſpent to prepare for the attempts of the following Summer, wherein, though the Parliaments *An.* 1644. Forces increaſed by the *Scotiſh* Succours had the Succeſs over ſeveral bodies of the Royalliſts, yet that ſmall Number that followed the *King*'s Perſon, and were guided by His own Counſels and Example, obtained two great Victories. For His Majeſty having once more provided for the Safety of the Queen, (in ſending Her to *Exceſter*, there to lay down the burden of Her Love, and from thence to ſeek for Shelter in *France*) taken (contrary to their hopes) His laſt farewell of Her, and left *Oxford* ſtrengthned againſt the Siege which the Earl of *Eſſex* and Sr *William Waller* threatned that place with, He with a ſmall party draws out, intending to form His Counſels according to the future Occurrences. This made the Enemy divide, and *Eſſex* was deſigned to reduce the Weſt. But *Waller*, with whom uſually went Sr *Arthur Heſilrigge* (a Perſon fitter to raiſe Seditious Tumults then manage Armies) was to hunt the *King* upon the Mountains of *Wales*, towards which He ſeemed to direct His courſe. But hearing of the reſolutions of theſe two jealous Generals, He wheels about to *Oxford*, and from thence drew the greateſt ſtrength of that Garriſon, and with that falling upon *Waller* at *Cropredy-bridge*, obtained a great Victory; which would have been more prejudicial to the Enemy, had not the Tenderneſs of His Subject's Blood reſtrained Him from proſecuting His Succeſs to a greater ſlaughter. But contenting Himſelf to have diverted Injuries from His own breaſt, He onely uſed this Victory for an advantage to Peace, which in a Letter from *Eveſham, July* 4. He moves the Parliament unto.

But the unquiet Criminals rendred it vain and fruitleſs, and repreſented to the People their yet prevailing Forces in the North, and their Army in the Weſt, which had now taken in ſome conſiderable places to their obedience. Therefore to remove their Confidence in *Eſſex*'s power, the *King* follows him, and ſo cloſely purſues him, that He drove him up into *Cornwall*, and there did as it were beſiege him. During which He ſent a Letter to him, which was ſeconded by another

other from the Lords and Gentlemen in His Army, to ſollicite His endeavours for the Peace and Quiet of the bleeding and waſted Kingdom. But it met not its deſired effect: Becauſe that Earl either valued not that ſolid Glory of being the happy Author of a Nations Settlement; or feared that his paſt Actions had wholly deſpoiled him of hopes of Security in a return to Obedience, or knew that his Authority was not ſo great to put an iſſue to thoſe Crimes which he had led others to commit. (*For every inconſiderable perſon may be powerfull at Diſturbances, but to form Peace requires much Wiſdome and great Vertues.*) Which laſt was generally believed, for he had found and complained that his Credit declined with the Faction, that they were diſtruſtfull leſt their own Arts might teach him to have no faith to them, becauſe he often ſollicited them to a compoſing of the Kingdomes Diſtractions. Therefore making no return to thoſe Letters, he provided for his own ſafety in a *Cock-boat*, and ignominiouſly deſerted his Army; of which the Horſe, taking the advantage of a dark night, made their eſcape, but the Commanders of the Foot did capitulate for their Lives, and left their Arms, Cannon, Baggage and Ammunition, to the Diſpoſal of the *King*.

The ſpeedie and prudent acquiſition of theſe two Victories ſhewed the *King* had thoſe Abilities that might have inſerted Him in the Catalogue of the Braveſt Commanders; and had not want of Succeſs in His following Enterpriſes clouded the Glory of this Summer, He had been as eminent among the Maſters of War as He was among the Sons of Peace, the Honour of which laſt He moſt eagerly thirſted, as rendering Him moſt like that Majeſtie He did repreſent. Therefore after this Victory, by a Letter from *Taveſtock*, *Sept.* 8. He re-inforces that from *Eveſham* for an Accord with the Parliament, being not tranſported from His Lenity by the Violence with which Victory uſes to hurry humane breaſts to an inſolence. But He knew that *Peace, though it is profitable to the Conquered, yet it is glorious for the Conquerour.* To buſie His Army while He expected their Anſwer, and formed an Aſſociation in the Weſtern Counties, He ſits down before *Plymmouth*; but finding this Meſſage had an equal reception with the former, and that the Faction intended not to ſacrifice their ill-acquired power and uſurped Intereſts to the publick Tranquillity, He riſes from thence, and marches towards *London*, from whence were by this time in the way to meet Him *Eſſex* and *Waller* recruited, and joyned with the Earl of *Mancheſter*'s Forces that were now returned from their Northern Services. And at *Newbery* both ſides joyn in an eager Fight, which being varied with different ſucceſſes, in the ſeveral diviſions, each party draw off by degrees, and neither found cauſe to boaſt of a Victory.

The *King* being returned to *Oxford*, the Parliament wearied with the Complaints of the oppreſſed Nation, who now grew impatient under the Diſtractions, take into Conſideration His Majeſtie's two Meſſages

Meſſages for Peace, and ſend Propoſitions for it in the name of the two Parliaments of *England* and *Scotland*, united by Solemn League and Covenant. Which though they ſeemed the deſires of mindes that intended nothing leſs then the common Tranquillity, yet the *King* neglects them not, but hoping that in a Treaty Commiſsioners might argue them into Reaſon, offers it, which with much difficulty the Houſes are drawn to accept; but yet would have it at *Uxbridge*, a place but about fifteen miles diſtant from *London*, and above twice that diſtance from *Oxford*. And accordingly Commiſsioners from both Parties met on *Jan.*30. While the *King* was providing for the Treaty, and forming Inſtructions for His Miniſters, the Faction found the Parliament other work by new deſignes; and to habituate the People to an abhorrencie of Peace, fed them with blood. The two *Hothams* firſt were to be the Sport of the Multitude: and that the Father might have more then a ſingle death, he was drawn back in his journey to the Scaffold, *Decemb.*31. that his Son might be executed before him, as he was *Jan.* 1°. when after he had expreſſed his fury to thoſe Maſters whom they had ſerved to their ruines, his Head was chopt off. And on *Jan.* 2°. the Father is brought to the place that was defiled with his Son's blood, and had his own added to it. Theſe were not much lamented by any, for the memory that they firſt kindled the Flame of the Nation kept every eye dry.

The People thus fed with courſer blood, a cleaner Sacrifice was afterwards preſented, *William Laud* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and *Primate* of all *England*. He had indured Impriſonment four years, and paſſed through a Trial of many moneths, in which he had acquitted himſelf with ſuch a confidence as became the Innocency and Conſtancy of a Chriſtian Biſhop and Confeſſor, but yet muſt fall to pleaſe the *Scots*, and thoſe mercileſs men who imputed God's anger in the difficulties of Succeſs againſt their Prince, to the continuance of this Prelate's life: therefore he was voted guilty of High Treaſon by the Houſe of Commons, and was condemned in the Houſe of Peers (though they have no power over the life of the meaneſt Subject without the concurrence of the *King*) when there were but ſeven Lords preſent, and all thoſe not conſenting to the Murder, to be drawn, hanged and quartered. And this was the firſt Example of murdering men by Votes, of killing by an Order of Parliament, when there is no Law. It was moved (they ſay) by ſome that he might be ſhipp'd over to *New-England*, to die by the Contempt and Malice of thoſe People. But this ſeemed too great an Honour, becauſe it would make his end as his life was, much like that of the Primitive Biſhops, who for their Piety were baniſhed to Barbarous Coaſts, or condemned to the Mines. Or elſe it would be like an *Athenian* Oſtraciſme, and confeſs him too great and good to live among us. Therefore this motion was rejected; yet the Lords upon his Petition, to the diſtaſte of ſome Commons, changed the manner of that vile Execution to that more generous of being beheaded. To the Scaffold he was

Some Writers (who ſince have been convinced of their miſinformation) have named amongſt thoſe ſeven Lords, the Lord *Bruce* Earl of *Elgin*; but his Lordſhip upon the firſt notice of this report, did to ſeveral Perſons of Quality & Honour he converſed with, and ſince hath affirmed to me, that he was not then preſent, and that his heart could never conſent to the ſhedding of the blood of that excellent Prelate.

was brought *Jan.* 10. after he had endured ſome affronts in his Anti-chamber in the Tower by ſome ſons of Schiſme and Sedition, who unſeaſonably that morning he was preparing himſelf to appear before the great Biſhop of our Souls, would have him give ſome ſatiſfaction to the Godly (for ſo they called themſelves) for his Perſecutions, (which he called Diſcipline.) To whom he anſwered, *That he was now ſhortly to give account of all his Actions at an higher and more equal Tribunal, and deſired he might not be diſturbed in his Preparations for it.* When he came to the Scene of his death, he appeared with that chearfulneſs and ſerenity in his face, as a good Conſcience doth beautifie the owners with: and it was ſo conſpicuous, that his Enemies, who were aſhamed to ſee his Innocency pourtaied in his Countenance, did report he had drunk ſome Spirits, to force his nature from a paleneſs. He preached his own Funeral Sermon on that Text *Heb.* 12. 2. and concluding his life with Prayer, ſubmitted himſelf to the ſtroke of the Ax.

"He was a Perſon of ſo great *Abilities* (which *are the Deſignations of* "*Nature to Dignity and Command,*) that they raiſed him from low beginnings "to the higheſt Office the Proteſtant Profeſsion acknowledges in the "Church. And he was equal to it. His Learning appear'd eminent in his "Book againſt *Fiſher*, and his Piety illuſtrious in his Diarie (although "publiſhed by One that was thirſty of his blood, and polluted with "many malicious Comments and falſe Surmiſes to make him odious.) "He was of ſo Publick a Spirit, that both the Church and State have "laſting Monuments of the Vertuous uſe of his Prince's favour; at his "Admittance into which he dedicated all the future Emoluments of it "to the Glory of God and the Good of Men, by a Projection of many "noble Works: moſt of which he accompliſhed, and had finiſhed the "reſt had not the Fate of the Nation checked the current of his De-"ſignes, and cut off the Courſe of his Life. He was not contented by "himſelf onely to ſerve his Generation, (for ſo he might have appeared "more greedie of Fame, then deſirous of the Univerſal Benefit) but "he endeavoured to render all others as heroick, if they aimed at a "Capacity for his Friendſhip: for (I have heard it from his Enemies) "no great man was admitted to a confidence and reſpect with him, un-"leſs he made his Addreſs by ſome Act that was for the Common Good, "or for the Ornament and Glory of the Proteſtant Faith. Learned men "had not a better Friend, nor Learning it ſelf a greater Advancer; he "ſearched all the Libraries of *Aſia*, and from ſeveral parts of the World "purchaſed all the Ornaments and Helps of Literature he could, that the "*Engliſh* Church might have (if poſsible) by his Care as many Advantages "for Knowledge as almoſt all *Europe* did contribute to the Grandeur of "that of *Rome*. The Outward Splendour of the Clergie was not more "his Care then their Honour by a grave and pious Converſation; he "would put them into a power of doing more good, but was ſevere "againſt their Vices and Vanities. He ſcorned a private Treaſure, and

"his

" his Kindred were rather relieved then raiſed to any greatneſs by him.
" In his Election of Friends, he was determinated to the Good and Wiſe,
" and ſuch as had both Parts and Deſires to profit the Church had his
" cloſeſt Embraces; if otherwiſe it happened, their frauds, not his choice,
" deſerved the blame. Both Papiſts and Sectaries were equally his Ene-
" mies; one party feared, and the other hated his Vertues. Some
" cenſured him of too much Heat, and a Zeal for Diſcipline above
" the Patience of the Times. But his greateſt unhappineſs was that he
" lived in a Factious Age, and Corrupt State, and under ſuch a Prince,
" whoſe Vertues not admitting an immediate approach for Accuſations,
" was to be wounded in thoſe whom He did Careſſe. But when Fa-
" ction and Malice are worn out by time, Poſterity ſhall ingrave him in
" the Albe of the Moſt Excellent Prelates, the moſt indulgent Fathers of
" the Church, and the moſt injured Martyrs. His blood was accompanied
with ſome tears that fell from thoſe Eyes which expected a pleaſure at
his Death, and it had been followed with a more general mourning, had
not the Publick Miſeries and preſent fears of Ruine exacted all the
Stock of Grief for other objects.

About this time the Faction clove into two Sects, the *Presbyterian* and *Independent*, which hitherto had been united under one name of *Patriots*, or *Godly*, had joyntly conſpired War and diſturbed the Peace, and by various arts had acted all their luſts under the name and Authority of Parliament. For they would either early in the morning before the Houſe was full, or late at night, when thoſe whoſe cares were moſt for the Publick were abſent, being aſſured of the Speaker, propoſe and vote what ſerved for their Deſigne. If any thing contrary to it was about to be reſolved in a full Aſſembly, they by multitude of Scruples would ſo diſturb the Debates, that the determination was deferr'd to a deſired Opportunity. But if theſe failed, then would they ſurpriſe the Houſe with another Vote that ſhould weaken and hinder the Execution of the former. When the moſt conſcientious were too numerous for them, then would they make neceſſities to ſend the leſs pliant to their wils into the Country. Thus the Leſſer, but more induſtrious, Party did circumvent the Greater, that were not ſo wary nor diligent. While they thus joyntly contrive the Publick Ruine, they had gotten themſelves into the moſt conſiderable and profitable Offices of the Kingdom. But the *Presbyterians* having the advantage in Number and Power, and the diſſenſion in their Opinions growing ſtill higher, by the Animoſities of the inferiour and obſcurer parts of their Sects, there was neither Faith nor Love among them, but what Fear and Neceſſity did force them unto. The *Independents*, who comprehended all the ſeveral herds of Hereticks, *Anabaptiſts*, *Seekers*, *Millenaries*, &c. though they were the Diſciples of the other, yet excelled their Maſters in Art and Induſtry, had their private *Junto's* and meetings apart to mould their Projects, and aſſigne to each of their Confidents their ſeveral Scenes and Methods; and, by proper Applications to mens ſeveral humours, had exceedingly encreaſed

their

their ſtrength in the multitude, onely they wanted the Power of the Sword and the moſt uſefull Offices to perfect their Empire.

This they effected by thoſe very practices they had learned from the *Presbyterians*: and by procuring the Ordinance of *Self-denial*, (as they called it) they turned out *Eſſex* (whom they had before ſecretly cauſed to be ſuſpected, and who had neither glory in his War, nor ſecurity or quiet in his Peace) from his Generalſhip, and with him alſo the other Leaders that were favourers of the Presbytery, under pretence that it was not fit that any Members of Parliament ſhould be encouraged to a continuance of the War, by enjoying the profitable and powerfull Offices in the Army, to which they would now give a new *Module*. Having by this artifice diſplaced thoſe whoſe power they feared, they brought in as many Candidates of their own Sect as they could to be Colonels, and Sr *Thomas Fairfax* was appointed General. This man both Parties did the more eaſily conſent in, becauſe he was known to be of ſufficient Perſonal Valour, and of no private Deſignes, obſtinate by a natural Melancholy rather then pertinacious in any Intereſt, and rather free from Baſeneſs, then ambitious of Vain-glory; by all theſe Qualities they ſuppoſed he would be obedient to the Reſolves of his Maſters. But the *Independents*, that were better informed of his ductile Spirit, and how eaſily he might be impoſed upon by a *Species* of Religion, got the great Patron of all the wildeſt and moſt unreaſonable Sectaries, *Oliver Cromwell*, at firſt to be admitted into his Counſels, and afterwards to be the Director of all his actions, under the title of Lieutenant General. For although he likewiſe by the Self-denying Ordinance was made incapable of any Office in the Army, being a Member of the Parliament; yet thoſe Troops of *Fanaticks* whom he had amaſſed, and formerly lead under the Command of the Lord *Grey* of *Wark* and the Earl of *Manchester*, (both which he had caſt off) were inſtructed to refuſe the Conduct of any one but him. He was therefore permitted by the Parliament, as the General deſired, for a time to continue in the Army; but he never left it till he had changed that, ruined the Parliament, and turned out the General, that thus was the Author of his unlawful power. For this man, having a long time been poor and neceſsitous, the Patrimony that was left him being profuſely ſpent, and nothing remaining but the Inſtruments of his Crimes, a bloodie and fierce nature, a greedie ſoul full of bold and unjuſt hopes, yet able to conceal them with a profeſsion of Modeſty, a contempt of Religion and Friendſhip, yet highly pretending to both till he had ſmote under the fifth rib thoſe credulous hearts that truſted him; he was fitted for the moſt impious enterpriſes, for vexed by a preſsing and tedious poverty, he reſolved to indeavour the utmoſt diſtance from ſuch a Condition, though by the greateſt wickedneſs, therefore uſed the power he had now gotten to overthrow the whole State, and eſtabliſh himſelf in an abſolute and unſupportable *Tyranny*, which *is the common iſſue of aſſaulting a Juſt and Lawful Prince with Arms.*

With

With theſe Tragedies and Changes was the Winter ſpent at *London*, while the *King* at *Oxford* waits for the Iſſue of the Treaty at *Uxbridge*, which, as all other Conſultations for Peace, was vain and fruitleſs. For the Faction would alwaies obſtruct thoſe endeavours by their proper Methods. If the Condition of their affairs were proſperous, then would they make their Demands like Impoſitions on conquered Slaves, deteſting to ſupplicate that the acquiſitions of their Swords and Blood ſhould be confirmed by a worſted Enemy. In a more humble fortune they would deprecate their drooping Party, *not then to think of a Reconciliation which their unproſperous Arms muſt neceſſarily render harder then their hopes; and that it was not for the Honour of a Parliament to ſeem to yield to any thing by fear or compulſion.* Beſides theſe devices, many fictitious Letters were compoſed, falſe Rumours divulged, and witneſſes ſuborned, to make men ſuſpect that many dangerous Plots and portentous Deſignes were diſguiſed in theſe Overtures of Accord. Therefore the Commiſsioners of Parliament were inſtructed to offer no Expedient for an Accommodation, nor hearken to ſuch as were tendred to them in the name of the *King*. His Majeſty ſeeing and bewailing his Condition, that He muſt ſtill have to doe with thoſe that were Enemies to Peace, prepares Himſelf for the War at the approaching Spring: and although this Winter was infamous with many loſſes, either through the neglects or perfidiouſneſs of ſome Officers; yet before the ſeaſon for taking the field was come His Counſels and Diligence had repaired thoſe damages.

In *April* He ſends the *Prince* to perfect the Weſtern Aſſociation, and raiſe ſuch Forces as the neceſsities of the Crown, which was His Inheritance, did require: with Him is ſent, as Moderator of His Youth and prime Counſellour, Sr *Edward Hide*, now Lord *High Chancellor* of *England*, whoſe Faithfulneſs had endeared him to His Majeſty, who alſo judged his Abilities equal to the Charge; in which He continued with the ſame Faith, through all the Difficulties and Perſecutions of his Maſter, till it pleaſed God to bring the *Prince* back to the Throne of His Fathers, and him to the Chief Miniſtery of State. After their departure the *King* draws out His Army to relieve His Northern Counties and Garriſons. But being on His march, and having ſtormed and taken *Leiceſter* in His way, He was called back to ſecure *Oxford*, which the Parliament Army threatned with a Siege. But *Fairfax* having gotten a Letter of the Lord *Goring*'s (whom a Parliament Spy had cajoled to truſt him with the delivery of it) to His Majeſty, wherein he had deſired Him *to forbear ingaging with the Enemy, till he could be joyned with Him*; he leaves *Oxford*, and made directly towards the *King* that was now come back as far as *Daventrey*, with a purpoſe to fight Him before that addition of ſtrength, and at a place near *Naſeby* in *Northampton-ſhire* both Armies met on Saturday, *June* 14. *Cromwell* having then alſo brought ſome freſh Horſe to *Fairfax*; whoſe abſence from the Army at that time the *King* was aſſured by ſome (who intended to betray Him) ſhould be effected. Nevertheleſs *An.* 1645.

the *King* would not decline the Battel, and had the better at firſt, but His vanquiſhing Horſe following the chaſe of their Enemies too far (a fatal errour that had been twice before committed) left the Foot open to the other wing, who preſsing hotly upon them put them to an open rout, and ſo became Maſters of His Canon, Camp, and Carriage, and among theſe of His Majeſties Cabinet, in which they found many of His Letters, moſt of them written to the *Queen*: which, not contented with their Victory over His Forces, they print as a Trophee over His Fame, that by propoſing His ſecret Thoughts, deſigned onely for the breaſts of His Wife, to the debauched multitude, and they looking on them through the Prejudices which the Slanders of the Faction had already formed in their minds, the Popular hatred might be increaſed. But the publication of them found a contrary effect, every one that was not barbarous abhorred that Inhumanity among Chriſtians which Generous Heathens ſcorned to be guilty of, and the Letters did diſcover that the *King* was not as He was hitherto characterized; but that He had all the Abilities and Affections, as well as all the Rights, that were fit for Majeſty: and (which is not uſual) He grew greater in Honour by this Defeat, though He never after recovered any conſiderable power.

For the Fate of this Battel had an inauſpicious influence upon all His remaining Forces, and every day His loſſes were repeated. But though Fortune had left the *King*, yet had not His Valour; therefore gathering up the ſcattered remains of His broken Army, He marches up and down to encourage thoſe whoſe Faith changed not with His Condition. At laſt attempting to relieve *Cheſter*, though He was beſet behinde and before, and His Horſe wearied in ſuch tedious and reſtleſs Marches, yet at firſt He beat *Poyntz* off that followed; but being charged by Freſh Souldiers from the Leaguer, and a greater Number, He was forced to retreat, and leave ſome of His gallant Followers dead upon the place. After this He draws towards the North-Eaſt, and commands the Lord *Digby* with the Horſe that were left to march for *Scotland*, and there to joyn with *Montroſs*, who with an inconſiderable company of men had got Victories there ſo prodigious that they looked like Miracles. But this Lord was ſurpriſed before he could get out of *Yorkſhire*; for his Horſe having taken 700 of the Enemies Foot, were ſo wanton with their Succeſs, that they were eaſily maſtered by another Party, and he himſelf was compelled to fly into *Ireland*. Theſe ſeveral Overthrows brought another miſchief along with it; for the *King*'s Commanders and Officers broke their own *Peace and Agreement*, which *is the onely Comfort and Relief of the Oppreſſed, and which makes them conſiderable, though they are deſpoiled of arms*, by imputing (as it uſeth to be in unhappy counſels) the criminous part of their misfortunes to one another. But many gallant Perſons, whom Loyalty and Religion had drawn to His Service, endured the utmoſt hazards before they delivered the Holds He had committed to their truſt; and by that means employing the Enemies Arms,

Arms, gave the *King* time, who was at laſt returned to *Oxford*, to provide for His Safety.

Hither every day ſad Meſſages of Ruines from every part of the Nation came, which though they ſeemed like the falling pieces of the diſſolved world, yet they found His Spirit erect and undaunted. For He was equal in all the Offices of His Life, tenacious of Truth and Equity, and not moveable from them by Fears, a Contemner of worldly Glory, and deſirous of Empire for no other reaſon, but becauſe He ſaw theſe Kingdoms muſt be ruined, when He relinquiſhed the care of them. But that which moſt troubled Him were the Importunities of His own diſconſolate Party to ſeek for Conditions of Peace, which He ſaw was in vain to expect would be ſuch as were fit to accept; for His former experience aſſured Him, that theſe men would follow the Counſels of their Fortune, and be more Inſolent now then ever. And for Himſelf, He was reſolved not to ſacrifice His Conſcience to Safety, nor His Honour to Life. This He often told thoſe that thus preſſed Him, and did profeſs in His Letter to Prince *Rupert*, (who likewiſe moved Him to the ſame,) that *He would yield to no more now then what He had offered at* Uxbridge; though He confeſſed *it were as great a Miracle His Enemies ſhould hearken to ſo much Reaſon, as that He ſhould be reſtored within a Moneth to the ſame Condition He was in immediately before the Battel at* Naſeby.

But yet to ſatisfie every One how tender He was of the Common Safety, He ſent ſeveral Meſſages to the Parliament for a Treaty, and offers to come Himſelf to *London*, if He may have ſecurity for Himſelf and Attendants. All which were either not regarded, or anſwered with Reproaches. And becauſe the people began to murmure at ſo great an earneſtneſs of the Faction to continue the Wounds of the Nation open and bleeding, (ſince there were many Forts yet held out for the *King* by Gallant Perſons, beſides the Lord *Hopton* had an Army yet unbroken, and *Ormond* and *Montroſs* had conſiderable Intereſts in *Ireland* and *Scotland*; all which might be perſwaded in a Treaty to part with thoſe Arms which could not be taken from them without much blood;) and it was the common belief that theſe men ſought for Victory, not Peace and Liberty, which was now tendred: therefore to raiſe ſuſpicions in the Vulgar, it is ſuggeſted that the Cavaliers who came to Compound would take the advantage of the *King*'s Preſence, if He were permitted to be there, and kindle a new flame and War in the City. And that it might be thought they had real grounds for theſe fears, the Diſarmed Compounders were commanded to depart above twenty miles from *London*; and to injealous the people more, all the tranſactions of the *King* in the *Iriſh* Pacification were publiſhed, and amplified with the malicious Slanders and Comments of the implacable and conſcious Demagogues, that ſo the terrors of the Vulgar being augmented, they might be frighted into a longer patience.

The *King* finding theſe men irreconcileable to Peace, and that they had declared againſt His Coming, though without a Caution, tries

the Leaders of the *English* Army; but they proved no leſs pertinacious, and were now approaching to beſiege *Oxford*. Providence not leaving any more Choice, but onely ſhewing Him a way for a preſent Eſcape, He goes in a *Diſguiſe (which when Neceſſity cloathes Royal Perſons with, ſeems like an Ominous Cloud before the Setting of the Sun,)* to the *Scotiſh* Camp that was now before *Newark*, where the Ambaſſadour of the King of *France*, who was then in the Leaguer, had before covenanted for His Majeſtie's Safety and Protection; and the *Scotiſh* Officers had engaged *to ſecure both Him and as many of His Party as ſhould ſeek for Shelter with them, and to ſtand to Him with their Lives and Fortunes.*

An. 1646. The *King* being come thither *May* 4. made a great alteration in affairs; *Newark* was ſurrendred by the *King*'s Command, and Sr *Thomas Glemham* having gallantly defended *Oxford* till the Beſiegers offered Honourable Conditions, delivered up that alſo. But the greateſt Change of Counſels were at *London*, where when it was related, among whom the *King* had ſought a Sanctuary, various and different diſcourſes were raiſed. "Some wondred that His Majeſty had ſought a Refuge there "where the Storm began, and how He could apprehend to find Relief "from thoſe that were not onely the Authors of His Troubles, but now "the great Advancers of His Overthrow: And they conceived *no Promiſes or Oaths can be a ſufficient Caution from thoſe People that have "been often Perfidious.* Others judged that in thoſe neceſsities where-"in the *King* was concluded, it was as dangerous not to truſt as "to be deceived; no Counſel could be better, then to try whether a "Confidence in them would make them faithful, and whether they "would then be honeſt, when they had the Critical Opportunity to "teſtifie to the world, that they intended not what they did, but what "they ſaid; *That they fought not againſt Him, but for Him.* But a laſt "ſort bewailed both the greatneſs of the *King*'s Dangers, that ſhould "make Him ſeek for Safety in a tempeſtuous Sea and falſe bottome; "as alſo the debaucheries of the Engliſh *Genius*, which was now ſo cor-"rupted, that their Prince was driven to ſeek an *Aſylum* from their inju-"ries among a people that were infamous and polluted with the Blood of "many Kings.

While others diſcourſed thus of the *King*'s journey, the Parliament heated by the *Independents* fiercely declared againſt the *Scots*, who were removing the *King* to *Newcaſtle*, and uſed ſeveral methods to make them odious and drive them home. For they kept back their Pay, that they might exact free-Quarter from the Countrey; then they did extenuate their Services, derogate from their famed Valour, upbraid them as Mercenaries, threaten to force them out by the Sword. All which while the Engliſh *Presbyterians*, though they wiſh'd well to their Brethren, yet leaſt they ſhould ſeem to indulge the Inſolencies of a ſtrange Nation, did not dare to plead in their defence. But the *Scots* themſelves for a time did juſtifie their Reception and Preſervation of His Majeſty *by the Laws of Nature*,

Nature, Nations, and Hoſpitality, which forbid the delivery and betraying of thoſe that have fled to any for Succour. The Democratick Faction urged that it *was not lawful for the* Scots, *their Hirelings, and in their Dominion, to receive the* King *into their Camp without the leave of their Maſters, and keep Him without their Conſent.* Theſe Debates were uſed to raiſe the *King's* price. Which when the *Scots* were almoſt aſſured of, to make their ware more valuable, they ſollicite the *King*, in hopes of their Defence, to command *Montroſs* to depart from his noble Undertakings in *Scotland*, where he had almoſt recovered the Overthrow *Roxbrough* and *Traquaire* had betraied him unto, and was become formidable again; as alſo the Loyal Marqueſs of *Ormond* to deſiſt from his gallant Oppoſitions both of the *Iriſh* Rebels, and *Engliſh* Forces. Which when the *King* had done, being not willing thoſe Gallant Perſons ſhould longer Hazard their brave Lives, and after both theſe Excellent Leaders had more in anger then fear parted with their unhappy Arms: that they might have a colour of betraying Him, whom the General Aſſembly of *Scotland* (which uſeth to hatch all the Seditions to the heat and ſtrength of a ſeeming Authority) had forbid to be brought into *His Native and Ancient Kingdom* (as He affectionately call'd it) they tender Him the Covenant; pretending without that Chain upon Him they did not dare to lead Him into *Scotland*. This His Majeſty refuſed not, if they would firſt looſe thoſe Scruples of Church-Government which lay upon His Conſcience: Therefore to untie thoſe Knots, Mr *Henderſon*, that was then the Oracle of the Kirk, and the great Apoſtle of the Solemn *Covenant*, was employed to converſe with Him. But the Greatneſs of the *King's* Parts and the Goodneſs of His Cauſe made all his attempts void (for the Papers being publiſhed, every one yielded the Victory to His Majeſty) and unfortunate; for he returned home, and not long after died, as ſome reported, of a Grief contracted from the ſenſe of his Injuries to a Prince whom he had found ſo Excellent.

While theſe things were acting at *Newcaſtle*, the bargain was ſtroke at *London*, and for 200000 l. His Majeſty, ſtripp'd of thoſe Arms He had when He came among them, was delivered up, as it were, to be ſcourged and crucified to ſome Commiſsioners from the Parliament: But to honeſt their Perfidiouſneſs, they adde this Caution, *That there ſhould be no attempt made upon the* King's *Perſon, but being entertained at one of His own Palaces, He ſhould there be treated with upon Propoſitions from both Nations, which ſhould ſpeedily be ſent to Him.* But the Parliament never thought of ſending any Propoſitions till He came under the Power of the Army, who had malicious Deſignes upon His Perſon. The Commiſſioners receiving Him, convey Him to His own Houſe at *Holmeby*. This was a very curious and ſtately Building, yet was not therefore choſen becauſe it might be a Majeſtick Priſon; but becauſe it was within Ken of *Naſeby*, which was infamous with His Overthrow, that ſo the Neighbourhood to it might more afflict His grieved Spirit. To this unpleaſingneſs of the Place they added other diſcomforts, by making the reſtraint ſo ſtrict that they ſuffered

none to come near Him, that by owning His Cauſe were aſſured of their Welcome; yea even His Chaplains (which moſt troubled Him) were debarred from their Miniſtery. But God ſupplied this Want by more plentiful Aſsiſtances of His Holy Spirit, and made Him, like the Ancient Patriarchs, both a *King* and a *Prieſt* (at leaſt for Himſelf:) and here He ſacrificed Praiſes even to that God that hid himſelf, and compoſed thoſe moſt Divine Meditations and Soliloquies that are in His Book, ſpending that time in Converſe with Heaven, which He was not ſuffered to employ with Men in whom He delighted.

While the *King*'s Soul was thus winged above the walls of His Priſon and the Fortune of His Enemies, they that had put an end to the War, yet could not finde the way to Peace; for their Souls were unequal to the Victory, and could not temper their Succeſs, the two Sects falling to diſſenſion, and turning all their arts and arms one againſt another. The *Presbyterians* had the richer and more ſplendid followers, but the *Independents* the moſt fierce, ſubtle, and moſt ſtrongly principled to Confuſion; the firſt was powerful in the Parliament, but the latter in the Army. After they had a long time practiſed on one another the very ſame Methods they had acted againſt the *King*, and ſuch as favoured Him in the Parliament (of which there were alwayes ſome Number among them) the *Independents* ſtill gained upon their Oppoſites, making the *Presbyterians* odious, by Libels compoſed to render their Government ridiculous & tyrannical; by putting them upon all the moſt envious Employments, as Reforming the Univerſities, and Sequeſtring Miniſters that refuſed to take the *Covenant*. Not contented thus to deal with their elder Brethren, by ſpoiling them of their Honour, they proceeded to ſtrip them of the relicks of their armed Power, ſurpriſing them in Parliament with a Vote to disband all the Souldiers that were not in *Fairfax*'s Army: then the General turnes out thoſe Commanders of Garriſons that were any way inclined to them. Beſides this, they either corrupted with Gifts or frighted ſome of the moſt buſie, yet obnoxious, *Presbyterians* either wholly to come over to them, or be their Inſtruments in diſturbing and revealing the Counſels of that Party; which was done under the Scheme of Moderation, and Reconciling the Godly one to another.

An. 1647. The *Presbyterians* at laſt awakened with the daily wounds of their power, and the diſhonour of their party, began now to be more afraid of their Stipendiaries then they were of their Sovereign; for they found that they loſt all that by the Victory which they ſought by the War: therefore to break the confidence of the *Independents*, and make themſelves free, they Vote in the Parliament, where they had moſt Voices, *That to eaſe the Commonwealth of the Charges in maintaining the Army,* 12000 *of the Souldiers ſhould be ſent over to* Ireland, *and all the reſt to be disbanded, except* 6000 *Horſe,* 2000 *Dragoons, and* 6000 *Foot, who ſhould be diſpoſed in different and diſtant places in the Nation, to prevent any Riſing.* The Commanders and *Independents* ſoon diſcovered the Artifice, that

that it was not to eaſe the Nation, but weaken them; therefore they employ the Inferiour Officers (being perſons that by diſſimulation and impudence having accuſtomed themſelves to much ſpeaking, did at laſt imagine their Vices were Gifts of the Holy Ghoſt, and ſo were fit to diſquiet the minds of men,) to poſſeſs the common Souldiers *with a fear of Disbanding without their Arrears, or elſe to be ſent into that unquiet Iſland to periſh with hunger and cold, and the ſurpriſes of a treacherous Enemy.* This preſently ſet the Army to Mutiny, which while it was in the Beginnings, the Commanders make ſemblance of Indignation at it, ſeem very buſie to compoſe it; and *Cromwell*, to make the Parliament ſecure, calls God to witneſs, that *he was aſſured the Army would at their firſt Command caſt their Arms at their Feet;* and again ſolemnly ſwears, that *he had rather himſelf with his whole Family ſhould be conſumed then that the Army ſhould break out into Sedition.* Yet in the mean time he and his Creatures in the Army adminiſter new fuel to the flames of it; and when they had raiſed their Fury to ſuch heat that it was at laſt concocted to a perfect defection from all obedience to the Parliament, they lay aſide their diſguiſes, and poſt from *London* to the Head Quarters, where the Synagogue of Agitators was ſeated, & to whom was committed the management of this Conſpiracy. This Conventicle was made up of two of the moſt unquiet and factious in every Regiment of Foot, and each Troop of Horſe: their buſineſs was to conſult the Intereſts of the whole Army, and when they had moulded their Pretences and Arts to their grand Deſigne, to inſtruct the ruder part of it in their Clamours and Injuries, and to corrupt all the Garriſons by Emiſſaries to the ſame enterpriſes. At laſt they extended their Cares to the whole Britiſh Empire, and dictate what their pleaſures are concerning *England* and *Ireland.* Which was in both Kingdoms *to eſtabliſh the Power and Liberty of the People*; for they openly profeſſed an intent for Democracie. And becauſe about an hundred Officers in the Army would not be forward in the Sedition, they were by this Committee of Adjutators, and the ſecret intimations of the Commanders, caſhiered.

Thus the Counſels of both Parties being directed to overthrow their contrary, each thought the Perſon and Preſence of the *King* would be no vain advantage to their Deſignes, for they would Honeſt their actions with a care of Him: therefore the *Presbyterians* had it in Conſultation to Order Col. *Greves*, who had the Command of the Guard about the *King* at *Holmeby*, to remove His Majeſty to *London*; the Intelligence of which coming to the Army by the treachery of a certain Lord, they immediately ſend a body of Horſe to prevent them, and to force Him into their own Quarters. Thus was that Religious Prince made once more the mock of Fortune, and the ſport of the Factions, and was drawn from His peaceful Contemplations, and Proſpect of Heaven, to behold and converſe with men ſet on Fire of Hell. Theſe, to tempt Him to a Confidence in their inte-

grity, (that they might the more easily to His disgrace ruine Him, and murder Him by His own Concessions, if He would be deluded by them) highly *pretend to a Compassionate Sense of His Sufferings, and complain of the Parliaments Barbarous Imprisoning Him in His own Palaces, wondering they had no more Reverence for Majesty*; and to beget a belief of this, they *profess* (which they would have to be conceived with them was more sacred then any Oaths) *that they will never part with their Arms till they have made His way to His Throne, and rendred the Condition of His Party more tolerable.* Besides these Promises and Compassions, they permit Him the Ministery of His Chaplains in the Worship of God, (which, it is said, He took with so great a Joy, that He almost believed Himself free and safe, it being His most heavy burden while He was the Parliaments Captive) the Commerce of Letters with the *Queen*, the Visites of His own Party, and the Service of His Courtiers; some of whom they also admitted to their Council of War, mould Propositions which they will urge in His behalf, and alter them to the *King*'s Gust and at His Advice. In their publick Remonstrances against the Covetousness, Ambition, Injustice, Cruelty and Self-mindedness of the Parliament, they do sometimes obliquely, sometimes plainly, profess, that *the King, Queen, and the Royall Family must be restored to all their Rights, or else no hope of a solid Peace*; but then they would intermix such Conditions as argued they sought Reserves for a perfidious escape. For *Cromwell* did among his Confidents boast of his fine arts, and that by these Indulgences was intended nothing but His Destruction.

By all these Impostures they prevailed nothing upon the Hopes or Fears of the *King*; nor did He commit any thing unworthy His former Fortune, and the Greatness of His Integrity and Wisdom, or which any of the Disagreeing Factions could use to His reproach. But they found another kinde of Success upon the Parliament, for they sacrificed to the commands of their Stipendiaries eleven Members of the House of Commons, and seven of the Peers, causing them to forbear sitting among them, because they had been accused by the Army in a very frivolous Charge. "All men wondering at the inequality of those "mens Spirits, who had so furiously rejected the Articles of their law-"ful Sovereign against five or six of their Body, and yet did now so "tamely yield to the slight Cavils and dislike of their Mercenaries above "thrice that Number. They therefore concluded that neither *Religion*, "*Justice, or the Love of Liberty, which are alwaies uniform,* but *unworthy In-*"*terests and corrupt Souls, which vary with fears and hopes*, had been the "Principles and first Movers of their attempts. Besides this, they were so prone to Slavery, that they had gone on to Vote all the lusts of the Army, had not a Tumult (their arts being now turned upon their own heads,) from *London* stopp'd them in their violent speed, and kept the Speaker in his Chair till they had voted more generously, *that it was neither for their Honour nor Interest to satisfie the demands of the Souldiers*; and that *the King should come to* London *to treat.*

These

Theſe contrary deſires of the divided Faction, which had joyntly oppreſsed their Sovereign, ſhewed, that *Ill men will more eaſily conſpire together in War, then conſent in Peace*; and that *Combinations in Crimes will conclude in Jealouſies, each Party thinking the advantages of the other too great; and that Power is never thought faithful which is accounted exceſsive.* Therefore both prepare for War. With the 140 Members that ſate in Parliament were joyned the City, and the caſhiered Souldiers and Officers that had ſerved in their pay. With the Army were the Speakers of both Houſes; who had fled to them with about fifty of their Members that projected the Change of Government, being either for an Oligarchy or Democracie, yet left ſome of the ſame judgement behind, to betray and diſturb the Counſels at *London*. To theſe did adhere the Neighbouring Counties, who were cajoled by the ſplendid Promiſes of the Army, of *Reſtoring the* King, (which they much boaſted) *Diſſolving the Parliament, and Eſtabliſhing Peace and Government*: and they more willingly credited theſe, becauſe they had conceived an hatred of the Parliament and City both for beginning the War, and now obſtructing Peace. The Army intitle their attempts *for King and People*: Their adverſaries, *for bringing the King to His Parliament*. The Commanders were greedie of that War which promiſed an eaſie Victorie, and made the poor Souldiers hope for the Plunder of the City.

For the advantage was clear on the Army's ſide, which conſiſted of veterane Souldiers, united among themſelves by a long Converſe, and known Commanders: but the force of the other was made up of a tumultuary Multitude, gathered under new Leaders, and ſo had no mutual confidence; their meetings were full of doubts and fears, none could determine in private, nor in publick conſult, becauſe they dared not truſt one another; and it was obſerved that thoſe who were moſt treacherous talk'd moſt boldly againſt the Enemy. Therefore in the very beginnings the Parliament and City deſert their Enterpriſe, treat with, and open their Gates to the Army, who march in Triumph through *London*, bringing the Speakers and their Fellow-Travellers to their Chairs, ſeize upon the *Tower*, diſmantle the Fortifications, pull down all the Chains and Poſts of the City, ſend the Lord Mayor and the chief Citizens to the *Tower*, and reduce all the power of the Nation in Obedience to the Commanders. For *Fairfax* is made General of all the Forces both in *England* and *Ireland*, and *Rainsbrough*, a Leveller, and a violent Head of the Democraticks, High Admiral. The impeached *Presbyterians* fled beyond Sea, others of that Sect drooping complyed with the Fortune of the Conquerours; and that which grieved good men moſt, was, *a Publick Thankſgiving* (which *is not to be obſerved but for the happy endeavours of a Nation in their vertuous and glorious undertakings for Liberty and Safety*, but now was prophaned for our Slavery and Miſery) to God was appointed for the Army, and they were entertained now at a Feaſt, whom before the City would have forced from their Walls.

While

While theſe things were in Motion, the *King* conſults Heaven for Direction, and His Party modeſtly abſtain from either ſide, thought both to be abhorred, and knew that Party would be the worſt which ſhould overcome. The Army having now the greateſt ſtrengths of the Nation, the Parliament and City at their obedience, make no mention of their former promiſes to the *King*; onely the Adjutators were fierce for breaking that Parliament, and calling another, as they call'd it, *more equal Repreſentative*. But both their Synagogue and the Council of War, being now delivered from fear of the *Presbyterians*, began to contrive the deſtruction both of the *King* and Monarchy. As for the *King*, whom they had now brought to *Hampton*-Court, ſome that had before contrived His Death, and to murder Him while He was in the *Scotch* Camp, (ſo at once to ſatisfie their own Revenge, and Loade their Enemies with the Infamy of the Murder,) yet could not then perform it, were now fierce for a ſpeedy and ſecret Aſſaſſination by Piſtol or Poiſon. Others would have Him tryed and condemned by their Council of War. But the Chiefes thought fit to proceed more artificially in their Crime, and when they ſhould get more Authority, deſtroy Him by a Parliamentary way of Juſtice. To bring this about, they muſt proceed to make Him more odious, that the People might be patient while they kill Him, and undoe them. To proceed therefore to their Impiety, *Cromwell* and his Creatures ſtickle fiercely in the Houſe of Commons, and cauſe the Parliament to ſend, not Conditions of Peace to be treated on, but Propoſitions like Commands that admitted no diſpute: which if the *King* had yielded unto, He had deſpoiled Himſelf of Majeſty, and been thought guilty of ſo much want of Spirit as would conclude an unfitneſs for Empire; beſides, ſuch a voluntary Diminution would have been equally unſafe, as unglorious: And if He did not, then He was to be eſteemed the onely Obſtacle of the Univerſal Peace. And leſt the *King* ſhould put them to more tedious arts by ſigning them, they themſelves to divert Him privately promiſed to procure more ſoft Articles, and profeſſed to be ſorry the *Presbyterian* Sowreneſs and Rigour did yet leaven the Houſe, which made theſe Propoſitions ſo unpleaſant.

The *King* could not but perceive the practices of the Army, yet being reſolved that no Dangers whatſoever ſhould make Him ſatisfie thoſe unreaſonable Demands of the Parliament, which granted would have been the heavieſt oppreſsion on His Subjects, and the greateſt injury to His Poſterity He could poſſibly be guilty of; For *to good Princes the Safety of their People, and their own Memory, which is built upon the Happineſs of Poſterity through their Counſels, are more pretious then Life and Power*; and although Providence and the Malice of His Enemies had obſtructed His way to Glory by Victories and Succeſs, yet He would trace it in the unenvied and unqueſtionable paths of Conſtancie and Juſtice: Therefore to make His denial of them advantageous to Himſelf, by a ſeeming confidence in the Army's profers, thereby

to

to oblige, if it were poſsible, thoſe that had no ſenſe either of Faith or Honour, or at leaſt, to injealous thoſe two Rivals for His Power, and commit them, the *King* abſolutely rejects the Parliaments Propoſitions, and requires the *Demands of the Army as more equal, and fit for a Perſonal Treaty, and that the Army alſo ſhould nominate Commiſsioners. Cromwell* and his Complices ſeemed to be joyful for this Anſwer of His Majeſty, which had preferred them before their Competitors to the Honour of Juſtice and Moderation in the Eyes of the People; but yet ſecretly did they exaſperate the mindes of the more ſhort-ſighted Commons againſt the *King* for this Affront. And to the *King* they profeſs a ſhame and trouble upon their Spirits (for ſo they loved to ſpeak) that they could not now perform their Promiſes: ſometimes they excuſed themſelves by a Reverence to the Parliament, at other times by the fierceneſs of the Adjutators; and when by theſe excuſes they had coloured their delayes to ſome length, they began to interpret their ſayings otherwiſe then the *King* apprehended them, to forget what they had aſſured Him of, and at laſt openly to refuſe any performance. To all theſe Perfidies they adde other Frauds, to beget a fear in Him of the Adjutators and the Levellers, who they informed Him meditated His Murder, profeſſed they could not for the preſent moderate their bloodie and impetuous Conſultations, but when they ſhould recover the loſt Diſcipline of their Army, then they might eaſily and ſpeedily ſatisfie their engagements to Him. To give credit to their words, the Fury of the Adjutators was blown to a more conſpicuous Flame, their Papers were publiſhed for a change of Government, call'd *The Caſe of the Army*, and, *The Agreement of the People*; the animations of *Peters*, and another of the ſame Diabolical ſpirit, ſaying, *His Majeſty was but a dead Dog*, were divulged, and all were communicated to ſome Attendants about the *King*, with an Advice from the Chiefs of the Army to eſcape for His Life: for they were unwilling He ſhould be killed while they helpleſsly look'd on.

The fury and threatnings of men of ſuch deſtructive and bloodie Principles, who accounted *all things lawful that they could doe*, that *Providence adminiſtring Opportunity did invite and licence their impieties*, and *who imputed all their luſts, that had no colour from Juſtice, to the Perſwaſions of the Holy Spirit*, were not to be deſpiſed; nor was the *King* to abandon His Life, if He could without ſin preſerve it to a longer waiting upon God. Therefore with three of His moſt truſted Attendants, in the dark, tempeſtuous and ominous night of *Nov.* 11th He leaves *Hampton*-Court, ſome ſay, uncertain where to ſeek ſafety; others, that He intended to take Ship, but being diſappointed in His Expectation, He was at laſt fatally led into the power, and, when He could not eſcape, committed Himſelf to the Loyalty and Honor of Col. *Hammond*, (a Confident of *Cromwell*'s, who had been but a little before made Governour of the *Iſle of Wight* for this very purpoſe,) and was by him conveyed to *Carisbrook*-Caſtle, the very Pit His Enemies had deſigned for Him. For it was diſcourſed in the

Army

Army above a fortnight before, that the *King* ere long would be in the *Isle of Wight*: and the very night He departed from *Hampton*-Court, the Centinels were withdrawn from their usual Posts, on purpose to facilitate His flight. The all-wise God not permitting Him to fly from those greater Trials, and more Glorious acts of Patience He had designed for Him. Being here in this false Harbour, He minds that business which lay most on His Heart, the Settlement of the Nation; He sends Concessions to the Parliament more benigne and easie then they could desire or hope, together with His Reasons why He could not assent to their Demands; and earnestly sollicites them to pity the Languishing Kingdome, and come to a Personal Treaty with Him, on His Concessions and the Army's Demands.

But the Conspirators, to cut of all hopes of a Treaty, take this Occasion to send four Preliminary Articles, which if He would pass as Acts, they would treat of the rest. These were so unjust, that the *Scotch* Commissioners in the Name of their Kingdom declare against them in publick Writings, and following the Messengers of Parliament to the *Isle of Wight*, do in the presence of His Majesty protest against them as contrary to the Religion, the Crown, and Accords of both Kingdoms. The *King*, according to His wonted Wisedom and Greatness of Mind, presently returns them an Answer, to shew the Injustice of having Him grant the chief things before the Treaty, which should be the Subject of it, and to give them such an Arbitrary Power, to the ruine of all the People. This Answer He delivered sealed to their Messengers, who desired that they might hear it read, and that they might be dealt with as Commissioners, not as bare Carriers (a greater trust then which their Masters had not committed unto them) and promise upon their Honour that it should not be any prejudice to Him. But His Majesty had no sooner read it, then they finding it not to the Gust of those that sent them, notwithstanding the Faith they had given, cause their Just Sovereign to be kept close Prisoner, force away His Chaplains, Dr *Sheldon*, now Lord Bishop of *London*, and Dr *Hammond*, both which He highly valued for their Integrity, Wisedom, Piety and Learning, and His other Servants, even those whom the Parliament had placed formerly about Him, and in whom His Goodness had wrought both an Affection and Admiration of Him, and permit none about Him but such as they hoped would be a Watch upon Him, and whose barbarous Souls might trample on His Fortune. Besides they set strict Guards at His Doors and Windows, lest any Letters might come to Him, or be sent from Him.

The like reception His Letter found with the Parliament. For *Cromwell* and His Officers were resolved to goe on with their Designe, and having so long used the *Adjutators*, as served to frighten the *King* into the Toils they had set, they soon quiet them, (which was not difficult, being a Company of hot-headed fellows, that could onely talk, not form a Counsel or a Party, to endure a Storm,) by executing some of their

their moſt pertinacious Leaders; and being free of that care, applied their practices wholly to the Deſtruction of His Majeſty. To this purpoſe they mould the Four Votes for *No Addreſſes to the King*; but before they bring them into Publick, they ſend into their ſeveral Counties about fourty or fifty of the principal Members, who they thought would oppoſe them, to raiſe Money for the Souldiers. Nevertheleſs the firſt of thoſe Votes was conteſted againſt ſo ſtrongly, that the Debates laſted from ten of the Clock in the Morning till ſeven in the Evening; and though they thus wearied the more Honeſt Party, yet could it not paſs till the Conſpirators had engaged that no worſe thing ſhould be done to the *King*. The remaining Votes were diſpatched in half an hours time, when thoſe of the more ſober Principles were gone forth to refreſh themſelves, and the Conſpirators ſtill kept their Seats. The Houſe of Peers were not ſo haſty in them as the Commons had been, and their Debates vexed the Conſpirators with Delaies, till thoſe who were ſent by the Army to thank the Lower Houſe for their conſent to theſe Deſires of the Souldiers, did alſo threaten the Upper for their long Deliberations: ſome new Terrors were alſo added, for they quartered two of their Regiments at *White-Hall*, under colour of guarding the Parliament, but in truth to work upon the Lords; which had its effect, for many that had the moſt Honourable thoughts in this buſineſs, forſook the Parliament, and then three or four (which often was the fulleſt Number about thoſe times in that Houſe,) joyn with the Commons in their Votes for no Addreſſes.

This prodigious Perfidiouſneſs in Parliament and Army, both which had ſo frequently declared and ingaged themſelves by Oaths and Promiſes to preſerve the *King* in His Juſt Rights, fill'd all men with amazement and indignation, to ſee how little they valued their Faith, who pretended ſo high to Religion; therefore each of them were put to ſatisfie the Common Fame. *Cromwell* to ſome would have cover'd this Impiety with another, that as *He was praying for a bleſſing from God on his undertakings, to reſtore the* King *to His priſtine Majeſty, his tongue cleaved to the roof of his mouth, that he could not ſpeak one word more; which he took as a return of Prayer, and that God had rejected Him from being* King. To others he did impudently aſſert, *That it was lawful to circumvent a wicked man with deceit and frauds.* The Conſpirators in the Parliament ſtrove to honeſt their Proceedings by a Declaration, and aſsigne in it for Cauſes of their Perjuries, all the Calumnies that had been raiſed againſt the *King* by His moſt profeſſed Enemies, or from thoſe uncertain Rumours which themſelves had invented, adding and repeating others which had even in the Parliament Houſe been condemned as Forgeries, (yet now were uſed as neceſſary Veils for a more execrable Falſhood.) Which infamous Libel they cauſe to be ſent to all the Pariſhes of the Kingdom, to be divulged, ſuppoſing that none did dare to refute their black and moſt malicious Slanders, or that none could publickly doe it, becauſe they

ſet ſtrict Watches upon all the Printing-Preſſes. They likewiſe commanded the Curates to read it in their ſeveral Churches, and commend it to the People. And that theſe might the more readily obſerve their Orders, they at the ſame time ſtrictly enjoyn the payment of Tithes, and Vote that the Dean and Chapiter's Lands (which they had deſigned for profane Uſes, and never intended they ſhould be for the Emolument of Church-men) ſhould be ſet apart for Augmentations for their Preachers, pretending a fervent zeal for the propagation of the Goſpel, when they did moſt diſhonour it. By their Agents and the *Anabaptiſts*, with other Hereticks and Schiſmaticks, they ſollicite the unacquainted Rabble to ſigne to Gratulatory Addreſſes to approve what they had already done, and petition for a ſpeedy progreſs in the Ruine of His Majeſty.

But all theſe their curſed Projects failed, for ſeveral Anſwers to their Defamations were publiſhed, One writ by the *King* Himſelf, another by *Sr *Edward Hyde*, and a third by *Dr *Bates*: all which proved the Monſtrous Falſhoods of their Paper, and that the Faction were guilty of what they imputed to the *King*; and this with ſuch evidence, that none of their moſt mercenary Writers, or the moſt foul-mouthed Conſpirators, did dare or hope with Succeſs to reply unto. The Curates coldly, if at all, obſerved their Orders, and there came ſo few Petitions, and thoſe ſigned by ſuch contemptible and lewd Perſons, as they rather loaded the Faction with more hatred, then gave them any credit. While generally in every place none of the People could contain their fury againſt theſe Impoſtors, but publickly curſed them and their Infamous Adherents.

*A full Anſwer.
*The Regal Apology.

For their Miſeries made them ſenſible of the want of that *Prince* whoſe gentle and juſt Rule had brought them to ſuch an inebriating Proſperity, that they had forgot the Miniſter of their Happineſs. But now they found Government when it was out of His hand, like *Moſes*'s Rod caſt on the ground, transformed to a Serpent; and that thoſe who pretended to free them from Tyranny had deluded them into the moſt inſufferable Slavery: wherein they were either totally deſpoiled of all things that render our Being comfortable, or they were not ſecure in the uſe of them. Religion, the Ornament of the preſent, and the Pledge of a future Life, was ſo diſhonoured by Schiſmes and Hereſies (fomented to weaken the People by Diviſions, to a tameneſs under their Oppreſſors) by Faſts for the moſt impious Deſignes, and Thankſgivings for proſperous Crimes; that ſome men concluded it to be nothing elſe but the Invention of Tyrants, and the Diſguiſe of Villains, and therefore did forſake it, and turn Atheiſts. Others that did ſtill find the Inward Conſolations of it, yet feared openly to profeſs it, leſt they ſhould be taken for thoſe that pretended a Love to God, that they might more ſecurely deſtroy men. Liberty alſo was now but an empty name: for all the Common Priſons were too narrow to receive even thoſe that did not dare to break the Laws; ſo that the

Houſes

Houſes of Noble-men were converted to Gaols, for thoſe that were unfortunate in honeſt enterpriſes; where they were to languiſh with want and ſickneſs,and not be called to know their Offence or their Accuſers, becauſe they had not guilt enough for a publick Condemnation. Some were put a Ship-board in the midſt of Summer, there to contract Diſeaſes: Others were ſold Slaves to forein Plantations. Many to eſcape ſuch naſtie Confinements, or an ignominious Torture, fled from their Native Soil either to the Neighbouring Countries, where they were the Evidences of the Infamy and Barbarouſneſs of our Nation; or ſeeking for Shelter in the Iſles and Deſerts of *America*, polluted thoſe Rocks and Seas with *Engliſh* Blood.

Propriety was no longer hedged up by Law; but whom the Violence of the Souldier did not impoveriſh, the frauds of *Committee*-men would, from whoſe Rapines none were ſecure that had not been as criminal as themſelves, and few ſafe that did not ſeek their favour, and bow down to their Greatneſs: Theſe men taking advantage of the common evils, to ſatisfie either their private revenge, or luſts: for their Proceedings were not regulated by the known Laws; but the ſecret Inſtructions of their Maſters in Parliament and Army, or their own Pleaſures,were the Rules of adminiſtring Juſtice. An honeſt Fame likewiſe was a Mark for Ruine: for if any by juſt Arts had got the Eſteem of the People and the Affections of His Neighbourhood, and did not comply with their Intereſt, firſt he was vexed with Slanders and Reproaches, and afterwards with Sequeſtration; eſpecially if he were a Miniſter: and it was their common Principle, that *an Honeſt Cavalier was the worſt Enemy*, and *a Cavalier Saint did the moſt hurt*; ſo that both their Vices and Vertues were equally hated. Common Converſe was dangerous; for they had Informers in every place, and Spies almoſt in every Family of Note: Servants were corrupted to accuſe their Maſters, and the Differences in Religion did injealous and arm the neareſt Relations one againſt another: Men out of a mutual diſtruſt would haſten from Company, to conſult in private their peculiar Safety, for they knew their Words were obſerved, and their Secrets ſought after. Few Families but had by the Civil War ſome Loſs to bewail; ſome mourned over their diſagreeing Members in different Camps,and had cauſe to fear which ſide ſoever proſpered they muſt be miſerable in ſome part.

Theſe and many more Miſeries were more highly embittered by the uncertainty of a Remedy: For the Parliament, that had the name of Government,were guilty of all theſe Reproaches of a Community, being Slaves to thoſe whoſe intereſt it was to keep us thus miſerable; & if at any time they were free from the yoke of the Army, the two Sects kept them ſo divided,each Party labouring by Votes and Counſels to circumvent the other,that they could not mind the Univerſal Benefit. Beſides the power they exerciſed was too much to be well uſed, for they engroſsed the Legiſlative Authority and the Exerciſe of Juriſdiction. So that they

would make Laws according to their Intereſt, and execute them according to their Luſt; this day's Vote ſhould contradict the former day's Order, and to morrow we muſt violate what to day we ſolemnly ſwore to obſerve: ſo that men knew not what to obey, nor where to reſt. Thus all hopes of Liberty and Peace were loſt in the Confinement of the *King*, who onely was found able and willing to determine our Miſeries. For His Principles were Uniform, and His Endeavours for a Settlement conſtant; beſides His Adverſities had illuſtrated, if not calcined, His Endowments. For now when He had no Friends, Counſellors, or Secretaries, His Diſcourſes with Commiſsioners upon their ſeveral Addreſſes, and His Declarations of His own Injuries, the Nations Slavery, the Injuſtice of His and their Adverſaries, were ſo excellently and prudently managed, that they undeceived the greateſt part, and reconciled many of His bitter Enemies: therefore the whole Nation now panted for a Return to the Obedience of ſuch an ineſtimable Prince.

Theſe Conſiderations cauſed ſeveral attempts for His Deliverance, ſome Private, and others more Publick. The firſt was managed by thoſe Servants whom the Parliament had placed about Him; for theſe wonne by His Goodneſs, of which they were daily witneſſes, twice plotted His Eſcape, and ventured their Lives for His Liberty, but failed in both deſignes: and the laſt being diſcovered before it could be put into action, One *Rolfe*, a bloody Villain, (that had alſo endeavoured to poiſon Him, for which though he was publickly accuſed, yet was acquitted by that Judge whom the Conſpirators had emploied to hear that cauſe) waited to kill Him as He ſhould deſcend from His Chamber.

An. 1648. The more publick was that of the whole Nation: for inraged with their own Oppreſsions and the Miſeries of their *Prince*, men in moſt Counties, even of thoſe that had adhered to the Parliament, but now vexed that they had been ſo baſely deluded, draw up Petitions for a *Perſonal Treaty with the* King; *that the Armies Arrears being paid they ſhould immediately be disbanded; that Relief ſhould be ſent into* Ireland, *and* England *quite eaſed of the Contribution, which they could no longer bear.* To theſe Petitions there were ſuch innumerable Subſcriptions, that the Officers of the Army, and Parliament were mad to ſee their Threats of Sequeſtration, Impriſonment and Death, to make no Impreſſion; and the Promiſes they likewiſe made were ſlighted, becauſe diſcredited by their former Perjuries. The firſt Petitioners were the *Eſſex* men, who came in ſuch Numbers as had not been ſeen before, as if they would force, not intreat for, what was neceſſary. After them thoſe of *Surrey*, whom, by the command of the Officers and Parliament-men, the Souldiers aſſault at the Parliament-Doors, kill ſome, wound more, and plunder all: and for this brave Exploit upon unarmed Petitioners, they have the Thanks of the Commons, and a Largeſs for their Valour; that ſo the People might be affrighted from offering Petitions, which before the very ſame men had declared to be *the Birth-right of every Engliſh-man.* "While men ſee

"and

"and admire the Returns of the Divine Juſtice, and the reciprocal mo-
"tions of the Popular heat, that the very ſame Parliament that firſt
"ſtirr'd up this way of tumultuary Petitions againſt the *King*, now com-
"plained that the Honour and Safety of Parliaments was indangered by
"Petitions.

But all their Tyranny upon the complaining Nation prevailed nothing but to provoke them to a higher Indignation and more frequent Petitions. And when they perceived they dealt with men obſtinate to their own Intereſts, which were not to be gained but by the Publick Ruine, they fly from Prayers to Arms, and intitle their juſt War, *For the Liberty of King and People.* And in ſeveral places, as in *Kent, Eſſex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Cornwall, Yorkſhire, Wales,* and at laſt in *Surrey,* multitudes take Arms for this Righteous Cauſe. The Navy alſo fall off, and ſetting *Rainsbrough* their levelling Admiral on Shore, ſeventeen Ships deliver themſelves up to the *Prince* of *Wales.* The *Scots* likewiſe by an Order of their own Parliament ſend into *England* (to recover the Liberty and Majeſty of the *King*) an Army under *Hamilton.* But all was in vain, God had decreed other Triumphs for His Majeſty, and to tranſlate Him to another Kingdom. For the *Engliſh* being but tumultuarily raiſed, having no train of Artillery nor Ammunition conſiderable, were ſoon ſuppreſt by a veterane Army provided with all neceſſaries. The *Scots,* either through weakneſs or wickedneſs of their Commanders, who made ſo diſorderly a march that their Van and Rear were forty miles aſunder, were eaſily worſted by *Cromwell,* who ſurpriſed their main Body, and *Hamilton* was taken Priſoner. *Cromwell* follows the ſcattered Parties into *Scotland,* where they were likewiſe aſſaulted by *Argyle,* a domeſtick Enemy, and forced to ſubmit thoſe Arms the Parliament had put into their hands to the Faction of that falſe Earl; who calls another Parliament, from which all were excluded that in the former Voted for the *King*'s Delivery, and all the Orders of that Convention made void. *Cromwell* had the Publick Thanks, and the private Faith of *Argyle* to endeavour, as opportunity permitted, the extirpation of Monarchy out of *Scotland.*

The Navy alſo deſerts the *Prince,* being corrupted by the Earl of *Warwick*, who was appointed for this Service; and when he had ingloriouſly bought off their Faith to their lawful *Prince*, himſelf was ignominiouſly caſhiered by the Conſpirators. Theſe great diſappointments and overthrows of juſt Enterpriſes men variouſly attributed to different Cauſes. "Some to the Perfidiouſneſs, others to
"the Weakneſs of thoſe that managed them; as alſo to the Treache-
"ry of ſome *Presbyterians*, who in hatred to the Army firſt incou-
"raged, and then in Jealouſie of the *Royaliſts* baſely deſerted them.
"For the *Rabbies* of the *Kirk* curſed *Hamilton* in the beginning of
"his Enterpriſe. Another ſort thought them unhappy, becauſe the
"greateſt part of the Undertakers were ſuch that formerly had either
"fought againſt the *King*, or elſe had betraied Him, and God would
"not now bleſs their unexpiated Arms. And ſome to the Fate of the

"Kingdom, which God had decreed to give over to numerous and im-
"pious Tyrants, becauſe of their unthankfulneſs and impatience under
"ſo Incomparable a *Prince.*

But while theſe things were managed by the Army that were now at a diſtance, and *Cromwell*'s Terrors were greater in *Scotland* then here, the leſs guilty Parliament-men ſeriouſly conſidering how impatient the People (who in *London* and other places had gotten innumerable Subſcriptions to a Petition for a Perſonal Treaty) now were of thoſe Injuries that were done to their Sovereigne, how hateful themſelves grew, becauſe they had betraied and inſlaved their own Privileges together with the Liberties of the Subject to an inſatiable and Phanatick Army, and how an evident Ruine attended even their Conqueſts of Him whom it was unlawful to aſſault, did at laſt (though too late) contrary to the clamours of their factious and Democratick Members, Repeal thoſe Votes which they had formerly made, of *No more Addreſſes* to the *King*. This being paſſed in both Houſes, they afterwards with a ſtrong Conſent vote a *Treaty* with the *King*, in *Honour, Freedome and Safety.* The factious Party in the Parliament found themſelves too few and weak to oppoſe this impetuous tendency of the Two Houſes and the whole Kingdome to Peace. But yet they endeavored to fruſtrate the labours of their more ſincere Members, and to baffle the People's juſt deſires of it, by impoſing many unequal Conditions and obſtructive reſtrictions.

For they procured that the Treaty ſhould be in the *Iſle of Wight*, and not at *London*; that it ſhould be by Commiſſioners, and not immediately with the two Houſes, as was petitioned. The Propoſitions that were ſent to be treated were the ſame which had before been offered to the *King* at *Hampton-Court*, and were then rejected by Him, and alſo condemned by the Army it ſelf as too unjuſt. The Commiſſioners were ſo ſtreightned in Power, that it was not lawful for them to ſoften any one of the Conditions of Peace, not to alter the Preface, or change the Order of the Propoſitions, nor to debate a Subſequent till the Precedent were agreed on. They could conclude nothing; they were onely to propoſe the Demands, urge Reaſons for the Royal Aſſent, receive the *King*'s Anſwer, and referre all in writing to the Parliament, whoſe ſlow Reſolves & the delaies of ſending were ſuppoſed would conſume that narrow meaſure of time which was appointed to debate ſo many and ſo different things, for they were limited to fourty dayes. The Commiſſioners they ſent were five of the *Lord*'s *Houſe* and twelve of the *Commoners*, and with them ſome of their *Preſbyterian Miniſters*, who were to preſs importunately for their Church-government, to elude the *King*'s Arguments for Epiſcopacy, and only to impoſe, not to diſpute, their own.

With all theſe, upon ſo many ſeveral and different Propoſitions, ſome relating to the Law of the Land, others to Reaſon of State, and ſome to the practice of the Apoſtolical Primitive Churches, the

King

King was to deal without publick assistance. For though He was permitted the ministry of some Officers of State, Counsellours and Divines, yet were they but of private advice, and to stand behinde the Curtain; He onely Himself was to speak in the debate, and singly to manage matters of Policy with their most exercised Statists, and the points of Divinity with their best-studied Divines. "The Vulgar, to whom "the arts of these men were not so obvious, were much pleased with "the Name of a Treaty, and now hoped to exchange their Servi-"tude under so many importunate Tyrants, for the moderate and "easie Government of one Lawful *King*. Others that had a clearer "insight, and observed with what difficulties it was burthened, hoped "for no benefit from it. Because that if His Majesty should not consent, "as they believed he would not, then He would be the object of "the popular impatience: And if He should consent, He that now "was thought to be most injuriously dealt with, would then be "conceived not to deserve the Pity even of His Friends; nor could He "gain any other thing by His Concessions, then to be ruined with more "Dishonour. So that considering both the inviolable Integrity of "His Majesty, and the implacable Malice of His Enemies, they de-"spaired of any happy Issue.

But beyond the Faith of these men, and the Hopes of the other, the *King*'s incredible Prudence had found Temperaments for their most harsh Propositions. And by a present Judgement and commanding Eloquence did so urge His own, and refell their Arguments, that He forced an Admiration of Himself, and, which was a Testimony of the Divine Assistance, drew many of the unwilling Commissioners to His own Opinion (though their Commission, and the danger of their Lives, necessitated them, contrary to the dictates of their own Consciences, to prolong the Debates;) with a wonderful Lenity proved their Demands unjust, yet granted what was not directly against His Honour and Conscience: thus devesting Himself of His own Rights, He demonstrated that He had those Affections which might justly style Him *the Father of His Countrey*. For He indeavoured by His own Losses to repair the damages of His People. Yet the *King* saw by the Obstinacie of the most powerful of those He treated with, that they intended nothing less then Peace, nor any thing more then His Destruction; which that it might be adequate to their Malice, they would have it accompanied with the damnation of His Soul (as He Himself in bitterness complained to One of His Servants) pressing Him to doe those things which they themselves acknowledged sinful, as the Alienation of Church-Lands. Although His Majesty was thus sensible of their insatiable thirst for His blood, yet because He had passed His Royal Word not to stir out of that Island, He did not hearken to the same Servant, who perswaded Him to provide for His Safety by flight, which He assured Him was not difficult, and in administring to which He offered to

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hazard his own blood. But the *King* alwayes thought His Life beneath the Honour of Faithfulneſs, and would not give His Enemies that advantage over His Fame, which their unjuſt Arms and Frauds had gotten upon His Perſon, chuſing rather to endure whatſoever Providence had allotted for Him, then by any approach to Infamy ſeek to protract thoſe daies which He now began to be weary of: For *that life is no longer deſirable to Juſt Princes, which their People either cannot or will not preſerve.* And He thought *it more Eligible to die by the Wickedneſs of Others, then to live by His own.*

While the Treaty thus proceeded, the Army under the command of the Lord *Fairfax* and *Ireton*, (this laſt was bold, ſubtle, Perfidious and active in all Deſignes; ſo that his Soul being congenial with that of *Cromwell*, had been the cauſe of an Alliance betwixt them, for he had married one of *Cromwell's* Daughters, and therefore was left to hover about the General as an evil *Genius*, that he might doe nothing contrary to their Impious Deſigne,) drew towards *London*, and quartered within half a days march from the City; that, if their Intereſt did require, they might the more ſuddenly oppreſs thoſe who were leſs favourable to their Enterpriſes. The Officers did at firſt publickly profeſs a great Modeſty, as that *they would quietly ſubmit to the Orders of the Parliament; that they did preferre the Common Peace to their own private Advantages, and ſhould be glad to be diſmiſſed from the toyls of War*: yet in private practiſed an univerſal Confuſion, for mingling counſels with their Factious party in the two Houſes, they ſet up again the meetings of their Adjutators, framed among themſelves Petitions againſt the Treaty, and to require that all Delinquents without difference (wherein they included the Perſon of the *King*) might be brought to Tryal; and by their Emiſſaries abroad drew ſome inconſiderable and ignominious perſons, (by repreſenting large ſpoiles in the ſubverſion of Monarchy, and imaginary advantages by the change of Government,) to ſubſcribe to them.

When they thought theſe practices had produced their deſired effect, and they had infected moſt of the Souldiers in the ſeveral Garriſons, and that more parties of their Army were gathered to their Quarters about *London*; *Ireton*, under pretext of a Contraſt betwixt him and *Fairfax*, withdraws himſelf privately to *Windſor* Caſtle, where being met by ſome of his Complices in the Parliament, they joyntly frame a Declaration in an imperious and affected Style. Wherein in the name of the Army he maliciouſly declaims againſt all Peace with the *King*, and His Reſtitution to the Government: afterwards he impiouſly demands that he may be dealt with as the Grand and Capital Delinquent: with theſe he mingles ſome things to terrifie the Parliament, ſome to pleaſe the Souldiers, and others to raiſe hopes of Novelty in the Rabble.

This being prepared, and the Treaty now drawing towards an End (which thoſe of the Faction had prolonged and diſturbed, that the Army

Army might have more time to gather together) and the Commanders having a perfect Intelligence how all things in the *Isle of Wight* and in the Parliament did strongly tend to an Accommodation, they thought it now seasonable to begin their intended Crime. Therefore they speedily call a Council of War, at which met the Colonels, and other inferiour Officers, all men of Mercenary souls; seditious, covetous, and so accustomed to Dissimulation, that they seemed to be composed by nature to frame and colour impostures. They began their Meeting with Prayers and Fasting, pretending to inquire and seek the Will of God concerning the Wickedness they had predetermined to act. *This is the constant practice of such who would most securely abuse the Patience of the People, while they commit the most horrid Crimes. For not being able to honest their Iniquities by any colour of Reason, or any Command of the known Will of God, they pretend to a guidance by Revelation and Returns of Prayer.* This Imposture they had hitherto successfully used; and the credulous Rabble of the common Souldiers were drawn to a perswasion, that God did counsel all the Designes of these armed Saints. Thus having prefaced their Villanie, *Ireton* produces his Remonstrance, which being read among them was received by the *Souldiers* (who, *through a pleasure in blood, and hopes of Spoil, are used to praise every thing of their Chiefs, whether good or bad, that tends to disturbance, and continuance of War,*) with as great an Applause as if it had been an Oracle from Heaven; and to make it the more terrible, they styled it the *Remonstrance of the Army*, and order it to be presented to the Parliament in the name of *the Army and People of* England.

"When this Remonstrance was published the mindes of men were "variously affected. Some wondred that persons of so abject a Condi- "tion should dare to endeavour the alteration of an ancient Govern- "ment, an attempt so far above their fortune; and to designe against the "Person of their Sovereign, who by the Splendour of his former Ma- "jesty, and by a continued Descent from so many Royal Progenitors, "had derived all that challenges the Reverence of the People. And "they thought the act so full of a manifest Wickedness, that the Con- "trivers could not really intend the Execution, but onely used it as "a Mormo to frighten the *King* and Parliament to hearken to their "Pretensions of a lesser guilt. Others considering their former Crimes "and Injuries both to *King* and People, and their damnable blasphemies "of the Almighty God, did truely judge that their preceding Iniquities "had now habituated and temper'd them for the extremest mischiefs; "and that having proceeded thus far, they would think their Safety "consisted in an accumulation of their Sins. Onely they admired that "these men would discredit their ancient Arts of pretending to God's "Direction, (in which they could not so easily by every Vulgar judge- "ment be deprehended,) by boasting of the Concurrence of the People, "which was too evident a Cheat, for not one in a thousand through "the whole Nation but did abominate their practices. But others

"more Speculative knew it was *the accuſtomed Method of the Sub-*
"*verters of a lawful Magiſtracie and Invaders of a Tyranny, firſt to ſeek*
"*the favour of the Rabble by high pretences of Liberty and Juſtice, and then*
"*to boaſt of it as though they had it, and were entruſted by the People to recover*
"*what they preſented to their hopes and deſires*; and that theſe men following
"the ſame practices would be the greateſt Oppreſſors of thoſe whom
"they pretended to vindicate.

The Parliament though hitherto they had been very obſequious to the Army, yet the Members now meeting in greater Numbers then uſually, and preferring the utmoſt hazards to a Compliance with this Remonſtrance, laid it aſide, and fell to debate the *King's Conceſſions* which then lay before them. This free and ſtout Carriage of theirs was much reſented by the Souldiers, who ſtormed at the contempt of thoſe whoſe grandeur depended upon their Arms. And leſt they ſhould miſcarry in their chief deſigne, and loſe the Sacrifice to their Ambition, they immediately ſent a party of their Army into the *Iſle of Wight*, to ſecure the *King*: theſe laying hold upon Him, with a moſt Inſolent Rudeneſs, not permitting the delay of a Breakfaſt, forced Him from the *Iſland* into *Hurſt Caſtle*, an unwholeſome and ſordid place. The other part of their Army they cauſe to march towards *London*, with all the imaginable ſignes of terror, as if they went to ſack and plunder an Enemies Town. When they had entred, they were quartered in thoſe Houſes of the *King* and Nobility which were neareſt the Parliament-Houſe, hoping by the greatneſs and nearneſs of the danger, ſo to affright thoſe Members who were not ſo wicked as to comply with them, that they ſhould voluntarily withdraw, and hiding themſelves, leave the poſſeſſion to their own ſcanty party. For then the Violence would ſeem leſs, and give more Authority to their unjuſt Decrees.

But the honeſt Members were more in love with Juſtice, and therefore not terrified with the Menaces and Clamours of the Souldiers, but as inſpired with ſome unaccuſtomed Courage at this time, and thinking themſelves guarded by the Priviledges of Parliament, with a greater boldneſs then uſually they did upon juſt deſignes, they appear in the Houſe. Where the *Commoners* re-aſſuming the conſideration of the *King's Conceſſions*, continued that Debate till paſt Midnight; the Factious party and the Creatures of the Army ſtill raiſing new Doubts and Scruples, multiplying Cavils, and by tedious harangues waſting the time, that the more juſt party, which conſiſted moſt of Gentlemen of Fortunes, not accuſtomed to ſuch Watchings and Faſtings, might be wearied out and leave them to their own Reſolves: and alſo that they might give time to the whole Army to march into the *City* that Night. Among the reſt, Sr *Henry Vane*, (who was born to diſquiet the world, and to be a firebrand of Communities, yet ſtill carrying his deſignes of Confuſion under a feigned meekneſs and ſimplicity of the Goſpel) This man in the *Iſle of Wight* had perſwaded the

King

King not to be prodigal in His *Conceſsions*; that He had already yielded more then was fit for them to ask, or Him to grant, and undertook to make it evident to the whole world: yet now did moſt fiercely and perfidiouſly inveigh againſt the *Conceſsions*, as deſigned by the *King* under the ſpecies of Peace to ruine the Parliament and Commonwealth. Yet at laſt, notwithſtanding thoſe terrours without and troubles within, the Houſe came to this Reſolve, that *The Kings Conceſsions were a ſufficient ground for Peace.* Which was carried by 200. Voices, and there were ſcarce 60 diſſenters.

The next day the ſame Reſolve was paſſed by the *Lords* in the very ſame terms, not one diſſenting. Who immediately adjourned for a week, to wait whether this fury of the Army would ſpend it ſelf after ſo generous an oppoſition. And the Houſe of Commons ſent ſome of their own Members to acquaint the Lord *Faifax* and his Officers of this their Vote. This free and publick deteſtation of the Crime, that was deſigned, did extremely enrage the Projectors of it, and the Democratick party in the Houſe mingled Threatnings with their Advices. For One of the Chiefs of the Faction could not forbear to aſſure them, that *If they continued in this their Reſolve, they ſhould never after have Liberty of meeting there again.* Which accordingly was executed: for the next day they were to meet there, the Colonels had placed a guard of two Regiments of Foot and one of Horſe upon the Houſe of Commons, who ſtrictly keeping all the Avenues thereto, that none might enter without their Licence, laid hold upon fourty Members that were Perſons of the moſt known Integrity and higheſt Reſolution; they denied admiſſion to 150 more, and ſuffered none to enter of whoſe ſervile compliance they were not well aſſured. Some that had eſcaped their obſervation and got into the Houſe, by tickets, as from Friends or Servants, they invite forth; whom being once without doores they violently force away, while they in vain pleaded the *Priviledges of Parliament.*

The impriſoned Members they vex and torture with great Indignities, expoſing them to the mockeries and inſolencies of the Common Souldiers: although there were among them many that had before Commanded Armies, Brigades and Regiments in the Parliament's cauſe againſt the *King*; and others that had been moſt importunate aſſertors of their firſt injuſtice to their Prince. "Thoſe that beheld "theſe viciſſitudes wondred, and acknowledged the juſt Judgement of "God, that had thus viſibly and properly puniſhed the Injuſtice of "theſe men againſt their Lawful Sovereign, by the miniſtry of their "own more vile and mercenary Souldiers, and did thus upbraid them "with the falſeneſs of their Principles by which they acted againſt the "*King*; the very ſame now ſerving to honeſt this violence that was "committed on them: for both equally pretended to a Neceſſity of "Reformation, and Self-preſervation. Others were inquiſitive for the "faith of theſe men, who taking up Arms for the Sacred Privileges

"of Parliament, had now left nothing but the Walls of that Houſe. For the Number that would ſerve them was not equal to the Name of a Parliament, being ſcarce the eighth part of that Convention, and not much above fourty in all, and thoſe the reproach of that Aſſembly. For beſides thoſe that were violently excluded, others that did abhor the Conditions of ſitting there withdrew themſelves to their own homes. And many of thoſe who formerly deluded by their pretenſions to Religion, Juſtice and Liberty, had hitherto been of the Faction, yet now awakened by theſe clamorous Crimes, forſook their bloodie Confederacie.

Yet did not this contemptible Number, of which in moſt Votes there were Twenty Diſſenters, bluſh to aſſume the Authority of managing the weightieſt affairs of the *Engliſh Empire*, to alter and change the Government, to expoſe His Majeſty to a violent Murder, and to overthrow the Ancient Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom. For being wholly devoted to the ſervice of the Army, they communicated counſels with them; and whatſoever was reſolved at the *Council* of War, paſſed into a Law by the Votes of this Infamous remnant of the Houſe of Commons, who now ſerved the Souldiers in hopes of part of the Spoil, and a precarious *Greatneſs*, which *being acquired by ſo much Wickedneſs could not be laſting*. In order therefore to the Armie's deſigne they revive thoſe Votes of *No Addreſſes to the* King; (which had at firſt but ſurreptitiouſly and by baſe practices paſſed, and had been afterwards repealed by a full Houſe.) Thoſe Votes of *a Treaty with the King*, and of the *Satisfactorineſs of His Conceſſions*, with ſcorn they raſed out of the *Journall*-Book. And then proceeded to Vote,

1. *That the People under God are the Original of all Juſt Power.*
2. *That the Commons of* England *aſſembled in Parliament, being choſen by and repreſenting the People, have the Supreme Authority of this Nation.*
3. *That whatſoever is enacted and declared for Law by the Commons of* England *aſſembled in Parliament* (by which they underſtood themſelves) *hath the force of a Law.*
4. *That all the People of this Nation are concluded thereby, although the Conſent and Concurrence of the* King *and Houſe of* Peers *be not had thereunto.*
5. *That to raiſe Arms againſt the People's Repreſentative or Parliament, and to make War upon them, is High Treaſon.*
6. *That the* King *Himſelf took Arms againſt the Parliament, and on that account is guilty of the blood ſhed throughout the Civil War, and that He ought to expiate the crime with His own blood.*

"Thoſe that were leſs affected with the common Fears and Mi-
"ſeries could not temper their mirth and ſcorn at ſuch ridiculous
"Uſurpers,

"Uſurpers, that thought to adjuſt their Crimes by their own Votes;
"that in one breath would adorn the People with the Spoils of *Mo-*
"*narchy*, and in the next rob the People to inveſt themſelves. And
"(it is ſaid that) even *Cromwell* (who intended to ruine our Liberty,) was
"aſhamed, and ſcorned their ſo ready Slavery, and afterwards did
"ſwear at the Table of an *Independent* Lord, that *he knew them to be*
"*Raſcals, and he would ſo ſerve them.* Others of more melancholy
"Complexions, conſidering the baſeneſs of theſe ſervile Tyrants, and
"the humours of their barbarous maſters the Souldiers, all whoſe in-
"humanities they were to eſtabliſh by a Law; and that *Power gotten*
"*by Wickedneſs cannot be uſed with the Modeſty that is fit for juſt Magiſtrates;*
"juſtly feared that as under the *King* they had enjoyed the height of
"Liberty, ſo under theſe men they were to be overwhelmed in the
"depth of Slavery: and that theſe Votes which overturned the very
"Foundation of our Laws, could not be deſigned but for ſome horrid
"Impiety and our laſting Bondage, which came ſo to paſs.

For in their next Conſultations they conſtitute a *Tribunal* to ſentence their *Sovereign* (which afterwards they uſed as a Shambles for the moſt Loyal and Gallanteſt of the *Nobleſs* and *People*) of the moſt abject Subjects; and to procure a Reverence to the Vileſt of men, they give it the ſpecious name of *The High Court of Juſtice.* For which they appoint 150 Judges (that the Number might ſeem to repreſent the whole Multitude) of the moſt violent and headie of all the Faction: To whom they give *a power of citing, hearing, judging and puniſhing* CHARLES STUART *King of* England. To make up this Number they had named ſix *Peers* of the Upper Houſe, and the twelve *Judges* of the Land. But the greateſt part were Officers of the Army (who having confederated againſt His Majeſty, and publickly required His Blood, could not without a contempt to the light of Reaſon be appointed His Judges) and Members of the Lower Houſe, who were moſt violent againſt Monarchy, and indeed all Government wherein themſelves had no ſhare. The reſt were Perſons pick'd out of the City of *London* and Suburbs thereof, who they imagined would be moſt obſequious to their Luſts.

"Thoſe that ſurveyed the Liſt, and knew the men, deemed them moſt
"unfit for a Truſt of Juſtice, and proper Inſtruments for any wicked
"undertaking; for of theſe Judges one or two were *Coblers*, others
"*Brewers*, one a *Goldſmith*, and many of them *Mechanicks.* Such among
"them as were deſcended of ancient Families, were men of ſo mean
"worth that they were onely like the *Statues* of their Anceſtors, had
"nothing but their Names to make them known unto the World.
"Some of them were *Spend-thrifts*, *Bankrupts*, (ſuch as could be nei-
"ther ſafe nor free, unleſs the Kingdom were in Bondage) and moſt
"notorious *Adulterers*, whoſe every member was infamous with its proper
"Vice; Vain and Atheiſtical in their Diſcourſe, Cowardly and Baſe
"in Spirit, Bloodie and Cruel in their Counſels, and thoſe Parts that

"cannot honeſtly be named were moſt diſhoneſt. *One* of them was "accuſed of a *Rape*; *Another* had publiſhed a *Book* of Blaſphemies againſt "the *Trinity of the Deity*. Some of them could not hope to get *impunity* for "their Oppreſſions of the Country and Expilations of the publick Trea- "ſure, but by their miniſtry to this Murther. Others could not promiſe "themſelves an *advancement* of their abject or declining Fortune but by this "Iniquity. Yet all theſe by the Faction were inrolled in the Regiſter of "Saints, though fitter to ſtand as Malefactors at the Bar, then to ſit upon "Seats of Judgement. And notwithſtanding their diligent ſearch for ſuch "a Number of men, who would not bluſh at nor fear any guilt, ſome "of thoſe whom they had named, in abhorrencie of the Impiety, refuſed "to ſit; and ſome that did, yet met there in hopes of diſturbing their "Counſels.

All this while the Houſe of *Peers* were not conſulted, and it was commonly ſuppoſed that moſt of them terrified with thoſe Preparations againſt the *King* (*the onely defence of the Nobleſs againſt the Popular Envie*) would abſent themſelves from that Houſe, except four or five that were the Darlings of the Faction; and they deemed the Names and Compliance of thoſe few were enough to give credit and Authority to their bloodie Act. But in them they were diſappointed alſo; for ſome of the *Peers* did conſtantly meet, and on that day wherein the *Bill for Trial of the King* was carried up to that Houſe, there were Seventeen then preſent (a greater Number then uſual,) who all Unanimouſly (even the Democratick Lords not diſſenting) did reject *the Bill as Dangerous and Illegal*. This ſo highly provoked the Fury of the Faction, that they meditated a ſevere revenge, and for the preſent blotted out thoſe *Peers*, whoſe Names they had before put into their Ordinance, to make their Court more ſplendid. After this they did alſo raſe out the names of the *Judges of the Land*; for they being privately conſulted concerning theſe Proceedings againſt the *King*, (although they had been all raiſed to that Dignity and Truſt by the Faction, yet) anſwered that *It was contrary to the known Laws and Cuſtomes of* England, *that the King ſhould be brought to Trial.*

To heal theſe two wounds which the *Lords* and *Judges* had branded their Cauſe with, they uſe two other Artifices to keep up the Spirits and Concurrence of their Party. Firſt, they bring from *Hertfordſhire* a woman (ſome ſay a *Witch*) who ſaid, that *God by a Revelation to her did approve of the Armie's Proceedings*. Which Meſſage from Heaven was well accepted of with thanks, as *being very ſeaſonable, and coming from an humble Spirit*. A ſecond was the *Agreement of the People*, which was a Module of a *Democratical* Politie, wherein thoſe whoſe abject Condition had ſet them at a great diſtance from Government, had their hopes raiſed to a ſhare of it, if they conſpired to remove the great Obſtruction, which was the Perſon and Life of the *King*. This was preſented to the Houſe of Commons

mons by Sr *Hardreſs Waller* and ſixteen other Officers, as a temporary remedy; for when they had perpetrated their Impiety, they diſcountenanced and fiercely proſecuted thoſe that endeavoured it.

In confidence of theſe their Arts and their preſent Power, notwithſtanding all theſe publick Abhorrencies and Deteſtations by all Perſons of Honour and Knowledge, they enacted their Bill. And for *Preſident* of this Court, they choſe one of the Number, *John Bradſhaw*; "A perſon of an equal Infamy with his new emploiment. A mon- "ſter of Impudence, and a moſt fierce Proſecuter of evil purpoſes. Of "no repute among thoſe of his own Robe for any Knowledge in the "Law: but of ſo virulent and petulant a Language, that he knew no "meaſure of modeſty in Speaking; and was therefore more often "bribed to be ſilent, then fee'd to maintain a Client's cauſe. His Vices "had made him penurious, and thoſe with his penury had ſeaſoned "him for any execrable undertaking. They alſo had a *Sollicitor* of the ſame metal, *John Cooke*, "A needy man, who by various Arts and ma- "ny Crimes had ſought for a neceſſary Subſiſtence, yet ſtill ſo poor "that he was forced to ſeek the ſhelter of obſcure and ſordid corners "to avoid the Priſon. So that vexed with a tedious Poverty, he was "prevailed upon through the hopes of ſome ſplendid booties to ven- "ture on this emploiment, which at the firſt mention he did profeſs "to abhorre. Theſe were their chief Agents: other inferiour mini- ſters they had equally qualified with theſe their prime Inſtruments, as *Doriſlaus* a German *Bandito*, who was to draw up the Charge; *Steele*, another of their Counſel, under pretence of ſickneſs covered his fear of the Event, though he did not abhorre the wickedneſs of the Enterpriſe, having before uſed his Tongue in a cauſe very unjuſt, and relating to this, the Murther of Captain *Burleigh*. The *Serjeants*, *Clerks* and *Cryer* were ſo obſcure, that the world had never taken notice of them, but by their ſubſerviency to this Impiety.

Theſe were the publick Preparations; In private they continually met to contrive the Form of their Proceedings, and the Matter of their Accuſation. Concerning the firſt they were divided in Opinions. Some would have the *King* firſt formally degraded and deveſted of all His Royal habiliments and Enſignes of Majeſty, and then as a private perſon expoſed to Juſtice. But this ſeemed to require a longer ſpace of time then would comport with their project, which, as all horrid acts, was to be done in a preſent fury, leſt good Counſels might gather ſtrength by their Delay. Others rejected this courſe as too evidently conforming with the *Popiſh* procedure againſt *Sovereign Princes*, and they feared to confirm that common Suſpicion, that they followed *Jeſuitical* Counſels (whoſe *Society* (it is reported) upon the *King*'s offering to give all poſſible Security againſt the Corruptions of the Church of *Rome*, at a Council of theirs did decree to uſe their whole Intereſt and Power with the Faction to haſten the *King*'s death.) Which ſober *Proteſtants* had reaſon enough to believe, becauſe all or moſt of the

the Arguments which were uſed by the Aſſertors of this Violence on His Majeſty were but gleanings from *Popiſh* Writers. Theſe Conſiderations caſt the Determination on their ſide who, deſigning a Tyrannical *Oligarchy*, whereby they themſelves might have a ſhare in the Government, would have the *King* proceeded againſt as *King*, that by ſo ſhedding His Blood they might extinguiſh Majeſty, and with Him murther Monarchy. For ſeveral of them did confeſs, that indeed He was guilty of no Crime more then that He was their *King*, and becauſe the Excellencie of His Parts, and Eminent Vertues, together with the Rights of His Birth, would not ſuffer Him to be a private Perſon.

In their ſecond debate about the Matter of Accuſation, all willingly embraced the Advice of *Harriſon* (who was emulous of the Power of *Cromwell*, and though now his creature, yet afterwards became the Firebrand and Whirlwinde of the following Times) *to blacken Him* as much as they could; yet found they not wherewith to pollute His Name. For their old Scandals which they had amaſſed in their Declaration for no more Addreſſes to the *King*, had been ſo publickly refuted, that they could afford no colour for His Murther. Therefore they formed their Accuſation from that Warre to which they had neceſſitated Him. And their Charge was, that *He had levied War againſt the Parliament; that He had appeared in Arms in ſeveral places, and did there proclaim War, and executed it by killing ſeveral of the Good People; for which they impeached Him as a Tyrant, Traitor, Murderer, and an implacable Common Enemy.* "This Charge, in the Judgement of Con- "ſidering men, argued a greater guilt in thoſe that proſecuted it then "in Him againſt whom it was formed: for they ſeemed leſs ſenſible "of the inſtability and infirmities of humane Nature, then thoſe that "had none but her light to make them generous, for ſuch never re- "proached their conquered Enemies with their Victorie; but theſe "men would murther their own Prince, againſt whom they had nothing "more to object then the unhappy iſſues of a *War*, which *leaves the Con- "quered the onely Criminal, while the names of Juſtice and Goodneſs are the "ſpoils of the Conquerour.* How falſe thoſe Imputations of *Tyranny*, "*Treaſon* and *Murther* were, was ſufficiently underſtood by thoſe who "conſidered the peaceful part of the *King*'s Reign; wherein it was "judged, that if in any thing He had declined from the ſafeſt arts of "Empire, it was in the neglect of a juſt Severity on Seditious per- "ſons whom the Laws had condemned to die. And in the War it was "known how often His Lenity had clipped the wings of Victory. But "it appeared that theſe men, as they had broken all Rights of Peace, "ſo they would alſo thoſe of Conqueſt, and deſtroy that which their "Arms pretended to ſave.

How little credit their Accuſation found appeared by the endeavours of all Parties to preſerve the *King*'s Perſon from Danger, and the Nation from the guilt of His Blood. For while they were thus engaged

gaged to perpetrate their intended Miſchiefs, all Parties declare againſt it. The *Presbyterian* Miniſters, almoſt all thoſe of *London*, and very many out of the ſeveral *Counties*, and ſome, though few, alſo of the *Independents*, did in their Sermons and Conferences, as alſo by Monitory Letters, Petitions, Proteſtations and Remonſtrances, publickly divulged, adjure the Aſſaſſinates not to draw ſo great a guilt upon themſelves and the whole Nation by that Murther. *For it was contrary to thoſe numerous and fearful Obligations of their many Oathes; to the Publick and Private Faith, which was expreſt in their Proteſtations and many Declarations; to the Laws of the Land, thoſe of Nature, and Nations, and the Commands of Scripture. That it was to the diſhonour of our Religion, and againſt the publick good of the Kingdom.* But all was fruitleſs, for they had loſt their Miniſterial Authority by ſerving the Faction ſo long, till they needed not their aſſiſtance, and deſpiſed their admonitions: Beſides, the very ſame Principles they preached to kindle the War were now beat back into their faces, and made uſe of againſt them to adjuſt the Murther. The People alſo contemned them for their ſhortſightedneſs, in that they would be the headie and indiſcreet Inſtruments of ſuch men, and in ſuch practices as muſt of neceſſity at laſt ruine them and all Miniſters, as well as the *King* and Biſhops.

The *Scots* alſo by their Commiſsioners declare and proteſt againſt it. The *States of Holland* by their Ambaſſadors (if they were faithful in their truſt) did intercede, and deprecate it as moſt deſtructive to the *Proteſtant* Intereſt. Some of the moſt eminent of the *Nobility*, as the *Earl of Southampton*, the *Duke of Richmond*, the *Marqueſs of Hertford*, the *Earl of Lindſey*, and others, neglect no waies, either by Prayers or Ranſome, to ſave the *King*. Yea they offered themſelves, as being the prime Miniſters of the *King*'s Commands, as *Hoſtages* for Him, and if the Conſpirators muſt needs be fed with blood, to ſuffer in His ſtead for whatſoever He had done amiſs. The *Prince* piouſly aſſaies all waies and means to deliver His Father from the danger. For beſides the *States Ambaſſadours* (whom He had procured) both He and the *Prince of Orange* did daily ſend as Agents the Kindred, Relations, and Allies of *Cromwell*, *Ireton*, and the other Conſpirators, with full power to propoſe any Conditions, make any Promiſes, and uſe all Threatnings to divert them, if it were poſſible, from their intended Cruelty, or at leaſt to gain ſome time before the Execution. But all was in vain, for no Conditions of Peace could pleaſe them who were poſſeſſed with unlawful and immoderate deſires: their Ambition (that is more impetuous then all other affections) had ſwallowed the hopes of Empire; therefore they would remove the *King* to enthrone themſelves. Some thought that their deſpair of Pardon had hardened them to a greater Inhumanity, for if after all theſe attempts they continued the *King*'s Life, they muſt begge their own; which they knew Juſtice would not, and they reſolved Mercie ſhould not give; for this is reckoned among the benefits which we hate to receive, and *Men are uſually aſhamed to confeſs they deſerved death.*

Whatsoever it was that truely made them thus cruel, they publickly pretended no other Motive then the *Calls* and *Ducts* of *Providence*, and the *Impulses* of the *Blessed Spirit*. To carry on this cheat, *Hugh Peters* (" the Pulpit-Buffoon, of a luxuriant Speech, skill'd to move the " Rabble by mimical Gestures, Impudent, and Prodigal of his own and " others fame, Ignominious from his Youth, for then suffering the con- " tumely of Discipline, being publickly whipt, at *Cambridge*, he was ever " after an Enemy to Government, and therefore leagued himself with " unquiet Sectaries) preaches before these fictitious Judges upon that Text *Psal.* 149.8. *To binde their Kings in chains, and their nobles in fetters of iron.* He assures them undoubtedly that this was prophecied of them, that they were the *Saints* related to in that Scripture, that they should judge the *Kings* of the Earth, often calling them in his profane Harangue the *Saint-Judges*. Then he professed that *he had for a certain found upon a strict Scrutiny, that there were in the Army* 5000 *Saints, no less holy then those that now in Heaven conversed with God.* Afterwards kneeling in his Pulpit, weeping and lifting up his hands, he earnestly begges them in the name of the *People of England*, that they would execute Justice upon that Wretch CHARLES, and would not let *Benhadad* escape in Safety. Then he inveighs against *Monarchy*, and wrests the Parable of *Jotham* to his purpose, wherein when the *Trees* would chuse a *King*, the *Vine* and the *Olive* refused the Dignity, but the *Bramble* received the Empire, and he compared *Monarchy* to the *Bramble*. And all the while of contriving and executing this Murther he preached to the Souldiers, and in some places about the *City*, bitterly and contemptuously railing against the *King*. Others also of the Congregational perswasion acted their parts in this *Tragedie*, but more closely, and not so much in the face of the Sun.

The Conspirators taking heat from their infamous Preachers, whom they themselves had first kindled, and somewhat doubting that these several strong Applications from all Parties to save the *King*, and the Universal Discontents, might take some advantage from their delay, with more speed hasten the Assassination. In order to which they send a *Serjeant of Arms* with a guard of Horse (lest the People should stone him for his Employment) into *Westminster-Hall*, and other places in *London*, to *summon all that could lay any crime to the* King's *charge, to come, and give in their evidence against Him.* Having proclaimed their wicked purposes, and dress'd up a *Tribunal* at the upper end of *Westminster-Hall*, with all the shapes of terror, where the *President* with his abject and bloody Assistants were placed, thither afterwards they bring this most Excellent *Monarch*, whom having despoiled of three Great Kingdoms, they now determined also to deprive of Life.

Into which Scene the *King* enter'd with a generous Miene, shewing no signes of discomposure, nor any thing beneath His former Majesty; but as if He were to combate for Glory the monsters of Mankinde,

He

He undauntedly took the Seat which was ſet for Him, with ſcorn looking upon the fictitious Judges, and with pity upon the People, who crouding in (the great Gates of the *Hall* being flung open) did bewail in Him the frailty of our Humane condition, whoſe higheſt Greatneſs hath no Security: A ſad Spectacle even to thoſe that were not in danger.

He being ſet, the Charge againſt Him was read with all thoſe reproachful terms of *Tyrant*, *Traitor* and *Murtherer*; after which He was impleaded in the name of the *People of England*. This falſe Slander of the *People of England* was heard with Impatience and Deteſtation of all, and ſtoutly atteſted againſt by the Lady *Fairfax*, Wife of the Lord *Fairfax*, who by this act ſhewed her ſelf worthy of her Extract from the Noble Family of the *Veres*; for from an adjoyning Scaffold where ſhe ſtood, ſhe cried out with a loud voice (but not without danger) that *It was a Lie, not the Tenth part of the People were guilty of ſuch a Crime, but all was done by the Machinations of that Traitor* Cromwell.

But the *King* after the Charge was read, with a countenance full of Majeſty and Gravity, demands by what Authority they proceeded with Him thus contrary to the Publick Faith, and what Law they had to try Him that was an abſolute Sovereign. *Bradſhaw* replying, that of the Parliament; His Majeſty ſhewed the deteſtable Falſhood in pretending to what they had not, and if they had it, yet it could not juſtifie theſe Practices. To which reply when they could not anſwer, they force Him back to the place of His Captivity.

The Magnanimity of the *King* in this dayes conteſt with theſe inhumane Butchers did much ſatisfie the People, and they were glad (while they thought not of His Danger) that He wanted not either Speech or Courage againſt ſo powerful Enemies; that He had ſpoken nothing unworthy of Himſelf, and had preſerved the Fame of His Vertues even in ſo great Adverſities. For He ſeemed to triumph over their Fortune whoſe Arms He was now ſubject to. The Parricides ſought to break His Spirit by making His appearances frequent before ſuch contemptible Judges, and often expoſing Him to the contempt of the armed Rabble; therefore four daies they torture Him with the Impudence and Reproaches of their Infamous Sollicitor and Preſident. But He ſtill refuſed to own their Authority, which they could not prove lawful, and ſo excellently demonſtrated their abominable Impiety, that He made Col. *Downes*, one of their Court, to boggle at and diſturb their Proceedings. They therefore at laſt proceeded to take away that Life which was not to be ſeparated from Conſcience and Honour, and pronounced their Sentence of Death upon their Lawful and Juſt Sovereign, *Jan.* 27. not ſuffering Him to ſpeak after the decree of their Villany, but hurrying Him back to the place of His Reſtraint.

At His departure He was expoſed to all the Inſolencies and Indignities that a phanatick and baſe Rabble, inſtigated by *Peters* and

other *Inſtructors of Villany*, could invent and commit. And He ſuffer'd many things ſo conformable to *Chriſt* His *King*, as did alleviate the ſenſe of them in Him, and alſo inſtruct Him to a correſpondent Patience and Charity. When the barbarous Souldiers cried out at His departure, *Juſtice, Juſtice, Execution, Execution*, as thoſe deceived *Jews* did once to their KING, *Crucifie Him, Crucifie Him*; this *Prince*, in imitation of that moſt *Holy King*, pitied their blinde fury, and ſaid, *Poor Souls! for a piece of Money they would doe as much for their Commanders*. As He paſſed along, ſome in defiance ſpit upon His Garments, and one or two (as it was reported by an Officer of theirs, who was one of their Court, and praiſed it as an evidence of His Souldiers Gallantry, while others were ſtupified with their prodigious baſeneſs) polluted His Majeſtick Countenance with their unclean ſpittle: the *Good King*, reflecting on His great *Exemplar* and Maſter, wiped it off, ſaying, *My Saviour ſuffer'd far more then this for me*. Into his very face they blowed their ſtinking Tobacco, which they knew was very diſtaſteful to Him; and in the way where He was to goe, juſt at His feet, they flung down pieces of their naſty pipes. And as they had deveſted themſelves of all humanity, ſo were they impatient and furious if any one ſhewed Reverence or Pity to Him as He paſſed. (For *no honeſt Spirit could be ſo forgetful of humane frailty, as not to be troubled at ſuch a ſight; to ſee a Great and Juſt King, the rightful Lord of three flouriſhing Kingdoms, now forced from His Throne, and led captive through the ſtreets.*) Such as pull'd off their Hats, or bowed to Him, they beat with their Fiſts and Weapons, and knock'd down one dead but for crying out *God be merciful unto Him*.

When they had brought Him to His Chamber, even there they ſuffered Him not to reſt, but thruſting in and ſmoaking their filthy Tobacco, they permitted Him no privacie to *Prayer* and *Meditation*. Thus through variety of Tortures did the *King* paſs this day, and by His Patience wearied His Tormentors: nothing unworthy His former greatneſs of Fortune and Minde by all theſe Affronts was extorted from Him, though *Indignities and Injuries are unuſual to Princes*, and theſe were ſuch as might have forced paſſion from the beſt-tempered meekneſs, had it not been ſtrengthned with aſſiſtance from Heaven. In the Evening the *Conſpirators* were acquainted by a Member of the Army, of the *King*'s deſire, that ſeeing His death was nigh, it might be permitted Him to ſee His *Children*, and to receive the *Sacrament*, and that Doctor *Juxon*, then Lord *Biſhop of London*, (now *Arch-Biſhop of Canterbury*) might be admitted to pray with Him in His private Chamber. The firſt they did not ſcruple at, the Children in their power being but two, the Lady *Elizabeth* and the *Duke of Gloceſter*, and they very young. The ſecond they did not readily grant. Some would have had *Peters* to undertake that emploiment for which the Biſhop was ſent for: But he declined it with ſome Scoffs, as knowing that the *King* hated the Offices of ſuch an unhallowed Buffoon. So that at laſt they permitted the

the Biſhops acceſs to the *King*, to whom his eminent Integrity had made him dear. For with ſo wonderful a prudence and uprightneſs he had managed the envious office of the *Treaſurie*, that that accuſing age, eſpecially of *Church-men*, found not matter for any impeachment, nor ground for the leaſt reproach.

The next day being *Sunday*, the *King* was removed to St *James's*, where the *Biſhop of London* read Divine Service, and preached before Him in private on theſe words, *In the day when God ſhall judge the ſecrets of all men by Jeſus Chriſt according to my Goſpell.* While the *King* and the *Biſhop* at this time, and alſo at other times, were performing the *Divine Service*, the rude Souldiers often ruſhed in and diſturbed their *Offices* with vulgar and baſe Scoffs, vain and frivolous Queſtions. The Commanders likewiſe and other impertinent *Anabaptiſts* did interrupt His Meditations, who came to tempt and try Him, and provoke Him to ſome unneceſſary diſputations. But He maintained His own Cauſe with ſo irrefragable Arguments, that He put ſome to ſilence, the petulancie of others He neglected, and with a modeſt contempt diſſembled their Scoffs and Reproaches. In the narrow ſpace of this one day, and under ſo continued Affronts and Diſturbances, the *King* (whoſe whole Soul was totally compoſed to Religion,) applied Himſelf, as much as was poſſible, to the Reading Holy Scriptures, to Prayer, Confeſſion of Sins, Supplications for the forgiveneſs of His Enemies, the receiving the Euchariſt, holy Conferences, and all the Offices of Piety: ſo under the utmoſt Malice and Hatred of men, He laboured for the Mercy of God, and to fit Himſelf for His laſt victory over Death.

While the *King* thus ſpent this day, the *Miniſters* in the ſeveral Churches in *London*, and in thoſe parts of the Kingdom where His danger was known, were very earneſt in their Prayers to God for His Deliverance and Spiritual Aſsiſtance. "Some of them in their Sermons "declared the horrour of that ſin that was about to be committed, deteſted "the Impiety of the Parricides, and denounced the heavy Judgements "which ſuch a ſinful Nation polluted with their Prince's blood were to "expect. The *Congregations* were diſſolved into Tears. Some bewailed the "ſad Condition of the *King*, as the effect of the Sins of the Nation. "Others curſed their damnable Credulity of the Slanders of that Juſt "man, and the promiſes of Liberty by their Impoſtors. And another "ſort wept, becauſe their Fears did prognoſticate thoſe Miſeries which "the Iſſue of His blood would let in upon them. And every one found "matter of grief, fear, and indignation in the loſs of ſo Excellent a Prince. "All countenances were full of ſadneſs and aſtoniſhment, there was no "Tumults nor any Quiet, every one liſtning and hearkning, either as im-"patient to know the greatneſs of their Miſery, or greedy to receive ſome "hopes of Comfort in their Sovereign's Safety; otherwiſe there was a "ſtilneſs like that which too ſtrong Paſsions effect, and might be thought "a Stupidity rather then a Calmneſs.

The next day, being *Jan.* 29. the *King* was permitted the ſight of His Children. His conference and words with them was taken in writing and communicated to the World by the Lady *Elizabeth* His Daughter, a Lady of moſt eminent Endowments; who though born in the ſupremeſt Fortune, yet lived in continual Tears, the paſſages of her Life being ſpent in beholding the Ruines of her Family, and the Murther of her dear Father, whom ſhe not long ſurvived, but died in that Confinement to which they had cheated His Majeſty, in *Carisbrook Caſtle* in the *Iſle of Wight*.

While theſe things were done in publick, the *Conſpirators* meet in private in a Committee, to appoint every one their part in this Tragedy, determine what Geſtures they were to affect, what Words they were to uſe, as alſo for the maner, place and time of the *Murther*. In which Conſultations, both now and before the Sentence, each one, according to the bloodineſs of his temperament, or ſervilely to flatter *Cromwell*, by their Cruelty to Him that did obſtruct his Ambition, did propoſe ſeveral waies either of contempt or hatred in killing their ſentenced, yet anointed, *Sovereign*. Some would have His Head and Quarters faſtned upon Poles (as it is uſual with Traitors) that the marks of their Cruelty might out-laſt His Death. Others would have Him hanged, as they puniſhed Thieves and Murtherers. Others gave their Vote that He ſhould ſuffer in His Royal Habiliments with His Crown, and in His Robes, that it might be a Triumph of the Peoples power over *Kings*.

At laſt they think it ſufficient that He ſhould loſe His Head by the ſtroak of an Axe on a Scaffold near *White-Hall* Gates before the *Banqueting*-Houſe, that ſo from thence where He uſed to ſit on His Throne, and ſhew the Splendour of Majeſty, He might paſs to His Grave; there parting with the Enſignes of Royalty, and laying them down as Spoils, where He had before uſed them as the Ornaments of Empire. Thus did they endeavour to make their Malice Ingenious, and provided Triumphs for their revenge. And becauſe they ſuſpected, or were informed, that as the *King* had not owned their Authority, ſo He would not ſubmit to their Execution, not willingly ſtoop to the Block, they cauſed to be faſtned in it ſome Iron Staples and Rings, that by them with Cords they might draw Him down, if He would not comply. But His prudent Meekneſs prevented this Inhumanity; and He dyed diſowning their Authority, though He could not eſcape their Power.

In the midſt of theſe Preparations, they cauſe ſome Souldiers to offer to His *Majeſty* certain Articles and Conditions, to which if He would ſubſcribe, they promiſe Life, and the continuance of a precarious Empire: either out of a Terrour and Fear of the conſequents of their Impieties; for the confidence of contriving great Crimes is often turned into a ſollicitude when they come to be acted: or out of Deſigne to ruine His Conſcience and Honour together with His mortal Life, if He ſhould conſent. But when one or two of them had been read to Him, He refuſed to hear any more, ſaying, *I will ſuffer a thouſand*

ſand deaths ere I will ſo proſtitute my Honour, or betray the Liberties of my People. Thus mindful of Juſtice, He would not deface the Splendor of His former Vertues with a too impotent deſire of Life.

At laſt that Fatal Day *Jan.* 30. approached: and that morning, a little before His Death, the Conſpirators ordered ſome of their *Miniſters, viz. Marſhall, Nye, Caryl, Salway* and *Dell,* to pray with Him, as they ſaid, in order to His paſſage out of this Life; but when theſe ſent to let Him know the end of their coming, He returned anſwer that *He was buſie*: they ſent a ſecond time, and He replied that *He was at His Devotions*: they importunately ſent a third time, and my Lord of *London* then deſiring to know what anſwer he ſhould give to ſatisfie them; His Majeſty then as unconcerned in their Miniſtery ſaid, *My Lord, you may give them what anſwer you pleaſe, but I am reſolved that they who have ſo often and ſo cauſeleſly praied* againſt *Me, ſhall not in this My Agony pray* with *Me, they may pray* for *Me if they pleaſe.* Therefore the *King* arming Himſelf with His own Devotions in the Offices of the Church of *England,* in them found an unexpected Comfort; for the Goſpel for that Day being the Hiſtory of the Paſsion of our Saviour, did by that Example ſtrengthen the *King* to follow *Jeſus,* and to take up His Croſs; and His Majeſty was thankful for that Pattern. Being thus confirmed by the Blood (for He took the Sacrament that Morning) and Sufferings of His LORD (whoſe Vicegerent He was) together with His own Innocency, againſt the Terrors of Death, He was brought from St *James's* through the Park to *White-Hall,* walking very faſt, and with as chearful a Countenance as if He were going to Hunting, (a Recreation He was much pleaſed with,) often adviſing His ſlow guards to move faſter, adding, *I now goe before you to ſtrive for an Heavenly Crown, with leſs ſollicitude then I formerly have led My Souldiers for an Earthly Diademe.* And being come to the end of the Park, He with much Alacrity went up the Stairs leading to the long Gallery in *White-Hall*, and ſo into the *Cabinet-Chamber,* where He continued ſome time in Devotion, while they were fitting the Theatre of His Murther.

While theſe things were acting, the Lord *Fairfax,* who had alwaies forborn any publick appearance in the practices of this Murther, had taken up (as is credibly reported) ſome Reſolutions, (either in abhorrencie of the Crime, or by the Solicitations of others) with his own Regiment, though none elſe ſhould follow him, to hinder the Execution. This being ſuſpected or known, *Cromwell*, *Ireton* and *Harriſon* coming to him, after their uſual way of deceiving, endeavoured to perſwade him, that the LORD *had rejected the King,* and with ſuch like Language as they knew had formerly prevailed upon him, concealing that they had that very morning ſigned the Warrant for the Aſſaſſination; they alſo deſired him *with them to ſeek the* LORD *by Prayer, that they might know his minde in the thing.* Which he aſſenting to, *Harriſon* was appointed for the duty, and by compact to draw out his profane and blaſphemous diſcourſe to God in ſuch a length as might give time for

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the Execution, which they privately ſent to their Inſtruments to haſten; of which when they had notice that it was paſt, they roſe up, and perſwaded the General that this was a full return of Prayer, and God having ſo manifeſted his pleaſure they were to acquieſce in it. There was likewiſe another attempt made by Col. *Downes*, who had diſturbed them in their Court, to obſtruct them in their Execution; for it is ſaid that he endeavoured to make a Mutiny in the Army to hinder the Wickedneſs, but the haſt of the Aſſaſſinates prevented him.

While theſe men acted their Wickedneſs by Prayers, to the laſting reproach of Chriſtianity, the *King*, after He had finiſhed His Supplications, was through the *Banqueting*-Houſe brought to the Scaffold, which was dreſs'd to terrour, for it was all hung with Black, where were attending two Executioners in Diſguiſes, and the Axe and the Block prepared. But it prevailed not to affright Him whoſe Soul was already panting after another Life. And therefore He entred this ignominious and gaſtly Theatre with the ſame minde as He uſed to carry to His Throne, ſhewing no fear of death, but a Solicitude for thoſe that ſhould live after Him. Looking about He ſaw divers Companies of Horſe and Foot ſo placed on each ſide of the Street and about the Scaffold, that the People could not come near Him, and thoſe that ſaw could not be Hearers; therefore omitting that Speech which it was probable He would have ſpoken to the People, He ſpoke to the Officers, and thoſe that were then about Him, that which is now printed among His Works.

Having ended His Speech, He declared His Profeſſion of Religion; and while He was preparing for the Block, He expreſſed what were His Hopes (for all the Righteous have ſuch) in Death, ſaying, *I have a good Cauſe and a Gracious God on my ſide; I goe from a Corruptible to an Incorruptible Crown, where no diſturbance can be, no diſturbance in the World.* After this compoſing Himſelf to an addreſs to God, having His Eyes and Hands like fore-runners lifted up to Heaven, and expreſſing ſome ſhort and private Ejaculations, He kneeled down before the Block as at a Desk of Prayer, and meekly ſubmitted His *Crowned Head* to the pleaſure of His God, to be profaned by the Axe of the *diſguiſed Executioner*: which was ſuddenly ſevered from His Body by one ſtrong ſtroke. *So fell* CHARLES *the Firſt, and with Him expired the Glory and Liberty of Three Nations.*

Thus the *King* finiſhed His Martyrdom, but His Enemies not their Malice, who extended their Cruelty beyond His Life, and abuſed the Headleſs Trunk. Some waſhed their hands in the Royal Blood, others dipt their ſtaves in it; and that they might indulge their inſatiate Covetouſneſs as well as their boundleſs Inhumanity, they ſold the chips of the Block, and the ſands that were diſcoloured with His Blood, and expoſed His very Hairs to ſale: which the Spectators purchaſed for different uſes. Some did it to preſerve the Relicks of ſo Glorious a Prince, whom they ſo dearly loved. Others hoped that they would be as means

means of Cure for that diſeaſe which our Engliſh *Kings* (through the Indulgence of Heaven) by Their touch did uſually heal: and it was reported that theſe Reliques experienced failed not of the effect. And ſome out of a brutiſh malice would have them as ſpoiles and trophees of their hatred to their Lawfull Sovereign. *Cromwell*, that he might feed his eies with Cruelty, and ſatisfie his ſollicitous Ambition, which aſpired at *Monarchy* when the Lawfull King was deſtroied, curiouſly ſurveyed the murthered Carcaſs when it was brought in the Coffin into *White-Hall*, and to aſſure himſelf the *King* was quite dead, with his fingers ſearched the wound, whether the Head were fully ſevered from the body or no.

Afterwards they delivered the body to be unbowelled to an infamous *Empirick* of the Faction, together with the rude *Chirurgions* of the Army (not permitting the *King*'s own Phyſicians to this Office) who were all moſt implacable enemies to His Majeſty, and commanded them *to ſearch* (which was as much as to bid them ſo report) *whether they could not find in it Symptomes of the French diſeaſe, or ſome evidences of Frigidity, and natural impotency*: that ſo they might have ſome colour to ſlander Him who was eminent for *Chaſtity*; or to make His Seed infamous. But this wicked Deſigne was prevented by a *Phyſician* of great Integrity and Skill, who intruding himſelf among them at the Diſſection, by his Preſence and Authority kept the obſequious Wretches from gratifying their Opprobrious Maſters. And the ſame *Phyſician* alſo publiſhed that Nature had tempered the Royal Body to a longer life then commonly is granted to other men. And as His Soul was fitted by Heroick Vertues to *Eternity*, ſo His Body by a Temperament almoſt *ad pondus* made as near an approach to it as the preſent Condition of Mortality would permit.

Failing in theſe Opportunities of Calumny, with more Impudence and Rancor they uſe other waies to make Him odious, and raſe the Love of Him out of the People's hearts. They conclude from the outward unhappineſſes of His Reign unto an hatred of God againſt Him; and with the ſame Confidence as they inrolled themſelves in the Liſt of the Saints, and entred their own names in the Book of Life, they blotted His out, and placed Him in ſome of the dark and comfortleſs Cells of the damned: and they commonly profeſſed it among the diſciples of the Faction as an Article of their belief, that it was impoſsible for Him or any of His party to be ſaved.

Not content with theſe Injuries to His Body and Soul, they endeavour likewiſe to murther His *Memory*. For they pull'd down His *Statue* which was placed at the Weſt end of St *Paul*'s Church, and that other in the *Old Exchange*, and leaving the Arch void, they writ over, *Exit Tyrannus Regum ultimus*. But the Providence of God hath ſhewed them to be not only deceivers, but alſo deceived. For that Juſt Prince hath of His own ſeed to ſit upon His Throne. And Poſterity ſhall wonder at the Vanity as ell as the Falſeneſs of thoſe men, that they

ſhould think to deſtroy the Memory of that Prince whoſe true and laſting Glory conſiſted not in any thing wherein it was poſsible for Succeſſors to ſhew the Power of their Malice, but in *a ſolid Vertue, which flouriſheth by Age, and whoſe Fame gathers ſtrength from multitude of Years, when Statues and Monuments are obnoxious to the flames of a Violent Envy and the Ruines of Time.*

Beſides this, they take care to ſuppreſs all thoſe more Lively figures of Him and more laſting Statues, His Writings, and therefore force from My Lord of *London*, whom they kept priſoner, all thoſe Papers His Majeſty had delivered to him, and make a moſt narrow ſearch of his Cloathes and Cabinets, leſt any of thoſe Monuments of Piety and Wiſdom ſhould eſcape to the Benefit of Mankinde. Yet by the gracious Goodneſs of the Almighty God, to their eternal infamy, and for a perpetual record of the *King*'s great Vertues, there eſcaped their Search, and was publiſhed to the World, *The Book of His Meditations and Soliloquies.* In the Compoſition of which a Sober Reader cannot tell which to admire moſt, either His incredible Prudence, His ardent Piety, or His Majeſtick and truly Royal *Style.* Thoſe parts of it which conſiſted of Addreſſes to God correſponded ſo nearly in the Occaſions, and were ſo full of the Piety and Elegancie of *David*'s *Pſalms*, that they ſeemed to be dictated by the ſame Spirit.

His very Aſſaſsinates confeſſed the goodneſs of the Book, though they were aſhamed He whom they had murthered ſhould be the Author. For *Bradſhaw* in his examination of *Royſton* who printed it, asked him, *How he could think ſo bad a man* (for ſuch would that Monſter have this Excellent Prince thought to be) *could write ſo good a book.* Therefore they laboured by all waies and means to ſuppreſs it, as the greateſt witneſs againſt them to Poſterity, and which would make them odious in all Generations. For *the Blood of the Holy, Wiſe and Eloquent, leaves eternal ſtains of Infamy upon thoſe that ſpill'd it; becauſe no man reads their Works, but they curſe thoſe cruel hands which cut the veines and ſtopp'd the ſtreams of ſo much Goodneſs; and we eſteem them barbarous and inhumane Monſters who did not Reverence the Perſons of thoſe whoſe Writings we admire.*

But their fury became ridiculous, while they thought by their preſent power to corrupt His Memory and take off the admiration of the following Ages; for the more they hindred the publication, the more earneſtly it was ſought after: yet they endeavoured it another way, and therefore hired certain mercenary Souls to deſpoil the *King* of the Credit of being the Author of it. Eſpecially one baſe Scribe, naturally fitted to compoſe Satyres and invent Reproaches, who made himſelf notorious by ſome licentious and infamous Pamphlets, and ſo approved himſelf as fit for their ſervice. This man they encouraged (by tranſlating him from a needy Pedagogue to the office of a Secretary) to write that Scandalous book Εικονοκλάστης, (an Invective againſt the *King*'s Meditations) and to anſwer the learned *Salmaſius* his Defence of *Charles the Firſt.* But all was in vain, for thoſe that were able to judge

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of *Styles* found it must be the same Pen which wrought these Meditations, and drew those Letters which the Faction had published for His. Others, that were not able to satisfie themselves by such a Censure, were assured of it by the Relations of Col. *Hammond* that was His Keeper, who did attest to several Persons that he saw them in the *King*'s hand, heard Him read them, and did see Him to correct them in his presence. The Arch-Bishop of *Armagh* did also affirm to those he conversed with, that he was employed by a Command from the *King* to get some of them out of the hands of the Faction, for they were taken in His Cabinet at *Naseby*. And *Royston* that printed them did testifie to those that enquired of him, that the *King* had sent to him the *Michaelmas* before His death, to provide a Press for some Papers He should send to Him, which were these, together with a design for a Picture before the Book; which at first was Three Crowns indented on a Wreath of Thorns, but afterwards the *King* recalled that, and sent that other which is now before His Book. Thus these several Testimonies did secure the faith of the World against the Slanderers, and made their endeavours as contemptible as themselves were hateful.

While the *Parricides* were seeking for fresh Occasions to express their Malice, the whole Kingdom was composed to Mourning and Lamentation; for never any *King*, not onely of the *English*, but of whatsoever Throne, had His death lamented with greater Sorrows, nor left the World with a higher regret of the People. When the news of His Death was divulged, Women with Child for grief cast forth the untimely fruit of their Womb, like Her that fell in travell when *the Glory was departed from Israel*. Others, both Men and Women, fell into Convulsions and swounding Fits, and contracted so deep a Melancholy as attended them to the Grave. Some unmindful of themselves, as though they could not, or would not, live when their beloved Prince was slaughtered, (it is reported) suddenly fell down dead. The Pulpits were likewise bedewed with unsuborned Tears; and some of those to whom the living *King* was for Episcopacie's sake less acceptable, yet now bewailed the loss of Him when dead. Children (who usually seem unconcerned in publick Calamities) were also affected with the news, and became so prodigal of their Tears, that for some time they refused comfort; even some of those who sat as Judges could not forbear to mingle some Tears with His Blood when it was spilt. Many composed Elegies and serious Poems to preserve the memory of His Vertues, to express their own Griefs, and to instruct the Mournings of others; and their Passions made them above their usual Strain more elegant. Many who writ the Acts of His time did vindicate His Honour, and divulged the base Arts of His Enemies, even while their Power was dreadful.

Men of all Sorts, Degrees and Sects (there being none among which He had not ſome Admirers) then freely and without Envy recounted His ſeveral Vertues, which now appeared as great as Mortality refined by Induſtry was capable of. For *though Proſperity makes the Severeſt trialls of Vertues, yet Adverſity renders them moſt Orient.* As the night beſt acquaints us with the Splendor of the Stars.

His Majeſties Religion.

That which firſt challenged their Wonder, was the Compoſure and Inclination of His Soul to *Religion*, which He uſed not as an Artifice of Empire, but as the Ornament and Comfort of a private breaſt; for He never affected a Magnifick Piety nor a Pompous Vertue, but laboured to approve Himſelf in ſecret to that God who rewardeth openly. All His Offices in this were, like His Fortune, far above thoſe of other men; His Devotion in Prayer was ſo raiſed, that His Soul ſeemed to be wholly ſwallowed up in the Contemplation of that Majeſty He did adore, and as in an Extaſie to have left His ſenſes without its Adſiſtencie. An inſtance of this was given at the Death of the Duke of *Buckingham*, the news of whoſe Murther being whiſpered to the *King* while He was at Prayers, He took no notice of it (although it was ſo weighty an Occurrence to have His prime Miniſter cut off in the buſie Preparations for a great Deſigne) till He had finiſhed His Addreſſes to Heaven, and His Spirit was diſmiſſed from the Throne of Grace to attend the Cares of that on Earth. This was ſo clear an Evidence of a moſt fixed Devotion, that thoſe who built their Hopes upon His Reproaches, ſlanderouſly imputed it to a ſecret Pleaſure in the fall of him whoſe Greatneſs was now terrible to the Family that raiſed it; which both His Majeſties care of the Duke's Children afterwards, as alſo the Conſideration of His Condition, did evince to be falſe, and that the *King* neither hated him, nor needed to fear him whom He could have ruined with a Frown, and have obliged the People by permitting their Fury to paſs upon him.

Beſides, His Majeſtie's conſtant Diligence in thoſe Duties did demonſtrate, that nothing but a Principle of Holineſs, which is alwaies uniform, both moved and aſsiſted Him in thoſe ſacred Performances, to which He was obſerved to go with an exceeding Alacrity as to a raviſhing pleaſure, from which no leſſer Pleaſures nor Buſineſs were ſtrong enough for a Diverſion. In the morning before He went to *Hunting* (His beloved Sport) the Chaplains were before Day call'd to their Miniſtery: and when He was at *Brainford* among the Noiſe of Arms, and near the Aſſaults of His Enemies, He cauſed the Divine that then waited to perform his accuſtomed Service, before He provided for Safety, or attempted at Victorie; and would firſt gain upon the Love of Heaven, and then afterwards repell the Malice of men. Thoſe that were appointed by the Parliament to attend Him in His Reſtraints wondred at His conſtant Devotions in His Cloſet;

Closet; and no Artifice of the Army was so likely to abuse Him to a Credulity of their good Intentions, as the Permission of the Ministery of His Chaplains in the Worship of God, a mercy He valued, to some of His Servants, above that of enjoying Wife and Children.

At Sermons He carried Himself with such a Reverence and Attention (that His Enemies which hated, yet did even admire Him in it,) as if He were expecting new Instructions for Government from that God whose Deputy He was, or a new Charter for a larger Empire: and He was so careful not to neglect any of those Exercises, that if on Tuesday mornings, on which Dayes there used to be Sermons at Court, He were at any distance from thence, He would ride hard to be present at the beginnings of them.

This Zeal and Piety proceeded from the Dedication of His whole Soul to the Honour of His God, for *Religion* was as Imperial in the Intellectual as in the Affectionate Faculties of it. The Profession of the Church of *England* was His not so much by Education, as Choice, and He so well understood the Grounds of it, that He valued them above all other Pretensions to Truth, and was able to maintain it against all its Adversaries. His Discourse with *Henderson* shews how just a Reverence He had for the Authority of the Catholick Church, against the Pride and Ignorance of Schismaticks; yet not to prostitute His Faith to the Adulterations of the Romane Infallibility and Traditions.

Nevertheless the most violent Slanders the Faction laboured to pollute Him with, were those that rendred Him inclinable to Popery. From which He was so averse, that He could not forbear in His indearments to the *Queen*, (when He committed a secret to Her Breast which He would not trust to any other, and when He admired and applauded Her affectionate Cares for His Honour and Safety) in a Letter, which He thought no Eye but Hers should have perused, to let Her know that He still differ'd from Her in Religion; for He saies, *It is the onely thing of Difference in Opinion betwixt Us.* Malice made the Slanderers blinde, and they published this Letter to the World, then which there could not be a greater Evidence imaginable of the *King*'s most secret thoughts and Inward Sincerity, nor a more shameful Conviction of their Impudence and damnable Falshood. Nor did He onely tell the *Queen* so, but He made Her see it in His Actions. For as soon as His Children were born, it was His first Care to prevent the Satisfaction of their Mother in baptizing them after the Rites of Her own Church. When He was to Die, a time most seasonable to speak Truth, especially by Him who all His Life knew not how to Dissemble, He declares His Profession in Religion to be the same with that which He found left by His Father King *James*.

How little the Papists credited what the Faction would have the World believe, was too evident by the Conspiracies of their *Fathers* against His Life and Honour, which the Discovery of *Habernefield* (to whose relations the following practices against Him and the Church of *England* gained a belief) brought to light. They were mingled likewise among the

Conſpirators, and both heated and directed their Fury againſt Him. They were as importunate in their Calumnies of Him, even after His Death, as were the vileſt of the Sectaries; which they had never done, could they have imagined Him to be theirs; for His Blood would in their Calendar have out-ſhined the Multitude of their fictitious Saints. For His ſake they continued their hatred to His Family, abetted the Uſurpations of the following Tyrant, by impoſing upon the World new *Rules of Obedience and Government*, invented freſh Calumnies for the Son, and obſtructed by various Methods His return to the Principality, becauſe He was Heir as well of the Faith as of the Throne of His Father. Although this Honour is not to be denied to many Gallant Perſons of that perſwaſion, that their Loialty was not ſo corrupted by their Faith to *Rome*, but that they labored to prevent the Father's Overthrow, & to haſten the Son's Reſtitution.

He was not ſatisfied in being Religious as a particular Chriſtian, but would be ſo as a *King*, and indeavoured that Piety might be as Univerſal as His Empire. This He aſſaied by giving Ornaments and Aſſiſtances to the External Exerciſe and Parts of it, (which is the proper Province of a Magiſtrate, whoſe Power reaches but to the Outward man) that ſo carnal minds if they were not brought to an Obedience, might yet to a Reverence, and if men would not honour, yet they ſhould not deſpiſe Religion. This He did in taking Care for the Place of Worſhip, that Comelineſs and Decency ſhould be there conſpicuous where the God of Order was to be adored. And it was a Royal Undertaking to reſtore Saint *Paul*'s Church to its primitive ſtrength, and give it a beauty as magnificent as its Structure. He taught men not to contemn the Diſpenſers of the Goſpel, becauſe He had ſo great an eſteem for them, admitting ſome to His neareſt Confidence and moſt Private Counſels, as the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; and the greateſt Place of Truſt, as the Biſhop of *London* to the Treaſury: conſulting at once the Emolument of Religion, whoſe Dictates are more powerfully impreſſed when the Miniſter is honoured by the Magiſtrate; and the Benefit of the State, which wiſe Princes had before found none to ſeek more faithfully, if any did more prudently, then Church-men.

Though a Voluntary Poverty did much contribute to the luſtre and increaſe of the Church in the Purer times, yet a neceſſitated would have deſtroyed it in a Corrupt age; therefore the *King*, to obſtruct all acceſs of Ruine that way, ſecured her Patrimony, and recovered as much as He could out of the Jaws of Sacrilege, which together with time had devoured a great part of it. His endeavours this way were ſo ſtrong, that the Faction in *Scotland* found no Artifice able to divert them but by kindling the flame of a Civil War; the Criminals there ſeeking to adjuſt their Sacrilegious Acquiſitions by Rebellious practices, and to deſtroy that Church by force which His Majeſty would not ſuffer them to torture with famine. In *Ireland* the Lord Lieutenant *Wentworth*, by His Command and Inſtructions, retrived very great Poſſeſſions, which the tumults of that Nation had advantaged many greedy Perſons to ſeiſe upon, and would not ſuffer

Sedition

Sedition to be incouraged with the hopes of Impiety. In *England* He countenanced thoſe juſt Pleas which Oppreſſed Incumbents entred againſt Rapacious Patrons; and this way many Curates were put into a Condition of giving Hoſpitality, who before were contemptible in their Miniſtry, becauſe they were ſo in their Fortune. His Enemies knew how Inviolable was the Faith of His Majeſty in this, and therefore preſſed Him with nothing more to obſtruct Peace then the Alienation of Church-Lands, rather then which He did abandon His Life, and parted ſooner with His Blood then them. He uſed to ſay, *Though I am ſenſible enough of the Dangers that attend My Care of the Church, yet I am reſolved to defend it or make it My Tomb-ſtone,* (alluding to a Story which He would tell of a Generous Captain, that ſaid ſo of a Caſtle that was committed to His truſt.) He had ſo perfect a Deteſtation of that Crime, that it is ſaid He ſcarce ever mentioned *Henry* the 8. without an Abhorrency of His Sacriledge. He neglected the Advices of His own Party, if they were negligent of the Welfare of the Church.

He was careful of Uniformity, both becauſe He knew the Power of Juſt and Lawful Princes conſiſted in the Union of their Subjects, who never are cemented ſtronger then by a Unity in Religion; but Tyrants, who meaſure their greatneſs by the weakneſs of their Vaſſals, work that moſt effectually by careſſing Schiſmes, and giving a Licence to different Perſwaſions (as the Uſurpers afterwards did:) Beſides, He ſaw *there was no greater Impediment to a ſincere Piety, becauſe that Time and thoſe Parts which might improve Godlineſs to a Growth, were all Waſted and Corrupted in Malice and Slanders betwixt the Diſſenters about formes.* He was more tender in preſerving the Truths of Chriſtianity then the Rights of His Throne. For when the Commiſſioners of the Two Houſes in the *Iſle of Wight* importunately preſſed him for a Confirmation of the Leſſer *Catechiſm* which the *Aſſembly* at *Weſtminſter* had compoſed, and uſed this motive, becauſe it was a ſmall matter; He anſwered, *Though it ſeem to you a ſmall thing, it is not ſo to Me: I had rather give you one of the Flowers of My Crown, then permit your Children to be corrupted in the leaſt point of their Religion.* Thus though He could not infuſe Spiritual Graces into the mindes of His Subjects, yet He would manage their Reaſon by Pious Arts; and what the *Example of a King (which through the Corruptions of men is more efficacious to Impiety then to Vertue)* could not doe, that His Law ſhould, and He would reſtrain thoſe Vices which He could not extirpate.

His Juſtice.

Religion was never uſed by Him to veile Injuſtice; for this was peculiar to His Adverſaries, who when they were plotting ſuch acts as Hell would bluſh at, they would fawn and ſmile on Heaven; and they uſed it as thoſe ſubtle Surpriſers in War, who wear their Enemies Colours till they be admitted to butcher them within their own Fortreſſes. But His Majeſty conſulted the Peace of His Conſcience not onely in Piety to God, but alſo in *Juſtice* to Men. He was, as a *Magiſtrate ſhould be, a ſpeaking Law.* It was His uſual ſaying, *Let Me ſtand or fall*

by My own Counſels. I will ever, with Job, *rather chuſe Miſery then Sin.* He firſt ſubmitted His Counſels to the Cenſure of the Lawyers before they were brought forth to Execution. Thoſe acts of which the Faction made moſt noiſe, were delivered by the Judges to be within the Sphear of the Prerogative. The cauſes of the Revenue were as freely debated as private Pleas, and ſometimes decreed to be not good; which can never happen under a bad Prince. The Juſtice of His Times ſhewed that of His Breaſt, wherein the Laws were feared and not Men. None were forced to purchaſe their Liberty with the diminution of their Eſtates, or the loſs of their Credit. Every one had both ſecurity and ſafety for His Life, Fortune, and Dignity; and it was not then thought, as afterwards, to be a part of Wiſedom to provide againſt Dangers by obſcurity and Privacies. His Favours in beſtowing Great Offices never ſecured the Receivers from the force of the Law, but Equity overcame His Indulgences. For He knew that *Unjuſt Princes become Odious to them that made them ſo.* He ſubmitted the Lord Keeper *Coventrey* to an Examination when a querulous perſon had accuſed him of Bribery. He ſharply reproved one whom He had made Lord Treaſurer, when he was petitioned againſt by an *Hampſhire* Knight, on whoſe Eſtate, being held by Leaſe from the Crown, that Treaſurer had a deſigne; and He ſecured the Petitioner in His right. The greateſt Officer of His Court did not dare to doe any the leaſt of thoſe injuries which the moſt Contemptible Member of the Houſe of Commons would with a daily Inſolency act upon His weaker Neighbour. In the Civil Diſcords He bewailed nothing more, then that the Sword of Juſtice could not correct the illegal Furies of that of War. Though by His Conceſſions and Grants He diminiſhed His Power, yet He thought it a Compenſation, to let the World ſee He was willing to make it impoſſible for Monarchy to have an unjuſt Inſtrument, and to ſecure poſterity from evil Kings. Although He proved to a Leading Lord of the Faction, *That a People being too cautious to binde their King by Laws from doing Ill, do likewiſe fetter Him from doing Good, and their fears of Miſchief do deſtroy their hopes of Benefit. And that ſuch is the weakneſs of Humanity, that he which is intruſted onely to Good, may pervert that Power to the extremeſt Ills.* And indeed there is no ſecurity for a Community to feel nothing in Government beſides the Advantages of it, but in the Benignity of Providence, and the Juſtice of the Prince, both which we enjoyed while we enjoyed Him.

His Clemencie.

Though He was thus in Love with Juſtice, yet He ſuffered not that to leven His Nature to Severity and Rigour, but tempered it with *Clemency*, eſpecially when His Goodneſs could poſſibly finde out ſuch an Interpretation for the Offence, that it ſtruck more at His Peculiar then the Publick Intereſt. He ſeemed almoſt ſtupid in the Opinion of Cholerick Spirits as to a ſenſe of His own Injuries, when there was no fear leſt His Mercy ſhould thereby increaſe the Miſeries of His People. And He was ſo ambitious of the Glory of Moderation, that He would acquire it in deſpight

ſpight of the Malignity of the times. For *the Exerciſe of this Vertue depends not onely on the temper of the Prince, but the frame of the People muſt contribute to it; becauſe when the Reverence of Majeſty and fear of the Laws are proſcribed, ſharper Methods are required to form Obedience.* Yet He was unwilling to cut off, till He had tried by Mercy to amend, even guilty Souls. Thus He ſtrove to oblige the Lord *Balmerino* to peaceful practices, by continuing that Life which had been employed in Sedition, and forfeited to the Law.

He ſooner offered and gave life to His captive Enemies then their Spirits debauched by Rebellion would require it, & He was ſparing of that blood of which their fury made them Prodigal. No man fell in battel whom He could ſave. He choſe rather to enjoy any Victory by Peace (and therefore continually ſollicited for it when He ſeemed leaſt to need it) then make one triumph a ſtep to another; and though He was paſsionate to put all in Safety, yet He affected rather to end the War by Treaty then by Conqueſt. The Priſoners He took He uſed like deluded men, and oftner remembred that God had made them His Subjects then that the Faction had transformed them to Rebels. He provided for them while in His Power, and not to let them languiſh in Priſon, ſent them by Paſſes to their own homes, only ingaging them by Oath to no more injuries againſt that Sovereign whom they had felt to be Gracious: for ſo He uſed thoſe that were taken at *Brainford*. But yet the Caſuiſts of the Cauſe would ſoon diſpenſe with their Faith, and ſend them forth to die in contracting a new guilt. Thoſe whom the fury of War had left gaſping in the Field, and fainting under their wounds, He commends in His Warrants, (as in that to the Major of *Newbury*) to the care of the Neighbourhood, either tenderly to recover, or decently bury: and His Commands were as well for thoſe that ſought to murther Him as thoſe that were wounded in His Defence.

This made the Impudence and Falſhood of *Bradſhaw* more portentous, when in his Speech of the Aſſaſſination he belch'd out thoſe Compariſons of *Caligula* and *Nero*: the firſt would kill numbers of Senators to make himſelf Sport, and the laſt thought it juſt enough that *Pætus Thraſeas* ſhould die, becauſe he look'd like a School-maſter. But this *Prince*'s Anger was without Danger to any, His Admonitions were frequent, Corrections ſeldom, but Revenge never. He grieved when His Pity had not Power or Skill to ſave Offenders, and then He puniſhed the bad, but yet gave them ſpace to repent, and make their Execution as near as He could like a natural Death, to tranſlate them from hence to a place where they could not Sin. He had nothing of the *Beaſt* in Him, which *Machiavel* requires in ſuch Princes as make Succeſs the onely end of their Counſels, and conſult a proſperous Grandeur more then an unſpotted Conſcience. He ſcorned to abuſe the Character of God upon Him by turning a *Fox* to diſſemble, and abhorred to think that He whom Heaven had made above other men ſhould degenerate to the Cruelty of a *Lion*. He ſooner parted with Mortality then Mercy; for He ended His daies with a Prayer for His Enemies, and laboured to make His Clemency immortal, by commanding the practice of it to His Son.

His Fortitude.

None of His Vertues were in the Confines of Vice, and therefore this Admirable Clemency proceeded not from a defect of Spirit, as His Detractors imputed it, and *the Vulgar*, who *miſtake Cruelty for Valour*, imagined; but like the Bowels of the Supremeſt Mercy which are incircled with an Infinite Power, ſo this Pity to guilty and frail men was attended with an Incomparable *Fortitude*. For this Vertue conſiſting in deſpiſing Dangers and Enemies in thoſe Cauſes that render Death comely and glorious, the *King* gave ſeveral Evidences of a Contempt of all Power beneath that of Heaven. When the Lord *Rey* firſt acquainted Him with the Conſpiracy of *Ramſey* and *Hamilton*, He was upon a Remove to *Theobalds*, where the Marqueſs was to wait upon Him as Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber; who having ſome notice given him of the Diſcovery, beſought His Majeſty to ſpare his attendance till he could clear his innocence, and return the Treaſon upon the Accuſer. The *King* anſwered, that He would therefore make him *waite, to let him ſee He did as little fear his ſtrength as diſtruſt his Loyalty; for He knew he durſt not attempt His Life becauſe He was reſolved to ſell it ſo dear.* And to make good His Confidence, He made him ride alone with Him in His Coach to *Theobalds*, and lie in His Chamber that Night: while the ſollicitous Court admired, and even cenſured, His Magnanimity, for it went beyond His pattern, and did more then that Emperour who was ſtyled the *Delight of Mankinde*, who being informed of a Conſpiracy againſt him, invited the two Chiefs of it to accompany him to the *Spectacula*, and cauſed them both to ſit next on each ſide to him in the Theatre; and to give them more advantage for their deſign, put the ſwords of the *Gladiators* (under colour of enquiring their judgments concerning their ſharpneſs) into their hands, to ſhew how little dread he had of their fury. But the *Britiſh* Prince's Magnanimity exceeded that of the Excellent *Roman's*, as much as the privacies of a Bed-chamber and the darkneſs of Night make up a fitter ſcene for the Aſſaſſination of a beloved Soveraign then a publick Theatre.

As He never provoked War, ſo He never feared it; and when the miſerable Neceſſity lay upon Him to take up Armes to preſerve Himſelf from an unjuſt Violence, He ſhewed as much if not more Valour then thoſe can boaſt of that with equal force finiſhed Wars with Conqueſt: in the ſucceſs of theſe, Fortune, the Vanity of an Enemy, and the aſſiſtances of Friends may challenge a part of the Praiſe, but in that none but His own brave Soul had the Glory. For to attempt at Victory againſt an Enemy that had almoſt more Forts and Garriſons then He had Families to joyn with Him, that with Cannon out-vied the Number of His Muskets, that had gotten from Him a Navy which His Care had made the moſt formidable in the World, and not left Him the command of a Cock-boat, that were prodigal with the Treaſure of a Nation and His Revenues, when He begged for a ſubſiſtence; was ſuch a Courage that would have made that *Senate* of Gallant Perſons, who were the moſt competent Judges of Valour, and never cenſured Vertue by the

the Succeſs,but thanked their Imprudent *Conſul* for not deſpairing of the Commonwealth, when he gathered up thoſe broken Legions which his Raſhneſs had obtruded to an Overthrow, to have decreed a Triumph for CHARLES, had His life been an Honour to that Age,or could thoſe Generations have reckoned Him among their great Examples. Moſt men indeed thought the *King*'s ſide moſt glorious, yet they concluded the other more terrible: thoſe that minded their Duty were in the Royal Camp, but ſuch as cared for Safety took part with the Faction, or at leaſt did not oppoſe them. As He firſt entred the War ſo did He continue in it. His Moderation alwaies moved Him to deſire Peace, and His Fortitude made them ſometimes ſue for it. His Adverſaries never prevailed upon His Fears, but upon the Treachery and Covetouſneſs of ſome of His Party,who could not endure an Honorable Want: and on ſuch their Gold was ſtronger then their Iron on Him, and He was rather Betraied then Overcome.

His Greatneſs of Minde forſook Him not with His Fortune, Arms and Liberty, it being Natural, and not built upon them; this made Him tenacious of Majeſtie when His Power was gone. For when *Whaley*, that had the Command of the Guards upon Him while He was in the Army, inſolently intruded into His Preſence to hear His Diſcourſe with a Forein Miniſter of State, and being bold in his Power and Office, refuſed to obey the Command for a greater Diſtance, the *King* caned him to an Obſervance. When the Parricides ſent their party of Souldiers to force Him from the *Iſle of Wight* to the Slaughter,*Cobbet* that commanded them thruſt himſelf into the Coach with Him: but the *King* ſenſible that the nearneſs of ſuch a Villain was like a Contagion to Majeſty, with His Hand forced him away to herd among his bloody fellows. His Spirit alwaies kept above the barbarous Malice of His Enemies, and of their rudeſt Injuries would ſeem unſenſible. He told a faithful Servant of His, that the Conſpirators had kept Him for two Moneths under a want of Linen and Shirts: *But* (ſaid He) *I ſcorned to give them that pleaſure as to tell them I wanted.* Thus all the ſtrokes of Fortune upon His Magnanimous Soul were but like the breaking of Waves upon a Rock of Diamonds,which cannot ſhake,but only waſh it to a greater Brightneſs.

His Patience.

But though He knew not how to ſubmit to the Power of Men, yet He would tremble under the Frowns of God. His great Spirit made Him not unquiet or furious under the Corrections of the Almighty: But with a wonderful *Patience* (*a Vertue not uſual with Kings, to whom the bounds of Equity ſeem a reſtraint, and therefore are more reſtleſs in Injuries*) He did ſubmit to the Will of His eternal Sovereign. He never murmured nor repined at that Providence which had given Him plenty of tears to drink: But His Meditations ſtill breath the Juſtice of God and the Holineſs of all His waies with Him. He would take Occaſions from diſpleaſing Occurrences to thank God that had fitted Him for the Condition he had

brought Him unto. For when He marched after His Carriage in purſuit of *Eſſex* into the Weſt, one of them broke in a very narrow Lane, which made Him ſtop till an intolerable Shower of Rain came pouring upon Him; from which that He might ſeek for a Shelter in the Neighbouring Village, His Courtiers offered to hew Him out a way through the Hedge with their Swords, but He refuſed: and when they wondred at it, He lifting up His hat and Eies to worſhip the Fountain of All Grace, ſaid, *As God hath given me Afflictions to exerciſe My Patience, ſo He hath given me Patience to bear My Afflictions.* The Indignity He received from *Hotham* provoked no Curſe from Him, nor could the Injuries from *Scotch* and *Engliſh* move Him to any thing more then Prayers for God's ſanctifying them to Him. He wanted not Temptations to Paſſion from His own Party; for in a Letter to the *Queen*, He tells Her that She could not but Pity Him in His Condition as to them: yet He ſo managed their ſeveral Humours, and ſo cheriſhed their Expectations with Patience and Meekneſs, that they quietly waited for a return of His Fortune.

When He was in His Captivity at *Carisbrook* under the ſtricteſt Reſtraint, thoſe that attended Him never almoſt obſerved Him but chearful and pleaſant in His Diſcourſes, and ſometimes breaking out into pleaſing Reparties and Jeſts. When in the Treaty at *Newport*, (where He had occaſions of Paſion daily adminiſtred by the Perverſeneſs to Peace of the Party He was to deal with) one of the Commiſſioners was importunate with Him for more Conceſsions, and minded Him of His ſaying, *That if there were another Treaty, it ſhould not lie in the power of the Devil's Malice to hinder Peace:* the *King* anſwered, *It would be ſo when there was a Treaty, but as for this it could not be thought a Treaty, but He was like the man in the Play, that cried out he had been in a Fray, and when they asked him what Fray, he replied there was a Fray and no Fray, for there were but three blowes given, and he took them all: So this is a Treaty and not a Treaty, for there be many Conceſsions, but I have made them all.* Another time, when He met one of the Presbyterian Miniſters near His Chamber enquiring for Captain *Titus*, (who then waited on Him, and had been faithful to Him in that Service) the *King* told him, *He wondred he would have any more to doe either with* Titus *or* Timothy, *ſince he fared ſo ill in medling with them in his Diſputes about Epiſcopacy the day before.* Theſe ſhewed how free His Soul was, and uncontrolled in the greateſt and moſt diſpleaſing perplexities.

In the Pomp of His Murther, wherein He was made a Spectacle to the World, Angels and Men, no Trials were ever greater, nor ever were any better born: the Parricides found it was eaſie to take away His Life, but impoſsible His Honour and Patience; His Paſsions being then ſo low and quiet, that the natural Infirmity of His Speech did not in the leaſt meaſure appear, which uſes to be moſt evident in the ſmalleſt diſcompoſure of the Spirit. After the Regicides had paſſed their Decree for His Aſſaſſination, and cauſed Him to be perſecuted with all the Indignities of the

the fanatick Souldiers, there fell from Him nothing like Paſſion or Indignation, but that He gave the authors of thoſe Impieties the title that was due to them: for when my Lord of *London* came to Him, (which was not till eight a Clock on Saturday Night,) He told him, *My Lord, that you came no ſooner I believe was not your fault; but now your are come, becauſe theſe Rogues purſue My Blood, you and I muſt conſult how I may beſt part with it.* Yet even this was ſpoken without any Fury or Violence; for though all about Him was tumultuous with Horror, Deſtruction and Contempt, His Soul ſeemed unconcerned, enjoyed a Calm Serenity, and was full of its own Majeſty. This Vertue made Him forget He was a *Prince* born to command, and onely conſider that He was a Chriſtian whoſe Calling obliges to Suffer.

His Humilitie.

He had found out a way to Glory by *Humility.* For *the ſuprem Power, to which nothing can be added, hath no better way to encreaſe, then when ſecured of its own Greatneſs it humbleth it ſelf. And the Dignity of Princes is in nothing farther from Envie and Danger then in Humility.* He deſpiſed the converſe of none, though poor, if honeſt: He ſhewed to Sr *Philip Warwick* (who had much of His Truſt and Affections) in the *Iſle of Wight*, a poor ragged Old Man, and told him *he was a very honeſt fellow, and had been His beſt Company for two moneths together.* He would have thoſe about Him converſe rather with Himſelf then with His Majeſty, and with them would He mingle Diſcourſes as One of the People: none made an end of ſpeaking till His own Modeſty, not Pride in the *King*, thought it was enough: and He never did contradict any man without this mollifying Preface, *By your favour, Sir.* His diſcourſe as it was familiar, ſo it was directed to raiſe thoſe that heard it to a nearer approach to Himſelf by perfection; for He did not proudly ſcoff at, but gently laboured to mend the defects of His Subjects. When Doctor *Hammond* had in ſome degree loſt the Manage of His Voice, His Majeſty ſhewed him his Infirmity, and taught him to amend it; which that Excellent Perſon often mentioned as an inſtance of a Gracious Condeſcenſion of Majeſty. When Noble Youths came to take their leaves of Him before they went to forein travel, He would not let them goe without His Inſtructions, of which this was one, *My Lord, Keep alwaies the beſt Company, and be ſure never to be Idle.* Thus He would confer the Vertues as well as the Titles of Nobility, He laboured to keep them as Majeſty had made them, and that that blood might not be tainted in them which was honoured in their Anceſtors. Nor did He deſire that they ſhould be otherwiſe then He directed, as *Tyrants and weak Princes will commend thoſe Vertues which they are affraid of, for they dread or envy their Subjects Parts and Abilities. Ariſtotle* obſerves that a *Tyrant* cares not to hear his Vaſſals ſpeak any thing that is either Grave or Generous; and it is reckoned among the Uſurpations of ſuch Monſters, that they would have the opinion to be the Onely *Wiſe* and *Gallant*. *Plato* indangered his Life when he converſed with the *Sicilian* Tyrant, becauſe he was thought to underſtand more then his Hoſt.

It was obſerved of *Cromwell*, (by one of his confident Teachers) that in the time of his Tyranny he loved no man that ſpoke Senſe, and had ſeveral Artifices to diſparage it among his Slaves that attended him; and he would highly extol thoſe Pulpit-Speakers that had moſt Canting and leaſt Reaſon. But the *King* thought it the Honour of Principality to rule over Excellent Perſons, and affected to be Great onely by being Better; and to raiſe their Spirits would ſtoop with His own.

His Choice of Miniſters of State.

Of theſe He alwaies choſe the moſt accompliſhed that He knew, to be His Miniſters of State and cloſeſt Confidents: for as *the fortune of Princes ſtands in need of many Friends, which are the ſureſt ſupports of Empire*; ſo He would alwaies ſeek the Beſt, and thoſe He thought fitteſt for His Employments, which a bad or weak *King* would hate or fear. Therefore He had alwaies the fineſt Pens and ableſt Heads in His Cauſe, and Perſons likewiſe of Integrity in His Service: for the *Archbiſhop* and Earl of *Strafford*, that were clamoured againſt as the greateſt Criminals, were not guilty enough, even by thoſe accuſations which they were loaded with, and yet not proved, to receive the Cenſure of the Law, but were to be condemned in an unaccuſtomed way of ſpilling *Engliſh* blood. When ſome diſcovered their Abilities even by oppoſing His Counſels, He preferr'd the Publick Benefit which might be by their Endowments to His private Injuries; He would either buy them off to His Service by ſome Place of Truſt, or win them to His Friendſhip; unleſs He ſaw them to be ſuch whoſe Natures were corrupted by their Deſignes, (for He had a moſt excellent Sagacity in diſcerning the Spirits of men) or they were ſuch who polluted their parts by proſtituting Religion to ſome baſe ends (the injuries of which He could never neglect:) and ſuch He neither conceived Honorable in a Court, nor hoped they would ever be faithful and quiet in a Community. Among theſe Purchaſes were reckoned the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, the Lord *Falkland*, and others now living, whoſe Perfections honoured His Judgement, and juſtified His Choice.

His Affection to His People.

He had no Favorite, as a Miniſter of Pleaſures, to gratifie whoſe Luſts and Vanities He might be ſollicited to doe things contrary to the benefit of the Community; but all were Inſtruments of Government, and muſt be able to ſerve the Publick, whom He took to ſerve Himſelf. For no Prince was ever more affectionate of His People then He was, nor did He think His Intereſt ſeparate from theirs. Thoſe nice diſtinctions and cautious limits of Prerogative and Liberty which the Faction invented to enjealous the People with, were all indiſtinctly compriſed by Him in an Uniform and Conſtant care of a juſt Government: none dared to adviſe Him to attempt at a power His Predeceſſors had parted with, or the Laws had concluded Him from. For He told the Lords, when He purged the Earl of *Strafford* from the Accuſation of Sr *Henry Vane*, (that he had adviſed His Majeſty to make uſe of ſome *Iriſh* to reduce this Kingdome;

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on which, though it had but a ſingle and various teſtimony, the Faction built their Practices againſt His Life) *I think no body durſt ever be ſo impudent as to move Me to it; for if they had, I ſhould have made them ſuch an Example, and put ſuch a mark upon them, that all Poſterity ſhould know My Intentions by it. For My Intention was ever to govern by the Law, and not otherwiſe.* He thought He could not be happy unleſs His People were ſo; as we found our ſelvès miſerable when He was not proſperous. Therefore He parted with ſo much of His Prerogative to buy our Peace, and purchaſe our Content. He ſought their Love by affecting them, the only way of gaining it, becauſe that Paſſion only is free and impatient of Command. Nor was He ever more pleaſed then in the enjoyment of it: When His Third Parliament granted five Subſidies, and it was told Him that *there was not One Voice diſſenting*, it is ſaid, *He wept for joy*; and it had been happy for the People, if the *King* had alwaies had ſuch cauſe of Tears, and His Eyes had been alwaies wet with the ſame.

Conteſts for Liberty could never have been more unſeaſonable then under this *Prince*, for He never denied His Subjects the removal of any juſt Grievance, yea He parted ſometimes, through their own importunity deluded by the Faction, with that which ſhould have kept them Free: And when He made ſuch Conceſsions which tended to the prejudice of thoſe that deſired it, He would ſay to ſome about Him, that *He would never have granteù theſe things, but that He hoped they would ſee the Inconvenience of that power which they begg'd from Him, yet themſelves could not manage, and return it to its proper place, before it became their Ruine.* He was far from the ambition of *Ill Princes* to *ſeek an unlimited power*; but He thought it *the Office of the beſt Sovereign to ſet bounds to Liberty.* He deſpiſed His Life if it were to be bought by the Miſery of the Nation, and therefore rejected the Propoſitions of the Army as the Conditions of His Safety, when tendred to Him the day before His Murther, becauſe they would inſlave the People. Neither would He expoſe particular perſons to an evident and inevitable danger, though it were to ſecure Himſelf: for when my Lord *Newburgh* and his Noble Lady, at whoſe houſe in *Bagſhot* He lay as He was removed from *Carisbrook* to *Windſor*, propoſed to Him a way to eſcape from that bloudy Guard that hurried Him to the Slaughter, He rejected it, ſaying, *If I ſhould get away, they would cut you in Pieces*; and therefore would not try their deſign, though it ſeemed feaſible.

His Obliging Converſe.

With theſe arts He did ſeek to oblige the Community; but the Faction's Slanders hindred the Succeſs: which they the more eaſily obſtructed, becauſe the *King* never affected *Popularity*, for that *conſiſts in an induſtrious pleaſing of the People in minute and ordinary Circumſtances*; but He alwaies endeavoured by a ſolid Vertue their real Happineſs, and therefore in confidence of that neglected a ſpecious Compliance with the leſs beneficial Humours of the Vulgar: ſo that the *Multitude*, who *are taken with things of the lighteſt conſideration*, could not ſufficiently value Him, being not able to

apprehend His worth: for a *Statist* obſerves, *Moderate Princes are alwaies admired, but Heroick are never underſtood.* On particular Perſons (if not the ſworn creatures of the Conſpirators, and by Treaſon made inhumane) He ſeldom failed by converſing to take them. His Trophies in this kind, even when He was deſpoiled of means to bribe their hopes, were innumerable; and thoſe that engaged againſt Him ere they knew Him, after their knowledge of Him did curſe their Credulity and their proſperous Arms. A clear inſtance of this (to mention no more) was in Maſter *Vines*, one of the Presbyterian Miniſters (who are conceived to be too tenacious of a prejudice againſt thoſe that dislike their Government) that were ſent to diſpute againſt Epiſcopacy: for he admiring the Abilities of the *King* which He manifeſted in aſſerting of it, profeſſed to Mr *Burroughs*, (one whoſe Attendance the *King* required, and found him faithfull to the extremeſt dangers in thoſe enterpriſes in which he ſeveral times engaged for His Safety,) *how he had been deluded to unworthy thoughts of the King, but was now convinced to an exceeding Reverence of Him, and hoped ſo of others*; and earneſtly ſolicited thoſe that attended on Him, to uſe all means to reſcue Him from the intended Villany of the Army; ſaying, *Our Happineſs was great in ſuch a Prince, and our Miſery in the Loſs of Him would be unſpeakable.* Yet He never courted, although He won them, but His paſſage to their hearts was through their brain, and they firſt Admired and then Loved Him.

His Fidelity. As He was powerfull to gain, ſo He was carefull to keep Friends. *Fidelity* to the Publick and Private was His chiefeſt Care; for He knew how *neceſſary it is for Princes to be faithfull, becauſe it is ſo much their Intereſt that others ſhould not be falſe.* Though it is a Myſterie of Empire with other *Kings* to proportion their Faith to their Advantage, yet He abhorred to promiſe any thing which He could not Religiouſly obſerve. Some overfine *Politici* would have had Him grant all the Deſires of the Faction as the moſt immediate way to their Ruine; for it was ſuppoſed they could never agree in dividing the Spoil, and their diſſenſions would have opened a way for the recovery of His abandoned Rights. But He was ſo conſtant in all that was good, that He thought the purchace of Greatneſs too vile for the breach of His Faith, and He hated thoſe acquiſitions which would give Him cauſe to bluſh. This Heroick Expreſſion often fell from Him, *Leave me to My Conſcience and Honour, and let what will befall Me.* His Enemies knew this ſo natural, that if they could make their Propoſitions repugnant to His Conſcience, they were ſure no Peace ſhould obſtruct their Deſigns. Nay, He was faithfull in thoſe Stipulations wherein their firſt Breach would have juſtified a departure from His Promiſe; though He ſaw this Vertue would be rewarded with His Murther. For when ſome of His Attendants at *Carisbrook* daily importuned Him to provide for His Safety from the perfidious Violence of the Army, which every day they had informations of, He made this return; *Trouble not your ſelves, I have the Parliaments*

ments Faith and Honour engaged for My remaining here in Honour, Freedom, and Safety, and I will not dishonour My self by Escaping.

As He was to the Publick so to His Private Obligations. No assaults could take the Duke of *Buckingham* from His Protection: for though His forein Enterprises required supplies of Money, and the Faction would not let the Bills for Subsidies pass unless they might be gratified with the Dukes blood, or Degradation from His Trust, the *King* would not buy them with the Life or Dishonour of His Friend. And although he fell afterwards as a Sacrifice to the Common hate, (for so the Assassinate pretended, that he might give a Splendor to his Crime, *It being more specious to revenge the Publick then private Injuries,*) yet was he not the *King*'s Offering. In the case of the Earl of *Strafford* this Honour seemed to be clouded: But Posterity will see that that Noble Person was rather ravished from Him, (on design by his Enemies to rob him of the Glory of Fidelity,) then deserted by Him; for He never left him till the Earl did abandon himself. And a Penitence for a Submission (not Consent) to the Rape made a Satisfaction for the Offence, and repaired the damage of the Injury. For His Majesties Tears over him will embalm and preserve his name and blood to the honour of Following Ages more then the remnant of his daies would have administred to his glory.

It would be an Injury to His other Vertues to mention His *Chastity* and *Temperance*, because it is an Infamy to be otherwise; unless to let Posterity know, that no injured Husband nor Dishonored Family conspired to His Ruine, but such who were engaged to Him for preserving all their Rights in those Relations unattempted, and securing them by His own example. He witnessed His Conjugal *Chastity* the day before His Death, (a time not to be spent in falsities, which was too little for necessary Preparations to appear before the God of Truth,) when He commanded the Lady *Elizabeth* to tell her Mother, that *His thoughts had never strayed from Her, and His Love should be the same to the Last.* The purity of His Speech likewise testified the Cleanness of His Heart, for He did abhor all Obscene and wanton Discourse. And He was so far from defiling the Beds, that He would not pollute the Ears of His Subjects. *His Chastitie.*

This *Chastity* found no Assaults from Intemperance, for He never fed to Luxury but Health. His strong Constitution required large Meals, but His Vertue took care they should not be gluttonous; for He delighted not in Sawces or Artifices to please the Palate and raise the Lust, but all was sincere and solid, and therefore He never was subject to a Surfet. He alwaies mingled Water with His Wine, which He never drank pure but when He eate Venison; and He was so nice in observing the bounds of *Sobriety*, that most times Himself would measure and mingle both together. He did usually at every Meal drink one Glass of Beer, an- *His Temperance.*

other of Wine, and a third of Water, and ſeldom drank between His Meals. Theſe though Ordinary Vertues, were yet eminent in Him, ſince they could not be corrupted by the Power nor the Flatteries of Fortune. And they are therefore mentioned to gratifie Poſterity; for *men are curious to know all even the minute Paſſages of Great and Vertuous Perſons.*

His Frugality. Being free from Incontinency and Intemperance, the gulphs of Treaſure and Drayners of the Largeſt Exchequer, He had no other Vice to exhauſt the Publick Stock, and ſo neceſſitate Him to fill it up by Oppreſſions, but He would by *Frugality* make His Revenue ſufficient for the Majeſty of the Crown, and the Neceſsities of the State. His own Nature indeed inclined Him to Magnificence, but the Vices of others did inſtruct Him to moderate Expences. For He had found the Treaſury low, & the Debts great, in His beginnings: He was aſſaulted with two expenſive Wars from the two great Potentates of *Europe*, and the Faction had obſtructed the uſual way of Supplies by Parliaments. Therefore He was to finde a Mine in Vertue; and by ſparing from Vanities, make proviſions for neceſſary and glorious Enterpriſes, which He did effect: for in that ſhort time of Peace which He enjoyed He ſatisfied all the Publick Debts, ſo furniſhed and increaſed His Navie, that it was the moſt conſiderable in the whole World, ſupported His Confederate the King of *Sweden*, and by Money inabled him for the Victories of *Germany*, and ſo fill'd His own Treaſury, that it was able of it ſelf to bear the weight of the firſt *Scotch* Expedition without the Aids of the Subject, who were never more able to contribute to their own ſafety, nor ever had more reaſon, the ſwellings of that Nation breaking all the Banks and Fences of their Liberty and Happineſs. But the *King* would let them ſee that as by His Government He had made them rich, He would alſo keep them ſo by His Frugality. But thoſe whoſe firſt care was to make Him neceſsitous, and the next odious, did brand it with the name of Covetouſneſs, which was as Falſe as Malicious; For He never ſpared when Juſt Deſignes call'd for Expences, and was magnificent in Noble Undertakings, as in the Repair of *Paul's*. He was alwaies Grateful, although thoſe men who meaſured their Services not by their Duties, or their Merits, but by their Expectations from His Fortune, thought Him not Liberal. He choſe rather not to burthen His People by Subſidies, then load particular Servants with unequal Bounties. For *Good Princes chuſe to be loved rather for their Benefits to the Community then for thoſe to private perſons. And it may be Vanity and Oſtentation, but not Liberality, when the gifts of the Prince are not proportioned to the Common Neceſsity.* His ſparings were like thoſe of Indulgent Fathers, that His Subjects as Children might have the more. He never, like ſubtle and rapacious Kings, made or pretended a Neceſsity for Taxes, but was troubled when He found it. The Contributions of Parliament He eſteemed not the increaſe of His peculiar Treaſure, but the Proviſions for the Common Safety, of which He would rather be accounted a Steward then a Lord. When Faction and Sedition ſo deluded the

the People that they could not ſee the preſervation of the whole conſiſted in contributing ſome ſmall part, He freely parted with His own Inheritance to preſerve intire to them the price of their Sweat and Labour.

His Intellectual Abilities.

As He had theſe Moral Vertues, which are both the ſignatures of Majeſty and the Ornaments of a Royal Spirit, ſo He was no leſs compleat in the Intellectual. His Underſtanding was as Comprehenſive as His Juſt Power, and He was Maſter of more ſorts of Knowledge then He was of Nations. How much He knew of the Myſteries and Controverſies of Divinity was evident in His Diſcourſes and Papers with *Henderſon*, and thoſe at the *Iſle of Wight*, where He ſingly Diſputed for *Epiſcopacy* one whole day againſt Fifteen Commiſſioners and their Four Chaplains, (the moſt experienced and ſubtle members of all the Oppoſite Party) with ſo much Acuteneſs and Felicity that even His Oppoſers admired Him. He ſo dexterouſly managed His Diſcourſe with the Miniſters, that He made it evident they perſwaded Him to that which they themſelves judged unlawful, and had condemned as Sacriledge, when they pretended to ſatisfie the Scruples of His Conſcience, and to aſſure Him He might ſafely alienate the Church-Lands. And the Commiſſioners ſenſible how unequal their Miniſters were to diſcourſe with Him, for ever after ſilenced them, and permitted no Diſputes but by Papers. At that time He exceeded the opinion of His friends about Him. One of them ſaid in aſtoniſhment, that *Certainly God had inſpired Him.* Another, that *His Majeſty was to a Wonder improved by His Privacies and Afflictions.* But a third, that had had the Honour of a nearer Service, aſſured them that the *King was never leſs, onely He had now the opportunity of appearing in His full Magnitude.*

In the Law of the Land He was as knowing (as Himſelf ſaid to the Parricides, yet was no boaſter of His own Parts) as any Gentleman in *England*, who did not profeſs the Publick Practice of it: eſpecially thoſe Parts of it which concerned the Commerce between *King* and People. In that Art which is peculiar to Princes, *Reaſon of State*, He knew as much as the moſt proſperous Contemporary *Kings* or their moſt exerciſed Miniſters, yet ſcorned to follow thoſe Rules of it which lead from the Paths of Juſtice. The Reſerves that other Princes uſed in their Leagues and Contracts, to colour the breaches of Faith, and thoſe inglorious and dark Intrigues of ſubtle Politicians, He did perfectly abhorre: but His Letters, Declarations, Speeches, Meditations, are full of that Political Wiſdom which is conſiſtent with Chriſtianity. He had ſo quick an Inſight into theſe Myſteries, and ſo early arrived to the Knowledge of it, that when He was young, and had juſt gotten out of the Court and Power of *Spain*, He cenſured the Weakneſs of that Myſterious Council. For He was no ſooner on Shipboard, but the firſt words He ſpake were, *I diſcovered two Errors in thoſe great Maſters of Policy; One that they would uſe Me ſo Ill, and another that after ſuch Uſage they permitted Me to Depart.*

His Skill in all Arts.

As thoſe former parts of Knowledge did inable Him to know *Men*, and how to manage their different humours, and to temper them to a fitneſs for Society, and make them ſerviceable to the Glory of that God whoſe Miniſter He was: ſo His Soul was ſtored with a full Knowledge of the Nature of *Things*, and eaſily comprehended almoſt all kindes of Arts that either were for Delight or of a Publick Uſe; for He was ignorant of nothing but of what He thought it became Him to be negligent, (for many parts of Learning that are for the Ornament of a Private perſon are beneath the Cares of a Crowned Head.) He was well skilled in things of Antiquity, could judge of Meddals whether they had the Number of years they pretended unto; His Libraries and Cabinets were full of thoſe things on which length of Time put the Value of Rarities. In Painting He had ſo excellent a Fancy, that He would ſupply the defect of Art in the Workman, and ſuddenly draw thoſe Lines, give thoſe Aires and Lights, which Experience and Practice had not taught the Painter. He could judge of Fortifications, and cenſure whether the Cannon were mounted to Execution or no. He had an excellent Skill in Guns, knew all that belonged to their making. The exacteſt arts of building Ships for the moſt neceſſary uſes of ſtrength or good ſailing, together with all their furniture, were not unknown to Him. He underſtood and was pleaſed with the making of Clocks and Watches. He comprehended the Art of Printing. There was not any one Gentleman of all the three Kingdoms that could compare with Him in an Univerſality of Knowledge. He incouraged all the Parts of Learning, and He delighted to talk with all kinde of Artiſts, and with ſo great a Facility did apprehend the Myſteries of their Profeſſions, that He did ſometime ſay, *He thought He could get His Living, if Neceſſitated, by any Trade He knew of, but making of Hangings*: although of theſe He underſtood much, and was greatly delighted in them; for He brought ſome of the moſt curious Workmen from Forein Parts to make them here in *England*.

His Eloquence.

His Writings ſhew what Notions He had gathered from the whole ſtore of Learning, which He cloathed with a Wonderful and moſt charming *Eloquence*. Which was unqueſtionably ſo great, that thoſe who endeavoured to deſpoil Him of His Civil Dominions granted Him a deſerved Empire among famous Writers. The Book of His Meditations is alone ſufficient to make His Aſſaſſinates execrable to all that in any Age ſhall have a ſenſe of Piety, or a love to Wiſdom and Eloquence. *For ſo great an affection in the Breaſts of men do excellent Writings acquire for their Authors, that though they may be otherwiſe blameable, yet their Works render their Memories precious; and the violent Deaths of ſuch increaſe their Glory, while they load their Murtherers with Ignominy. All men, eſpecially among Poſterity, deeming ſo great Wits could not be cut off but to the Publick Injury, and by Perſons brutiſhly mad, or by ſome horrid ſins debauched to an Enmi-*

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ty with mankinde. So that all future times ſhall admire and applaud His Writings againſt them, and curſe their Injuſtice to Him.

His Wiſdome was not onely Speculative in His Writings, but alſo Practical in His Counſels. None found out better meanes for accompliſhing a Deſign, provided ſafer expedients for the Reſſorts of Difficulties, or more clearly foreſaw the Event at a Diſtance; nor were any Counſels ſo proſperous as His own, when they were vigorouſly proſecuted by thoſe whom He intruſted with the Execution; and He ſeldom miſcarried but when He inclined to follow the Advices of others; as He did in that inauſpicious Attempt to take *Glouceſter*, wherein He forſook His own Reaſons, which He urged with all poſsible Evidence of Succeſs, to march towards *London*. He ſaw into the Intrigues of His Enemies; and had not the Treacheries (which being ſecret are above the Caution of Humane Nature) of ſome that followed Him opened to them His Deſigns, He had (by the Ordinary Courſe of Providence) covered them with the ſhame both of Imprudence and Overthrow. Thoſe Miſeries that the Faction after they got into Power brought upon the Nation, and the Events of their deſtructive Enterpriſes, were diſcovered and foretold by Him in the very beginnings to the deluded World, who notwithſtanding were Fatally blinded to chuſe their own Ruine. *His Political Prudence.*

Whenſoever His Secretaries had drawn up, by the Direction of the *Council*, Declarations or any other Papers, and offered them to His peruſal, though both they and the Council had done their parts, yet He would alwaies with His own hand correct them both as to Matter and Form; He commonly uſing theſe words when He took the Pen in His hand, *Come, I am a good Cobler*: and the Corrections were acknowledged by them all to be both for the greater luſtre and advantage of the Writings. His Inſtructions to His Ambaſſadors, Commiſſioners, Deputies, were ſo full of Wiſdom, and ſuch prudent proviſions for all the Reſſorts of thoſe they were to treat with, that there was nothing to be ſupplied on their parts to make their Negotiations happy, but ſeaſonable Applications, or a fortune to deal with reaſonable men. It was the Obſervation of a Noble Perſon (who was dear to Him for his Wiſdome and Faithfulneſs, and was of His Councel in all His Troubles) that *had the King been a Counſellor to any other Prince, He would have gained the Eſteem of an Oracle,* all His Propoſals being grounded upon the greateſt Reaſon, and proper to the Buſineſs conſulted about. Thoſe that have been forward to interpret His Actions by the Succeſs, and from thence have proceeded to the Cenſure of His Prudence, conſidered not the numerous Difficulties in forming any Reſolution, nor the fallacious repreſentations of Affairs to Him, but onely looked upon His unproſperous Reſolves according to the Fate of unhappy Counſels, which *is to have that condemned which was put in Execution, and that praiſed as beſt which was never tried.*

The Cenſure of His Fortune.

Thus was He made for Empire as well as born unto it; and had all thoſe Excellencies which, if we had been free to chuſe, muſt have determined our Election of a Sovereign to Him alone, there being nothing wanting in Him that the ſevereſt Cenſors of Princes do number among the Requiſites of a compleat Monarch. It was therefore the wonder of thoſe who conceive every man to be the Artificer of His own Fortune, how it came to paſs that He had not that εὐτυχίαν, an uninterrupted current of Succeſs (which ſome men reckon among the conſtitutives of Happineſs) in all His Enterpriſes. To Others that impute all our affairs here below to an inviolable Method of the Decrees of Heaven, which yet they acknowledge juſt though dark, it ſeemed one of the Riddles of Providence, that a *King* of ſo great Vertues ſhould yet be calamitous: for let Poſterity judge how great and how good this *Prince* was, that could not be ruined even after a *War* (which *uſually embitters the Spirits of thoſe that are moleſted by it*) and a total *Overthrow* (*whoſe common Conſequent is Contempt*) but by ſo various and ſuch wicked Arts; and was judged by all men, though He wanted, yet *to deſerve Proſperity* (*as to humane judgement,*) which (as ſome think) *is the trueſt Happineſs.*

To theſe Doubts there appears no Reſolution ſo obvious as that into the Pleaſure of the Divine Majeſty, who provoked by our ſins, which had profaned his Mercies, and abuſed the Peace and Plenty he gave us, would chaſtiſe us by the ſcourge of Civil War, the corrective of too much felicity, and taking away the beſt of *Kings* leave us to the Pride and Violence of the baſeſt of men. And that it was a wrath directed againſt us was apparent, becauſe the misfortunes and fall of that Incomparable *Prince* opened upon us an avenue for all thoſe miſeries that a Community is obnoxious unto in the want of a lawful Government, while the Almighty ſecured the Glory of the *King* even in His Sufferings, provided for the Support and Honour of the Royal Family in its loweſt Eſtate, and miraculouſly preſerved the Chief of it from innumerable dangers, and made us to ſee afterwards in the Series of his Providences that he had not withdrawn his loving-kindneſs from the Houſe of *King* CHARLES, by reſtoring it to its primitive Grandeur.

A Preſage of His Fall, and the future State of the Royal Family.

And this he was pleaſed to ſignifie to the *King* by a Paſſage that appeared little leſs then a Miracle. For while He was at *Oxford,* and the Earl of *Southampton,* now Lord High-Treaſurer of *England,* (a Perſon of unqueſtionable Honour and Veracity, of an eminent Integritie, above the Flattery of Princes, who doth atteſt this Occurrence) as Gentleman of the Bed-chamber lay one Night in the ſame Chamber with Him, the Wax *Mortar,* which according to Cuſtome the *King* alwaies had in His Chamber, was in the night, as they both conceived and took notice of, fully extinguiſhed. But my Lord riſing in the Morning found it lighted, and ſaid to the KING, *Sir, this Mortar now burns very clearly*: at which they both exceedingly wondred, as fully concluding it had been out in the Night,

Night, and they could not imagine how any of the Grooms or any other could poſſibly light it, the Door being locked with a Spring within. This buſying the wonder of both for the preſent, the *King* afterwards when He ſaw the Malice of His Enemies preſs hard upon His Life and Ruine, reflecting upon this Occurrence, drew it into this Preſage, *That though God would permit His Light to be extinguiſhed for a time, yet He would at laſt light it again*; which was verified in the Event: for though God ſuffered the Faction to ſpill His blood, yet after many years of Troubles, and when he had permitted thoſe Monſters to bring us to the brinks of deſtruction, he reſtored His Son to the Crown in as much Splendour and Greatneſs as any of His Predeceſſors.

His Recreations.

As His Abilities for the Publick adminiſtration of Government were all apt to raiſe Admiration; ſo His Recreations and Privacies gave a Delight to ſuch as communicated in the ſight of them, and there needed no more to beget an Honour of Him then to behold Him in His Diverſions, which were all ſerious, and there was no part of His time which either wanted benefit or deſerved not Commendation. In His yonger daies, His pleaſures were in Riding, and ſometimes in breaking the great Horſe; and He did it ſo gracefully, that He deſerved that Statue of Braſs which did repreſent Him on Horſe-back. Beſides this He delighted in Hunting, an active and ſtirring Exerciſe to accuſtom Him to toils, and harden that body whoſe minde abhorred the ſoftneſs of *Luxury* and *Eaſe*, which *Vicious Princes think a part of Power and the Rewards of Publick Cares*: but He uſed this as the way whereby the Antient Heroes were habituated to Labours, and by contending with ſome beaſts in Strength and others in Swiftneſs, firſt to rout, then to chaſe their flying Enemies. When the ſeaſon of the year did not permit this ſport, then Tennis, Gough, Bowls were the waies of His Diverſions, and in all theſe He was wonderfully active and excellent.

His ſofter pleaſures were Books, and of His time ſpent in theſe there were many Monuments. In His Library at St *James*'s there was kept a Collection of His, of the excellent Sayings of Authors, written with His own hand, and in his Youth, preſented to His Father *King* JAMES: and there is yet extant in the hands of a Worthy Perſon, His Extracts written with His own hand, out of My Lord of *Canterbury*'s Book againſt *Fiſher*, of all the Arguments againſt the Papiſts, digeſted into ſo excellent a Method, that He gave Light and Strength to them even while He did epitomiſe them into a ſheet or two of Paper. The ſame Care and Pains He had beſtowed in reading the moſt Judicious *Hooker*, and the learned works of B^p *Andrews*, out of all which He had gathered whatſoever was excellent in them, and fitted them for His ready uſe. When He was tired with Reading, then He applied Himſelf to Diſcourſe, wherein He both benefited Himſelf and others; and He was good at the relation of a Story, or telling of an Occurrence. When theſe were tedious by continuance, He would either play at Cheſs, or pleaſe Himſelf with His Pictures, of

which He had many choice pieces of the beſt Maſters, as *Titian, Rafael, Tintoret* and others, with which He had adorned His moſt frequented Palaces, as alſo with moſt antique pieces of Sculpture; ſo that to thoſe that had travelled it ſeemed that *Italy* was tranſlated to His Court.

The Features of His Body. As His Spirit was thus accompliſhed, ſo His Body had its Elegancies. His Stature was of a juſt height, rather decent then tall; His Body erect, and not enclining to a Corpulency, nor meager, till His Afflictions wrought too ſtrongly upon it to a Leanneſs; His Lims exactly proportioned, His Face full of Majeſty, and His Brow large and fair: His Eyes ſo quick and piercing that they went farther then the Superficies of men, and ſearched their more Inward parts; for at the firſt ſight He would paſs a judgement upon the frame of a man's Spirit and Faculties, and He was not often miſtaken, having a ſtrange happineſs in Phyſiognomie, and by reaſon of this He would remember any one He had ſeen but once many years after. His Complexion was enclining to a Paleneſs, His Hair a brown, which He wore of a moderate length, ending in gentle and eaſie curles: upon His left ſide He indulged one Lock to a greater length in the youthful part of His Life. His Beard He wore picked, but after the Faction had paſſed thoſe *Votes of No Addreſſes*, He permitted it to grow neglectedly and to cover more of His face. His Geſtures had nothing of affectation, but full of Majeſtick gravity. His motions were ſpeedy, and His gate faſt: which ſhewed the Alacrity and Vigour of His Minde, for His Affections were temperate. He was of a moſt healthful Conſtitution, and after the infirmities of His Childhood was never ſick. Once He had the ſmall Pox, but the Malignity of it was ſo ſmall that it altered not His Stomach, nor put Him to the abſtinence of one Meal, neither did it detain Him above a fortnight under the Care of His Phyſicians.

His Children. He was the Father of four Sons and five Daughters.

1. *Charles James*, born at *Greenwich* on Wedneſday, *May* 13th, 1628. but died almoſt as ſoon as born, having been firſt chriſtned.

2. *Charles* Duke of *Cornwall* and Prince of *Wales*, born at St *James's*, *May* 29th, 1630. whom, after a fellowſhip in the Sufferings of His Father, ſome brave, but unſucceſsful, attempts to recover the Rights of His Inheritance, and twelve years various fortune abroad, God was pleaſed by a wonderful Providence, without blood or ruine, to conduct to His Native Throne, and make Him the Reſtorer of Peace to a People wearied and waſted, almoſt to a Deſolation, by ſeveral changes of Government and Variety of reproachful Uſurpers, that they became the Scorn of Neighboring Nations, and the miſerable Example of a diſquiet Community, ſo torn in pieces by Factions in the State, and Schiſms in the Church; each party mutually armed to ſuppreſs its contrary, and deſtroy the publick, that it was impoſſible for them to re-unite or conſent in common to ſeek the benefits of Society, until they had ſubmit-

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ted to Him as to the common Soul, to be governed by Him in the paths of Juſtice. He is now (and long may He be ſo) our Dread Sovereign CHARLES II.

3. *James*, born in the ſame place *Octob.* 13. *An.* 1633. entituled Duke of *York* by His Majeſtie's Command at His Birth, and afterwards ſo created. He was a Companion of His Brother in Exile, ſpending His time abroad both in the *French* and *Spaniſh* Camps with Glory, and returned with Him into *England.*

4. *Henry* Duke of *Glouceſter*, born in the ſame place *Jul.* 8. *An.* 1639. who after the Death of His Father was by the Parricides permitted to goe beyond Sea to His Mother, with the promiſe of an Annual Penſion, which they never intended to pay: A very hopefull Prince, who reſiſted the ſtrong practices of ſome in the *Queen*'s Court to ſeduce Him to the Church of *Rome*, which His Brother hearing ſent for Him into *Flanders*; and He alſo attended Him to His Throne, but not long after died of the Small Pox, *Sept.* 13. *An.* 1660.

5. *Mary*, born on *Nov.* 4. *An.* 1631. married to Count *William* of *Naſſau*, Eldeſt ſon to *Henry* Prince of *Orange*, by whom ſhe was left a Widow after ſhe had been the Mother of the now Prince of *Orange*; and coming over to viſit her Brothers and the place of her Nativity, ſhe died alſo of the Small Pox, *Dec.* 24. *An.* 1660.

6. *Elizabeth*, born *Jan.* 28. *An.* 1635. who ſurvived her Father, but lived not to ſee the Reſtoring the Royal Family, dying at *Carisbrook* the place of her Father's Captivity, being removed thither by the Murtherers, that the place might raiſe a grief to end her Daies.

7. *Anne*, born *Mar.* 17. *An.* 1637. died before her Father.

8. *Katharine*, who died almoſt as ſoon as born.

9. *Henrietta*, born at *Exeter June* 16. *An.* 1644. in the midſt of the Wars, conveyed not long after by the Lady *Dalkeith* into *France* to her Mother, and is now married to the Duke of *Anjou*, only brother to the King of *France.*

Having left this Iſſue He died in the forty ninth year of His age, and 23 of His Reign, having lived Much rather then Long, and left ſo many great and difficult Examples as will buſie Good Princes to imitate, and Bad ones to Wonder at: A man in Office and Minde like to that Spiritual Being, which the more men underſtand the more they Admire and Love; and that may be ſaid of Him which was ſaid of that Excellent Roman who ſought Glory by Vertue,

Homo Virtuti ſimillimus, & per omnia Ingenio Diis quàm Hominibus propior: Qui nunquam rectè fecit, ut rectè facere videretur; ſed quia aliter facere non poterat: Cuique id ſolum viſum eſt Rationem habere quod haberet Juſtitiam. Omnibus humanis vitiis Immunis ſemper in Poteſtate ſua Fortunam habuit. Vell. Paterc. lib 2.

Thus, Reader, *thou haſt a ſhort account how this beſt of Princes Lived and Died; a Subject that was fit to be writ onely with*

the point of a Scepter: none but a Royal Breaſt can have Sentiments equal to His Vertues, nor any but a Crowned Head can frame Expreſſions to repreſent His Worth. He that had nothing Common or Ordinary in His Life and Fortune is almoſt profaned by a Vulgar pen. The attempt, I confeſs, admits no Apology but this, That it was fit that Poſterity, when they reade His Works (for they ſhall continue while theſe Iſlands are inhabited, to upbraid Time and reproach Marble Monuments of weakneſs) ſhould alſo be told that His Actions were as Heroick as His Writings, and His Life more Elegant then His Style. Which not being undertaken by ſome Noble hand, (that was happie in a near approach to Majeſty, and ſo could have taken more exact meaſures of this Great Example for Mighty Kings, rendred it in more full proportions, and given it more lively Colours) I was by Importunity prevailed upon to imitate thoſe affectionate Slaves, who would gather up the ſcattered limbs of ſome great Perſon that had been their Lord, yet fell at the Pleaſure of his Enemies, burn them on ſome Plebeian Pyle, and entertain their aſhes in an homely Urne, till future times could cover them with a Pyramid, or incloſe them in a Temple; by making a Collection from Writers and Perſons worthy of Credit, of all the Remains and Memoires (I could get) of this Incomparable Monarch: Whoſe Excellent Vertues though they often tempted the Compiler to the Liberty of a Panegyrick, yet they ſtill perſwaded him to as ſtrict an obſervance of Truth as is due to an Hiſtory: For he praiſes this King beſt who writes His Life moſt faithfully, *which was the Care and Endeavour of*

Thine,

Richard Perrinchiefe.

Addenda.

WHen the State of His Soul required, He was as ready to perform thoſe more ſevere parts of Religion which ſeem moſt diſtaſtfull to Fleſh and Blood. And He never refuſed to take to Himſelf the ſhame of thoſe acts wherein He had tranſgreſſed, that He might give Glory to His God. For after the Army had forced Him from *Holmeby*, and in their ſeveral removes had brought Him to *Latmas*, an houſe of the Earl of *Devonſhire*, on *Aug.* 1. being Sunday, in the morning before Sermon He led forth with Him into the Garden the Reverend Dr *Sheldon* (who then attended on Him, and whom He was pleaſed to uſe as His Confeſſour) and drawing out of His pocket a Paper, commanded him to read it, tranſcribe it, and ſo to deliver it to Him again. This Paper contained ſeveral Vows, which He had obliged His Soul unto for the glory of His Maker, the advance of true Piety, and the emolument of the Church. And among them this was one, that *He would doe Publick Penance for the Injuſtice He had ſuffered to be done to the Earl of* Strafford, *His conſent to thoſe Injuries that were done to the Church of* England (though at that time He had yielded to no more then the taking away of the High Commiſsion, and the Biſhops power to Vote in Parliament) *and to the Church of* Scotland: and adjured the D^r, that *if ever he ſaw Him in a Condition to obſerve that or any of thoſe Vows, he ſhould ſolicitouſly mind Him of the Obligations, as he dreaded the guilt of the breach ſhould ly upon his own Soul.* This voluntary ſubmiſsion to the Laws of Chriſtianity exceeded that ſo memorable humiliation of the good Emperour *Theodoſius*, for he never bewailed the blood of thoſe ſeven thouſand men which in three hours ſpace he cauſed to be ſpilt at *Theſſalonica*, till the reſolution of St *Ambroſe* made him ſenſible of the Crime. But the Piety of King *Charles* anticipated the ſeverity of a Confeſſor for thoſe offences to which He had been precipitated by the Violence of others. Pag. 97. l. 13.

Thoſe Conceſsions He had made in *Scotland* to the prejudice of the Church there, were the ſubject of His grief and penitential Confeſsions both before God (as appears in His Prayers) and men. For when the Reverend Dr *Morley*, now Lord Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, (whom He had ſent for to the Treaty in the Iſle of *Wight*, where he employed his diligence and prudence to ſearch into the Intrigues and Reſerves of the Commiſsioners) had acquainted Him how the Commiſsioners were the more pertinacious for the aboliſhing of Epiſcopacy here, becauſe His Majeſty had conſented to it in *Scotland*, and withall told Him what anſwer he himſelf had made to them, That *perchance the King was abuſed to thoſe grants by a miſinformation that that Act which was made in King* James's *Minority againſt Biſhops was yet unrepealed, and that His Conceſsion would but leave them where the Law had*; The King anſwered, *It is true, I was told ſo, but whenever you hear that urged again, give them this anſwer, and ſay that you had it from the King Himſelf; That when I did that in* Scotland, *I ſinned againſt My Conſcience, and that I have often repented of it, and hope that God hath forgiven Me* Pag. 99. l. 17.

that great Sin, and by God's grace for no Consideration in the World will I ever doe so again.

Pag. 101. l. 7. Soon after His coming into the Isle of *Wight* (by which time He had experienced the numerous Frauds and implacable Malice of His Enemies) being attended on by Dr *Sheldon* and Dr *Hammond* (for they were the earliest in their duties at that time) a discourse passed betwixt His Majesty and the Governour, wherein there was mention made of the fears of the Faction that the King could never forgive them. To which the King immediately replies, *I tell thee, Governour, I can forgive them with as good an appetite as ever I eate My Dinner after an hunting, and that I assure you was not a small one; yet I will not make My self a better Christian then I am, for I think if they were Kings I could not doe it so easily.* This shewed how prone His Soul was to Mercy, and found not any obstruction but what arose from a sense of Royal Magnanimity.

Pag. 104. l. 39. He would never take any indirect courses to avoid the Cross, nay, He scrupled at such expedients as some deemed most conducing to His great end. For at the Treaty in the Isle of *Wight* there being offered to Him an expedient, to secure His Conscience and satisfie the Commissioners in the Propositions about the Church, and it being urged by a great and faithful Counsellour, that He must grant what posibly He could to preserve His own Life for the good of the Church, for (it was said) her safety depended on His; with a present and pious indignation He replied, *Tell not Me what I should doe for saving of My Life, but what I may doe with a safe Conscience: God forbid that the Life or Safety of the Church should depend upon My Life or upon the Life of any mortal man; and I thank God I have a Son whom I have reason to believe will love the Church as well as I do.* Another time, a little after the Treaty was ended, Dr *Morley* shewing to Him a billet he had received by the Lady *Wheeler* the King's Laundress (who often conveyed much Intelligence) from an Officer of the Army, that the King's Death was resolved on; His Majesty answered, *I have done what I can to save My Life without losing of My Soul. I can doe, I will doe no more: God's will be done.*

Alteranda.

Pag. 17. *l.* 23. *r.* Only two, *Crook* and *Hutton*, openly.

Pag. 20. *l.* 45. *r.* to demand 12 subsidies, yet to accept of 6. but he industriously (as was collected from his own and his sons following practices) insisted upon the 12. without insinuation of the lesser quantity His Majesty would be contented with.

Pag. 25. *l.* 19. *r.* The Bishop of *London* who was one of them answered, *That if the King in Conscience found him not guilty He ought not to pass the Bill; but for matter of Law, what was Treason, he referred Him to the Judges, who according to their Oath ought to carry themselves indifferently betwixt Him and His Subjects.* The other four Bishops that were then consulted, *Durham*, *Lincolne*, *Carlile*, and the Archbishop of *Armagh*, were not so free as the Bishop of *London* was, and therefore the King observed a special blessing of God upon him.

Pag. 46. *l.* 39. near 6000 (according to the common account, but some say a far less number) were slain.

l. 45. in the sight of some part of the Army of *Essex*.

Pag. 107. *l.* 33. for He lay, *r.* He did stay

Pag. 117. *l.* 19. *r.* she was left a Widow, and a short time after the Mother, &c.

ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ.

THE POURTRAICTURE OF HIS SACRED MAJESTY IN HIS SOLITUDES and SUFFERINGS.

ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ

I.

Upon His MAJESTIES *Calling this laſt* PARLIAMENT.

THIS laſt Parliament I called, not more by others advice, and neceſsity of my Affaires, then by my own choice and inclination; who have alwaies thought the right way of Parliaments moſt ſafe for my Crown, as beſt pleaſing to my People. And although I was not forgetful of thoſe ſparks which ſome mens diſtempers formerly ſtudied to kindle in Parliaments, (which by forbearing to convene for ſome years I hoped to have extinguiſhed;) yet reſolving with My ſelf to give all juſt ſatisfaction to modeſt and ſober deſires, and to redreſſe all publick Grievances in Church and State, I hoped (by my freedome and their moderation) to prevent all miſunderſtandings and miſcarriages in this: In which as I feared affairs would meet with ſome Paſsion and Prejudice in other men, ſo I reſolved they ſhould finde leaſt of them in My ſelf; not doubting but by the weight of Reaſon I ſhould counterpoize the over-balancings of any Factions.

I was, indeed, ſorry to hear with what Partiality and Popular heat Elections were carried in many places: yet hoping that the Gravity and Diſcretion of other Gentlemen would allay and fixe the Commons to a due temperament (guiding ſome mens well-meaning zeal by ſuch rules of moderation as are beſt both to preſerve and reſtore the health of all States and Kingdomes) no man was better pleaſed with the convening of this Parliament then My ſelf; who knowing beſt the Largeneſſe of my own Heart toward my Peoples good and juſt contentment, pleaſed My ſelf moſt in that good and firm underſtanding which would hence grow between Me and my People.

All Jealouſies being laid aſide, My own and my Childrens Intereſts gave Me many obligations to ſeek and preſerve the Love and welfare of my Subjects; the onely temporal Bleſsing that is left to the ambition of juſt Monarchs, as their greateſt Honour and Safety, next Gods Protection. I cared not to leſſen My ſelf in ſome things of my wonted Prerogative, ſince I knew I could be no loſer, if I might gain but a recompence in my Subjects Affections.

I intended not onely to oblige my Friends, but mine Enemies alſo; exceeding even the deſires of thoſe that were factiouſly diſcontented, if they did but pretend to any modeſt and ſober ſenſe.

The *Odium* and offences which ſome mens Rigor or Remiſneſſe in Church and State had contracted upon my Government, I reſolved to have expiated by ſuch Laws and regulations for the future, as might not onely rectifie what was amiſſe in Practice, but ſupply what was defective in the Conſtitution: No man having a greater zeal to ſee Religion ſetled, and preſerved in Truth, Unity and Order, then My ſelf, whom it moſt concerns both in Piety and Policy; as knowing that, No flames of civil Diſſentions are more dangerous then thoſe which make Religious pretenſions the grounds of Factions.

I reſolved to reform what I ſhould by free and full advice in Parliament be convinced of to be amiſs, and to grant whatever my Reaſon and Conſcience told Me was fit to be deſired. I wiſh I had kept My ſelf within thoſe bounds, and not ſuffered my own Judgement to have been overborn in ſome things, more by others Importunities then their Arguments: My confidence had leſs betrayed My ſelf and my Kingdomes to thoſe advantages which ſome men ſought for, who wanted nothing but Power and Occaſion to doe miſchief.

But our Sins being ripe, there was no preventing of Gods Juſtice from reaping that Glory in our Calamities which we robb'd him of in our Proſperity.

For Thou (O Lord) haſt made us ſee, that Reſolutions of future Reforming doe not alwaies ſatisfie thy Juſtice, nor prevent thy Vengeance for former miſcarriages.

Our Sins have overlaid our Hopes. Thou haſt taught us to depend on thy Mercies to forgive, not on our purpoſe to amend.

When

When Thou haſt vindicated thy Glory by thy Judgements, and haſt ſhewed us how unſafe it is to offend Thee, upon preſumptions afterwards to pleaſe Thee; then I truſt thy Mercies will reſtore thoſe Bleſſings to us, which we have ſo much abuſed as to force Thee to deprive us of them.

For want of timely Repentance of our ſins, Thou giveſt us cauſe to repent of thoſe remedies we too late apply.

Yet I doe not repent of my calling this laſt Parliament; becauſe, O Lord, I did it with an upright intention, to thy Glory and my peoples good.

The Miſeries which have enſued upon Me and my Kingdoms, are the juſt effects of thy diſpleaſure upon us; and may be yet (through thy mercy) preparative of us to future Bleſſings, and better hearts to enjoy them.

O Lord, though Thou haſt deprived us of many former comforts, yet grant Me and my people the benefit of our afflictions and thy chaſtiſements; that thy rod as well as thy ſtaff may comfort us. Then ſhall we dare to account them the ſtrokes not of an Enemy, but a Father, when thou giveſt us thoſe humble affections, that meaſure of Patience in Repentance, which becomes thy Children. I ſhall have no cauſe to repent the Miſeries this Parliament hath occaſioned, when by them thou haſt brought Me and my people unfeignedly to repent of the Sins we have committed.

Thy Grace is infinitely better with our Sufferings, then our Peace could be with our Sins.

O thou ſoveraign Goodneſs and Wiſdome, who over-ruleſt all our Counſels, over-rule alſo all our hearts; That the worſe things we ſuffer by thy Juſtice, the better we may be by thy Mercy.

As our Sins have turned our Antidotes into poyſon, ſo let thy Grace turn our poyſons into Antidotes.

As the ſins of our Peace diſpoſed us to this unhappy War, ſo let this War prepare us for thy bleſſed Peace.

That although I have but troubleſome Kingdoms here, yet I may attain to that Kingdome of Peace in my Heart and in thy Heaven, which Chriſt hath purchaſed, and thou wilt give to thy Servant (though a Sinner) for my Saviours ſake, Amen.

II.

Upon the Earl of STRAFFORD'S *Death.*

I Looked upon my Lord of *Strafford*, as a Gentleman whoſe great Abilities might make a Prince rather afraid then aſhamed to employ him in the greateſt affairs of State.

For thoſe were prone to create in him great confidence of undertakings, and this was like enough to betray him to great errors and many enemies: Whereof he could not but contract good ſtore, while moving in ſo high a ſphear and with ſo vigorous a luſtre, he muſt needs (as the Sun) raiſe many envious exhalations, which condenſed by a Popular *Odium*, were capable to caſt a cloud upon the brighteſt Merit and Integrity.

Though I cannot in my Judgement approve all he did, driven (it may be) by the neceſsities of Times and the Temper of that People, more then led by his own diſpoſition to any height and rigor of actions: yet I could never be convinced of any ſuch Criminouſneſs in him, as willingly to expoſe his life to the ſtroke of Juſtice, and Malice of his Enemies.

I never met with a more unhappy conjuncture of affairs then in the buſineſs of that unfortunate Earl: when between my own unſatisfiedneſs in Conſcience, and a neceſsity (as ſome told Me) of ſatisfying the importunities of ſome people, I was perſwaded by thoſe that I think wiſhed Me well, to chuſe rather what was ſafe, then what ſeemed juſt; preferring the outward Peace of my Kingdoms with men, before that inward exactneſs of Conſcience before God.

And indeed I am ſo far from excuſing or denying that compliance on My part (for plenary conſent it was not) to his deſtruction, whom in my Judgement I thought not, by any clear Law, guilty of death; that I never bare any touch of Conſcience with greater regret: which, as a ſign of my Repentance, I have often with ſorrow confeſſed both to God and men, as an act of ſo ſinful frailty, that it diſcovered more a fear of Man then of God, whoſe name and place on Earth no man is worthy to bear who will avoid inconveniences of State by

acts

acts of ſo high injuſtice as no publick convenience can expiate or compenſate.

I ſee it a bad exchange to wound a mans own Conſcience, thereby to ſalve State ſores; to calm the ſtorms of Popular diſcontents, by ſtirring up a tempeſt in a mans own boſome.

Nor hath Gods Juſtice failed in the event and ſad conſequences, to ſhew the world the fallacy of that Maxime, *Better one man periſh (though unjuſtly) then the people be diſpleaſed, or deſtroyed.* For,

In all likelyhood, I could never have ſuffered, with my people, greater calamities, (yet with greater comfort) had I vindicated *Straf-ford's* Innocency, at leaſt by denying to ſign that deſtructive BILL, according to that Juſtice which my Conſcience ſuggeſted to Me, then I have done ſince I gratified ſome mens unthankful importunities with ſo cruel a favour. And I have obſerved, that thoſe who coun-ſelled Me to ſign that BILL, have been ſo far from receiving the rewards of ſuch ingratiatings with the People, that no men have been haraſſed and cruſhed more then they; He onely hath been leaſt vexed by them, who counſelled Me not to conſent againſt the Vote of my own Conſcience. I hope God hath forgiven Me and them the ſinful raſhneſs of that buſineſs.

To which being in my Soul ſo fully conſcious, thoſe Judgements God hath pleaſed to ſend upon Me, are ſo much the more welcom, as a means (I hope) which his Mercy hath ſanctified ſo to Me, as to make Me repent of that unjuſt Act, (for ſo it was to Me,) and for the future to teach Me, That the beſt rule of Policy is to prefer the doing of Juſtice before all enjoyments, and the Peace of my Conſcience before the preſervation of my Kingdoms.

Nor hath any thing more fortified my reſolutions againſt all thoſe violent importunities, which ſince have ſought to gain a like conſent from Me to Acts wherein my Conſcience is unſatisfied, then the ſharp touches I have had for what paſſed Me in my Lord of *Strafford's* Buſineſs.

Not that I reſolved to have employed him in my Affairs, againſt the advice of my Parliament; but I would not have had any hand in his Death, of whoſe Guiltleſneſs I was better aſſured then any man living could be.

Nor were the Crimes objected againſt him ſo clear, as after a

long and fair hearing to give convincing ſatisfaction to the Major part of both Houſes; eſpecially that of the Lords, of whom ſcarce a third part were preſent when the Bill paſſed that Houſe. And for the Houſe of Commons, many Gentlemen, diſpoſed enough to diminiſh my Lord of *Strafford*'s greatneſs and power, yet unſatisfied of his guilt in Law, durſt not condemn him to die: who for their Integrity in their Votes, were, by Poſting their Names, expoſed to the popular calumny, hatred and fury; which grew then ſo exorbitant in their clamors for *Juſtice*, (that is, to have both My ſelf and the two Houſes Vote and doe as they would have us) that many ('tis thought) were rather terrified to concurre with the condemning party, then ſatisfied that of right they ought ſo to doe.

And that after-Act vacating the Authority of the precedent for future imitation, ſufficiently tells the world, that ſome remorſe touched even his moſt implacable Enemies, as knowing he had very hard meaſure, and ſuch as they would be very loath ſhould be repeated to themſelves.

This tenderneſs and regret I finde in my Soul, for having had any hand (and that very unwillingly, God knows,) in ſhedding one mans blood unjuſtly, (though under the colour and formalities of Juſtice, and pretences of avoiding publick miſchiefs;) which may (I hope) be ſome evidence before God and Man, to all Poſterity, that I am far from bearing juſtly the vaſt load and guilt of all that Blood which hath been ſhed in this unhappy Warre, which ſome men will needs charge on *Me*, to eaſe their own Souls, who am, and ever ſhall be, more afraid to take away any mans life unjuſtly, then to loſe My own.

But Thou, O God of infinite mercies, forgive Me that act of ſinful compliance, which hath greater aggravations upon Me then any man. Since I had not the leaſt temptation of Envy or Malice againſt him, and by my place ſhould at leaſt ſo far have been a preſerver of him, as to have denied my conſent to his deſtruction.

O Lord, I acknowledge my tranſgreſſion, and my ſin is ever before Me.

Deliver Me from blood-guiltineſs, O God, thou God of my ſalvation, and my tongue ſhall ſing of thy righteouſneſs.

Againſt Thee have I ſinned, and done this evil in thy ſight; for Thou ſaweſt the contradiction between my heart and my hand.

Yet caſt Me not away from thy preſence, purge Me with the blood of my Redeemer,

mer, and I ſhall be clean; waſh Me with that precious effuſion, and I ſhall be whiter then ſnow.

Teach Me to learn Righteouſneſs by thy Judgements, and to ſee my frailty in thy Juſtice: While I was perſwaded by ſhedding one mans blood to prevent after-troubles, thou haſt for that, among other ſins, brought upon Me and upon my Kingdoms great, long and heavy troubles.

Make Me to prefer Juſtice, which is thy Will, before all contrary clamors, which are but the diſcoveries of mans injurious will.

It is too much that they have once overcome Me, to pleaſe them by diſpleaſing Thee: O never ſuffer Me for any reaſon of State, to go againſt my Reaſon of Conſcience, which is highly to ſin againſt Thee, the God of Reaſon and Judge of our Conſciences.

Whatever, O Lord, Thou ſeeſt fit to deprive Me of, yet reſtore unto Me the joy of thy Salvation, and ever uphold Me with thy free Spirit, which ſubjects my Will to none but thy Light of Reaſon, Juſtice and Religion, which ſhines in my Soul; for Thou deſireſt Truth in the inward parts, and Integrity in the outward expreſsions.

Lord, hear the voyce of thy Sons and my Saviors Blood, which ſpeaks better things; O make Me and my People to hear the voice of Joy and Gladneſs, that the bones which thou haſt broken may rejoyce in thy Salvation.

III.

Upon his MAJESTIES *going to the Houſe of* COMMONS.

MY going to the Houſe of Commons to demand Juſtice upon the Five Members, was an act which my Enemies loaded with all the obloquies and exaſperations they could:

It filled indifferent men with great jealouſies and fears; yea, and many of my Friends reſented it as a motion riſing rather from Paſsion then Reaſon, and not guided with ſuch diſcretion as the touchineſs of thoſe times required.

But theſe men knew not the juſt motives and pregnant grounds, with which I thought My ſelf ſo furniſhed, that there needed nothing to ſuch evidence as I could have produced againſt thoſe I charged,

ſave onely a free and legal Tryal, which was all I deſired.

Nor had I any temptation of diſpleaſure or revenge againſt thoſe mens Perſons, further then I had diſcovered thoſe (as I thought) unlawful correſpondencies they had uſed, and engagements they had made, to embroyl my Kingdoms: of all which I miſſed but little to have produced writings under ſome mens own hands, who were the chief Contrivers of the following Innovations.

Providence would not have it ſo: yet I wanted not ſuch probabilities as were ſufficient to raiſe jealouſies in any Kings heart, who is not wholly ſtupid and neglective of the publick Peace, which to preſerve by calling in queſtion half a dozen men in a fair and Legal way (which God knows was all my deſign) could have amounted to no worſe effect, had it ſucceeded, then either to doe Me and my Kingdom right, in caſe they had been found guilty; or elſe to have cleared their Innocency, and removed my Suſpicions; which, as they were not raiſed out of any Malice, ſo neither were they in Reaſon to be ſmothered.

What flames of Diſcontent this ſpark (though I ſought by all ſpeedy and poſsible means to quench it) ſoon kindled, all the world is witneſs. The aſperſion which ſome men caſt upon that action, as if I had deſigned by force to aſſault the Houſe of Commons, and invade their Priviledge, is ſo falſe, that as God beſt knows I had no ſuch intent, ſo none that attended Me could juſtly gather from any thing I then ſaid or did, the leaſt intimation of any ſuch thoughts.

That I went attended with ſome Gentlemen, as it was no unwonted thing for the Majeſty and Safety of a King ſo to be attended, eſpecially in diſcontented times; ſo were my Followers at that time ſhort of my ordinary Guard, and no way proportionable to hazard a tumultuary conflict. Nor were they more ſcared at my coming, then I was unaſſured of not having ſome affronts caſt upon Me, if I had none with Me to preſerve a Reverence to Me: For many people had (at that time) learn'd to think thoſe hard thoughts, which they have ſince abundantly vented againſt Me both by words and deeds.

The Summe of that buſineſs was this:

Thoſe men and their adherents were then looked upon by the affrighted Vulgar as greater protectors of their Laws and Liberties

then

then My ſelf, and ſo worthier of their protection. I leave them to God and their own Conſciences, who, if guilty of evil machinations, no preſent impunity or Popular vindications of them will be ſubterfuge ſufficient to reſcue them from thoſe exact Tribunals.

To which, in the obſtructions of Juſtice among men, we muſt religiouſly appeal, as being an argument to us Chriſtians of that after-unavoidable Judgement, which ſhall re-judge what among men is but corruptly decided, or not at all.

I endeavored to have prevented, if God had ſeen fit, thoſe future Commotions which I foreſaw would in all likelihood follow ſome mens activity (if not reſtrained,) and ſo now have done, to the undoing of many thouſands; the more is the pity.

But to over-awe the Freedom of the Houſes, or to weaken their juſt Authority by any violent impreſsions upon them, was not at all my deſign: I thought I had ſo much Juſtice and Reaſon on my ſide, as ſhould not have needed ſo rough aſsiſtance; and I was reſolved rather to bear the repulſe with Patience, then to uſe ſuch hazardous extremities.

But thou, O Lord, art my witneſs in heaven, and in my heart: If I have purpoſed any violence or oppreſsion againſt the Innocent, or if there were any ſuch wickedneſs in my thoughts;

Then let the Enemy perſecute my Soul, and tread my life to the ground, and lay mine Honor in the duſt.

Thou that ſeeſt not as man ſeeth, but lookeſt beyond all popular appearances, ſearching the heart and trying the reins, and bringing to light the hidden things of darkneſs, ſhew thy ſelf.

Let not my Afflictions be eſteemed (as with wiſe and godly men they cannot be) any argument of my Sin in that matter; more then their Impunity among good men is any ſure token of their Innocency.

But forgive them wherein they have done amiſs, though they are not puniſhed for it in this world.

Save thy Servant from the privy Conſpiracies and open Violence of bloody and unreaſonable men, according to the uprightneſs of my heart and the innocency of my hands in this matter.

Plead my cauſe, and maintain my right, O thou that ſitteſt in the Throne judging rightly, that thy Servant may ever rejoyce in thy Salvation.

Upon

IV.

Upon the Insolency of the Tumults.

I Never thought any thing (except our Sins) more ominously presaging all these Mischiefs which have followed, then those Tumults in *London* and *Westminster* soon after the Convening of this Parliament; which were not like a Storm at Sea, (which yet wants not its Terror) but like an Earthquake, shaking the very foundations of all; then which nothing in the world hath more of horror.

As it is one of the most convincing Arguments that there is a God, while his power sets bounds to the raging of the Sea: so 'tis no less, that he restrains the Madness of the people. Nor doth any thing portend more Gods displeasure against a Nation, then when he suffers the confluence and clamors of the Vulgar to pass all boundaries of Laws and reverence to Authority.

Which those Tumults did to so high degrees of Insolence, that they spared not to invade the Honour and Freedom of the two Houses, menacing, reproaching, shaking, yea and assaulting some Members of both Houses, as they fancyed or disliked them: Nor did they forbear most rude and unseemly deportments, both in contemptuous words and actions, to My self and my Court.

Nor was this a short fit or two of shaking, as an Ague, but a quoditian Fever, alwaies encreasing to higher inflammations, impatient of any mitigation, restraint, or remission.

First, they must be a Guard against those Fears which some men scared themselves and others withall; when indeed nothing was more to be feared, and less to be used by wise men, then those Tumultuary confluxes of mean and rude people, who are taught first to petition, then to protect, then to dictate, at last to command and over-awe the Parliament.

All obstructions in Parliament (that is, all freedom of differing in Votes, and debating matters with Reason and Candor) must be taken away with these Tumults: By these must the Houses be purged

ged, and all Rotten Members (as they pleaſed to count them) caſt out; by theſe the obſtinacy of men reſolved to diſcharge their Conſciences muſt be ſubdued; by theſe all factious, ſeditious and ſchiſmatical Propoſals againſt Government Eccleſiaſtical or Civil muſt be backed and abetted, till they prevailed.

Generally, whoever had moſt minde to bring forth Confuſion and Ruine upon Church and State, uſed the midwifery of thoſe Tumults: whoſe riot and impatience was ſuch, that they would not ſtay the ripening and ſeaſon of Counſels, or fair production of Acts, in the order, gravity and deliberateneſs befitting a Parliament; but ripped up with barbarous cruelty, and forcibly cut out abortive Votes, ſuch as their Inviters and Incouragers moſt fancied.

Yea, ſo enormous and deteſtable were their Outrages, that no ſober man could be without an infinite ſhame and ſorrow to ſee them ſo tolerated and connived at by ſome; countenanced, incouraged, and applauded by others.

What good man had not rather want any thing he moſt deſired for the publick good, then obtain it by ſuch unlawful and irreligious means? But mens Paſsions and Gods directions ſeldome agree: violent deſigns and motions muſt have ſuitable engines: ſuch as too much attend their own Ends, ſeldome confine themſelves to Gods Means. Force muſt crowd in what Reaſon will not lead.

Who were the chief Demagogues and Patrons of Tumults, to ſend for them, to flatter and embolden them, to direct and tune their clamorous importunities, ſome men yet living are too conſcious to pretend ignorance: God in his due time will let theſe ſee, that thoſe were no fit Means to be uſed for attaining his Ends.

But, as it is no ſtrange thing for the Sea to rage when ſtrong Winds blow upon it; ſo neither for Multitudes to become inſolent, when they have men of ſome Reputation for Parts and Piety to ſet them on.

That which made their Rudeneſs moſt formidable, was, that many complaints being made, and Meſſages ſent by My ſelf and ſome of both Houſes, yet no order for redreſs could be obtained with any vigor and efficacy, proportionable to the malignity of that now far-ſpread diſeaſe and predominant Miſchief.

Such was ſome mens Stupidity, that they feared no inconvenience;

others

others Petulancy, that they joyed to ſee their Betters ſhamefully outraged and abuſed, while they knew their onely ſecurity conſiſted in vulgar flattery: So inſenſible were they of Mine or the two Houſes common Safety and Honors.

Nor could ever any order be obtained, impartially to examine, cenſure and puniſh the known Boutefeus and impudent Incendiaries, who boaſted of the influence they had, and uſed to convoke thoſe Tumults as their advantages ſerved.

Yea, ſome (who ſhould have been wiſer Stateſmen) owned them as friends, commending their Courage, Zeal and Induſtry; which to ſober men could ſeem no better then that of the Devil, who *goes about ſeeking whom he may* deceive and *devour*.

I confeſs, when I found ſuch a deafneſs, that no Declaration from the Biſhops, who were firſt foully inſolenced and aſſaulted, nor yet from other Lords and Gentlemen of Honor, nor yet from My ſelf, could take place for the due repreſsion of theſe Tumults, and ſecuring not onely Our freedom in Parliament, but Our very Perſons in the ſtreets; I thought My ſelf not bound by my preſence to provoke them to higher boldneſs and contempts: I hoped by my withdrawing to give time both for the ebbing of their tumultuous Fury, and others regaining ſome degrees of Modeſty and ſober ſenſe.

Some may interpret it as an effect of Puſillanimity in any man for Popular terrors to deſert his publick ſtation: But I think it a hardineſs beyond true Valor, for a wiſe man to ſet himſelf againſt the breaking in of a Sea; which to reſiſt at preſent, threatens imminent danger, but to withdraw, gives it ſpace to ſpend its fury, and gains a fitter time to repair the breach. Certainly, a Gallant man had rather fight to great diſadvantages for number and place in the field, in an orderly way, then ſcuffle with an undiſciplined rabble.

Some ſuſpected and affirmed that I meditated a War, when I went from *Whitehall* onely to redeem my Perſon and Conſcience from violence: God knows I did not then think of a War. Nor will any prudent man conceive that I would by ſo many former, and ſome after Acts, have ſo much weakned My ſelf, if I had purpoſed to engage in a War, which to decline by all means, I denyed My ſelf in ſo many particulars: 'tis evident I had then no Army to flie unto for Protection or Vindication.

Who

Who can blame Me, or any other, for withdrawing our ſelves from the daily baitings of the Tumults, not knowing whether their Fury and Diſcontent might not flie ſo high, as to worry and tear thoſe in pieces, whom as yet they but played with in their paws? God, who is my ſole Judge, is my Witneſs in Heaven, that I never had any thoughts of going from my houſe at *White-hall*, if I could have had but any reaſonable fair quarter: I was reſolved to bear much, and did ſo; but I did not think My ſelf bound to proſtitute the Majeſty of my Place and Perſon, the ſafety of my Wife and Children, to thoſe who are prone to inſult moſt, when they have objects and opportunity moſt capable of their rudeneſs and petulancy.

But this buſineſs of the Tumults (whereof ſome have given already an account to God, others yet living know themſelves deſperately guilty) Time and the guilt of many hath ſo ſmothered up and buried, that I think it beſt to leave it as it is; Onely I believe the juſt Avenger of all diſorders will in time make thoſe men and that City ſee their Sin in the glaſs of their Puniſhment. 'Tis more then an even lay, that they may one day ſee themſelves puniſhed by that way they offended.

Had this Parliament, as it was in its firſt Election and Conſtitution, ſate full and free, the Members of both Houſes being left to their freedom of Voting, as in all Reaſon, Honor and Religion they ſhould have been, I doubt not but things would have been ſo carried, as would have given no leſs content to all good men then they wiſhed or expected.

For I was reſolved to hear Reaſon in all things, and to conſent to it ſo far as I could comprehend it: but as Swine are to Gardens and orderly Plantations, ſo are Tumults to Parliaments, and Plebeian Concourſes to publick Counſels, turning all into Diſorders and ſordid Confuſions.

I am prone ſometimes to think, that had I called this Parliament to any other place in *England* (as I might opportunely enough have done) the ſad Conſequences in all likelihood, with Gods Bleſsing, might have been prevented. A Parliament would have been welcom in any place; no place afforded ſuch confluence of various and vitious humors as that where it was unhappily convened. But we muſt leave all to God, who orders our Diſorders, and magnifies his Wiſdom moſt when our Follies and miſeries are moſt diſcovered.

But Thou, O Lord, art my refuge and defence; to Thee I may ſafely flie, who ruleſt the raging of the Sea, and the Madneſs of the People.

The floods, O Lord, the floods are come in upon Me, and are ready to over-whelm Me.

I look upon my Sins and the Sins of my People (which are the tumults of our Souls againſt Thee, O Lord) as the juſt cauſe of theſe Popular inundations which Thou permitteſt to over-bear all the banks of Loyalty, Modeſty, Laws, Juſtice and Religion.

But Thou that gatheredſt the waters into one place, and madeſt the dry land to appear, and after didſt aſſwage the Flood which drowned the World by the word of thy power, rebuke thoſe Beaſts of the People, and deliver Me from the Rudeneſs and ſtrivings of the Multitude.

Reſtore, we beſeech Thee, unto us the freedoms of our Councels and Parliaments, make us unpaſſionately to ſee the light of Reaſon and Religion, and with all order and gravity to follow it, as it becomes Men and Chriſtians; ſo ſhall we praiſe thy Name, who art the God of Order and Counſel.

What man cannot or will not repreſs, thy Omnipotent Juſtice can and will.

O Lord, give them that are yet living a timely ſenſe and ſorrow for their great ſin, whom Thou knoweſt guilty of raiſing or not ſuppreſſing thoſe Diſorders: Let Shame here, and not Suffering hereafter, be their Puniſhment.

Set bounds to our Paſſions by Reaſon, to our Errors by Truth, to our Seditions by Laws duly executed, and to our Schiſms by Charity; that we may be, as thy Jeruſalem, *a City at unity in it ſelf.*

This grant, O my God, in thy good time, for Jeſus Chriſts ſake, Amen.

V.

Upon His MAJESTIES *paſſing the Bill for the Triennial Parliaments; and after ſetling this, during the pleaſure of the Two Houſes.*

THAT the world might be fully confirmed in my purpoſes at firſt, to contribute what in Juſtice, Reaſon, Honor and Conſcience I could to the happy ſucceſs of this Parliament, (which had in Me no other deſign but the general Good of my Kingdoms) I willingly paſſed the BILL for Triennial Parliaments: which,

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as gentle and ſeaſonable Phyſick, might (if well applied) prevent any diſtempers from getting any head or prevailing; eſpecially, if the Remedy proved not a Diſeaſe beyond all remedy.

I conceived this Parliament would finde work with convenient receſſes for the firſt three years; but I did not imagine that ſome men would thereby have occaſioned more work then they found to doe; by undoing ſo much as they found well done to their hands. Such is ſome mens activity, that they will needs make work rather then want it; and chuſe to be doing amiſs, rather then doe nothing.

When that firſt Act ſeemed too ſcanty to ſatisfie ſome mens Fears, and compaſs publick Affairs; I was perſwaded to grant that BILL of Sitting during the pleaſure of the Houſes, which amounted in ſome mens ſenſe to as much as the perpetuating this Parliament. By this Act of higheſt Confidence, I hoped for ever to ſhut out and lock the door upon all preſent Jealouſies and future Miſtakes: I confeſs I did not thereby intend to ſhut My ſelf out of doors, as ſome men have now requited Me.

True, it was an Act unparallel'd by any of my Predeceſſors; yet cannot in reaſon admit of any worſe interpretation then this, of an extreme Confidence I had, that my Subjects would not make ill uſe of an Act, by which I declared ſo much to truſt them, as to deny My ſelf in ſo high a point of my Prerogative.

For good Subjects will never think it juſt or fit, that My condition ſhould be worſe by my bettering theirs: Nor indeed would it have been ſo in the events, if ſome men had known as well with moderation to uſe, as with earneſtneſs to deſire, advantages of doing good or evil.

A continual Parliament (I thought) would but keep the Common-weal in tune, by preſerving Laws in their due execution and vigor, wherein My intereſt lies more then any mans, ſince by thoſe Laws my Rights as a KING would be preſerved no leſs then my Subjects; which is all I deſired. More then the Law gives Me I would not have, and leſs the meaneſt Subject ſhould not.

Some (as I have heard) gave it out, that I ſoon repented Me of that ſetling Act; and many would needs perſwade Me, I had cauſe ſo to doe: but I could not eaſily nor ſuddenly ſuſpect ſuch ingratitude in men of Honour, that the more I granted them, the leſs I ſhould have

and enjoy with them. I ſtill counted My ſelf undiminiſhed by my largeſt Conceſsions, if by them I might gain and confirm the love of my People.

Of which I do not yet deſpair, but that God will ſtill bleſs Me withincreaſe of it, when Men ſhall have more leiſure and leſs prejudice; that ſo with unpaſsionate repreſentations they may reflect upon thoſe (as I think) not more Princely then friendly contributions which I granted towards the perpetuating of their Happineſs, who are now onely miſerable in this, That ſome mens ambition will not give them leave to enjoy what I intended for their good.

Nor do I doubt but that in Gods due time, the Loyal and cleared affections of my People will ſtrive to return ſuch retributions of Honor and Love to Me or my Poſterity, as may fully compenſate both the acts of my Confidence and my Sufferings for them; which (God knows) have been neither few, nor ſmall, nor ſhort; occaſioned chiefly by a perſwaſion I had, that I could not grant too much, or diſtruſt too little, to men, that being profeſſedly my Subjects, pretended ſingular Piety and Religious ſtrictneſs.

The Injury of all Injuries is, that which ſome men will needs load Me withall, as if I were a wilful and reſolved Occaſioner of My own and my Subjects Miſeries; while (as they confidently, but (God knows) faſly divulge) I repining at the eſtabliſhment of this Parliament, endeavoured by force and open hoſtility to undoe what by my Royal aſſent I had done. Sure it had argued a very ſhort ſight of things, and extream fatuity of minde in Me, ſo far to bind My own hands at their requeſt, if I had ſhortly meant to have uſed a Sword againſt them. God knows, though I had then a ſenſe of Injuries; yet not ſuch, as to think them worth vindicating by a War: I was not then compelled, as ſince, to injure My ſelf by their not uſing favors with the ſame Candor wherewith they were conferred. The Tumults indeed threatned to abuſe all Acts of Grace, and turn them into wantonneſs; but I thought at length their own Fears, whoſe Black arts firſt raiſed up thoſe turbulent Spirits, would force them to conjure them down again.

Nor if I had juſtly reſented any indignities put upon Me or others, was I then in any capacity to have taken juſt revenge in an Hoſtile and Warlike way upon thoſe whom I knew ſo well fortified in the

love

love of the meaner ſort of the people, that I could not have given my Enemies greater and more deſired advantages againſt Me, then by ſo unprincely Inconſtancy to have aſſaulted them with Arms, thereby to ſcatter them, whom but lately I had ſolemnly ſetled by an Act of Parliament.

God knows I longed for nothing more, then that My ſelf and my Subjects might quietly enjoy the fruits of my many Condeſcendings.

It had been a courſe full of Sin, as well as of Hazard and Diſhonor, for Me to goe about the cutting up of that by the Sword, which I had ſo lately planted, ſo much (as I thought) to my Subjects content, and Mine own too, in all probability; if ſome men had not feared where no fear was, whoſe ſecurity conſiſted in ſcaring others.

I thank God, I know ſo well the ſincerity and uprightneſs of my own Heart, in paſsing that great BILL, which exceeded the very thoughts of former times, that although I may ſeem leſs a Politician to men, yet I need no ſecret diſtinctions or evaſions before God. Nor had I any reſervations in my own Soul when I paſſed it, nor repentings after, till I ſaw that my letting ſome men go up to the Pinnacle of the Temple, was a temptation to them to caſt Me down headlong; concluding, that without a Miracle, Monarchy it ſelf, together with Me, could not but be daſhed in pieces by ſuch a precipitious fall as they intended. Whom God in mercy forgive, and make them ſee at length, That as many Kingdoms as the Devil ſhewed our Saviour, and the glory of them, (if they could be at once enjoyed by them) are not worth the gaining by ways of ſinful ingratitude and diſhonor, which hazards a Soul worth more Worlds then this hath Kingdoms.

But God hath hitherto preſerved Me, and made Me to ſee, that it is no ſtrange thing for men left to their own Paſsions, either to doe much evil themſelves, or abuſe the overmuch goodneſs of others; whereof an ungrateful Surfeit is the moſt deſperate and incurable diſeaſe.

I cannot ſay properly that I repent of that Act, ſince I have no reflections upon it as a Sin of my Will, though an Error of too charitable a Judgement: Onely I am ſorry other mens eyes ſhould be evil, becauſe Mine were good.

To Thee (O my God) do I ſtill appeal, whoſe all-diſcerning Juſtice ſees through all the diſguiſes of mens pretenſions, and deceitful darkneſſes of their hearts.

Thou gaveſt Me a heart to grant much to my Subjects; and now I need a heart fitted to ſuffer much from ſome of them.

Thy will be done, though never ſo much to the croſsing of ours, even when we hope to doe what might be moſt conformable to thine and theirs too who pretended they aimed at nothing elſe.

Let thy Grace teach Me wiſely to enjoy as well the fruſtratings, as the fulfillings of my beſt hopes and moſt ſpecious deſires.

I ſee while I thought to allay others Fears, I have raiſed mine own; and by ſetling them, have unſetled My ſelf.

Thus have they requited Me evil for good, and hatred for my good will towards them.

O Lord, be Thou my Pilot in this dark and dangerous ſtorm, which neither admits my return to the Port whence I ſet out, nor my making any other with that Safety and Honor which I deſigned.

'Tis eaſie for Thee to keep Me ſafe in the love and confidence of my people; nor is it hard for Thee to preſerve Me amidſt the unjuſt hatred and jealouſies of too many, which Thou haſt ſuffered ſo far to prevail upon Me, as to be able to pervert and abuſe my acts of greateſt Indulgence to them and aſſurance of them.

But no Favors from Me can make others more guilty then My ſelf may be, of miſuſing thoſe many and great ones which Thou, O Lord, haſt conferred on Me.

I beſeech Thee give Me and them ſuch Repentance as Thou wilt accept, and ſuch Grace as we may not abuſe.

Make Me ſo far happy, as to make a right uſe of others abuſes; and by their failings of Me, to reflect with a reforming diſpleaſure upon my Offences againſt Thee.

So, although for My ſins I am by other mens ſins deprived of thy temporal Bleſſings, yet I may be happy to enjoy the comfort of thy Mercies, which often raiſe the greateſt Sufferers to be the moſt glorious Saints.

Upon

VI.

Upon His MAJESTIES *retirement from* WESTMINSTER.

WITH what unwillingneſs I withdrew from *Weſtminſter*, let them judge who, unprovided of tackling and victual, are forced to Sea by a Storm; yet better doe ſo, then venture ſplitting or ſinking on a Lee ſhore.

I ſtayed at *White-hall* till I was driven away by ſhame more then fear, to ſee the barbarous Rudeneſs of thoſe Tumults who reſolved they would take the boldneſs to demand any thing, and not leave either My ſelf or the Members of Parliament the liberty of Our Reaſon and Conſcience to deny them any thing.

Nor was this intolerable Oppreſsion My caſe alone, (though chiefly Mine:) For the Lords and Commons might be content to be over-voted by the major part of their Houſes, when they had uſed each their own freedom.

Whoſe agreeing Votes were not by any Law or Reaſon concluſive to My Judgement; nor can they include or carry with them My conſent, whom they repreſent not in any kinde; nor am I further bound to agree with the Votes of both Houſes, then I ſee them agree with the will of God, with My juſt Rights as a King, and the general good of my People. I ſee that, as many men, they are ſeldome of one minde; and I may oft ſee that the major part of them are not in the right.

I had formerly declared to ſober and moderate mindes, how deſirous I was to give all juſt content, when I agreed to ſo many Bills, which had been enough to ſecure and ſatisfie all: if ſome mens Hydropick inſatiableneſs had not learned to thirſt the more by how much the more they drank; whom no fountain of Royal Bounty was able to overcome, ſo reſolved they ſeemed either utterly to exhauſt it, or barbarouſly to obſtruct it.

Sure it ceaſes to be Counſel, when not Reaſon is uſed, as to men, to perſwade, but Force and Terror, as to beaſts, to drive and compel

men to assent to whatever tumultuary Patrons shall project. He deserves to be a Slave without pity or redemption, that is content to have the Rational soveraignty of his Soul, and liberty of his Will and Words so captivated.

Nor do I think my Kingdoms so considerable, as to preserve them with the forfeiture of that Freedom which cannot be denied Me as a King, because it belongs to Me as a Man and a Christian; owning the dictates of none but God to be above Me, as obliging Me to consent. Better for Me to die enjoying this Empire of my Soul, which subjects Me onely to God, so far as by Reason or Religion he directs Me, then live with the Title of a King, if it should carry such a vassalage with it, as not to suffer Me to use my Reason and Conscience, in which I declare as a King to like or dislike.

So far am I from thinking the Majesty of the Crown of *England* to be bound by any Coronation-Oath, in a blind and brutish formality to consent to whatever its Subjects in Parliament shall require, as some men will needs inferre; while denying me any power of a Negative voice as King, they are not ashamed to seek to deprive Me of the liberty of using my Reason with a good Conscience, which themselves and all the Commons of *England* enjoy proportionable to their influence on the publick, who would take it very ill to be urged, not to deny whatever My self, as King, or the House of Peers with Me should, not so much desire as enjoyn them to pass. I think my Oath fully discharged in that point, by my Governing onely by such Laws as my People with the House of Peers have chosen, and My self consented to. I shall never think My self conscientiously tied to go as oft against my Conscience, as I should consent to such new Propolals which my Reason, in Justice, Honor and Religion bids Me deny.

Yet so tender I see some men are of their being subject to Arbitrary Government, (that is, the Law of anothers will, to which themselves give no consent) that they care not with how much dishonor and absurdity they make their King the onely man that must be subject to the will of others, without having power left him to use his own Reason, either in Person, or by any Representation.

And if my dissentings at any time were (as some have suspected and uncharitably avowed) out of Error, Opinionativeness, Weakness,

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or Wilfulneſs, and what they call Obſtinacy in Me (which not true Judgement of things, but ſome vehement Prejudice or Paſsion hath fixed on my Mind;) yet can no man think it other then the badge and method of Slavery, by ſavage Rudeneſs and importunate obtruſions of Violence to have the miſt of his Error and Paſsion diſpelled, which is a ſhadow of Reaſon, and muſt ſerve thoſe that are deſtitute of the ſubſtance. Sure that man cannot be blameable to God or Man, who ſeriouſly endeavours to ſee the beſt reaſon of things, and faithfully follows what he takes for Reaſon: The uprightneſs of his Intentions will excuſe the poſsible failings of his Underſtanding. If a Pilot at Sea cannot ſee the Pole-ſtar, it can be no fault in him to ſteer his courſe by ſuch Stars as do beſt appear to him. It argues rather thoſe men to be conſcious of their defects of Reaſon and convincing Arguments, who call in the aſsiſtance of mere force to carry on the weakneſs of their Counſels and Propoſals. I may in the truth and uprightneſs of my Heart proteſt before God and Men, that I never wilfully oppoſed or denied any thing that was in a fair way, after full and free debates, propounded to Me by the Two Houſes, further then I thought in good Reaſon I might and was bound to doe.

Nor did any thing ever pleaſe Me more, then when My Judgment ſo concurred with theirs, that I might with good Conſcience conſent to them: yea in many things, where not abſolute and moral neceſsity of Reaſon, but temporary convenience on point of Honor was to be conſidered, I choſe rather to deny My ſelf then them; as preferring that which they thought neceſſary for my Peoples good, before what I ſaw but convenient for My ſelf.

For I can be content to recede much from My own Intereſts and Perſonal Rights, of which I conceive My ſelf to be Maſter: but in what concerns Truth, Juſtice, the Rights of the Church, and my Crown, together with the general good of my Kingdomes, (all which I am bound to preſerve as much as morally lies in Me) here I am and ever ſhall be fixt and reſolute; nor ſhall any man gain my conſent to that wherein my Heart gives my Tongue or Hand the Lye; nor will I be brought to affirm that to Men, which in my Conſcience I denied before God. I will rather chuſe to wear a Crown of Thorns with my Saviour, then to exchange that of Gold (which is due to Me) for one of Lead, whoſe embaſed flexibleneſs ſhall be forced to bend

bend and comply to the various and oft contrary dictates of any Factions; when in ſtead of Reaſon and Publick Concernments, they obtrude nothing but what makes for the intereſt of Parties, and flows from the partialities of private Wills and Paſsions.

I know no reſolutions more worthy a Chriſtian King, then to prefer his Conſcience before his Kingdomes.

O my God, preſerve thy Servant in this Native, Rational and Religious Freedom; for this I believe is thy will that we ſhould maintain: who, though Thou doſt juſtly require us to ſubmit our Underſtandings and Wills to thine, whoſe Wiſdome and Goodneſs can neither erre nor miſguide us, and ſo far to deny our carnal Reaſon in order to thy Sacred Myſteries and Commands, that we ſhould believe and obey rather then diſpute them; yet doſt Thou expect from us only ſuch a reaſonable Service of Thee, as not to doe any thing for Thee againſt our Conſciences; and as to the deſires of men, enjoineſt us to try all things by the touch-ſtone of Reaſon and Laws, which are the Rules of Civil Juſtice, and to declare our Conſents to that only which our Judgements approve.

Thou knoweſt, O Lord, how unwilling I was to deſert that place in which Thou haſt ſet Me, and whereto the Affairs of my Kingdomes at preſent do call Me.

My People can witneſs how far I have been content for their good, to deny My ſelf in what Thou haſt ſubjected to My diſpoſal.

O let not the unthankfull importunities and Tumultuary Violence of ſome mens Immoderate demands, ever betray Me to that degenerous and unmanly ſlavery, which ſhould make Me ſtrengthen them by my Conſent in thoſe things which I think in my Conſcience to be againſt thy Glory, the good of my Subjects, and the diſcharge of my own duty to Reaſon and Juſtice.

Make Me willing to ſuffer the greateſt Indignities and Injuries they preſſe upon Me, rather then commit the leaſt ſin againſt my Conſcience.

Let the juſt Liberties of my People be (as well they may) preſerved in fair and equal ways, without the ſlavery of my Soul.

Thou that haſt inveſted Me by thy Favors in the power of a Chriſtian King, ſuffer Me not to ſubject my Reaſon to other mens Paſsions and deſigns, which to Me ſeem unreaſonable, unjuſt and irreligious: So ſhall I ſerve Thee in the truth and uprightneſs of my Heart, though I cannot ſatisfie theſe men.

Though I be driven from among them, yet give Me grace to walk always uprightly before Thee.

Lead Me in the way of Truth and Juſtice: for theſe, I know, will bring Me

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at last to Peace and Happiness with Thee; though for these I have much trouble among men.

This I beg of Thee for my Saviours sake.

VII.

Upon the QUEENS *departure and absence out of* ENGLAND.

ALthough I have much cause to be troubled at my Wifes departure from Me and out of my Dominions; yet not her absence so much as the scandal of that Necessity which drives Her away, doth afflict Me: That She should be compelled by My own Subjects, and those pretending to be Protestants, to withdraw for her Safety: This being the first example of any Protestant Subjects that have taken up Arms against their King, a Protestant. For I look upon this now done in *England*, as another Act of the same Tragedy which was lately begun in *Scotland*; the brands of that fire being ill quenched, have kindled the like flames here. I fear such motions (so little to the adorning of the Protestant profession) may occasion a further alienation of Mind and divorce of Affections in Her from that Religion, which is the only thing wherein We differ.

Which yet God can, and I pray he would, in time take away, and not suffer these practices to be any obstruction to her Judgement; since it is the motion of those men (for the most part) who are yet to seek and settle their Religion for Doctrine, Government, and good Manners, and so not to be imputed to the true *English* Protestants, who continue firm to their former setled Principles and Laws.

I am sorry my relation to so deserving a Lady should be any occasion of her Danger and Affliction, whose Merits would have served Her for a protection among the savage *Indians*, while their Rudeness and Barbarity knows not so perfectly to hate all Vertues as some mens Subtilty doth; among whom I yet think few are so malicious as to hate Her for Her self. The fault is, that She is My Wife.

All Justice then as well as Affection commands Me to study her Security;

Security, who is only in danger for My ſake. I am content to be toſſed, weather-beaten, & ſhipwrackt, ſo as She may be in ſafe Harbor.

This comfort I ſhall enjoy by Her Safety in the midſt of My Perſonal Dangers, that I can periſh but half if She be preſerved: In whoſe memory and hopefull Poſterity I may yet ſurvive the Malice of my Enemies, although they ſhould be ſatiated with my Blood.

I muſt leave Her and Them to the Love and Loialty of my good Subjects, and to his Protection who is able to puniſh the Faults of Princes, and no leſs ſeverely to revenge the Injuries done to Them by thoſe who in all duty and Allegiance ought to have made good that Safety which the Laws chiefly provide for Princes.

But common Civility is in vain expected from thoſe that diſpute their Loialty: Nor can it be ſafe (for any relation) to a King, to tarry among them who are ſhaking hands with their Allegiance, under pretence of laying faſter hold on their Religion.

'Tis pitty ſo noble and peacefull a Soul ſhould ſee, much more ſuffer, the Rudeneſs of thoſe who muſt make up their want of Juſtice with Inhumanity and Impudence.

Her ſympathy with Me in my Afflictions will make her Vertues ſhine with greater luſtre, as Stars in the darkeſt nights, and aſſure the envious world that She loves Me, not my Fortunes.

Neither of Us but can eaſily forgive, ſince We do not much blame the unkindneſs of the Generality and Vulgar: for we ſee God is pleaſed to try both our Patience by the moſt ſelf-puniſhing ſin, the Ingratitude of thoſe, who having eaten of our bread, and being enriched with our Bounty, have ſcornfully lift up themſelves againſt Us; and thoſe of our own Houſhold are become our Enemies. I pray God lay not their ſin to their charge, who think to ſatisfie all obligations to duty by their Corban of Religion; and can leſs endure to ſee, then to ſin againſt, their Benefactors as well as their Soveraigns.

But even that Policy of my Enemies is ſo far venial as it was neceſſary to their deſigns, by ſcandalous Articles and all irreverent demeanor to ſeek to drive Her out of my Kingdoms; leſt by the influence of her Example, eminent for Love as a Wife, and Loialty as a Subject, She ſhould have converted to, or retained in their Love and Loialty, all thoſe whom they had a purpoſe to pervert.

The leſs I may be bleſt with her company, the more I will retire

to

to God, and my own Heart, whence no Malice can baniſh Her. My Enemies may envy, but they can never deprive Me of the enjoyment of her Vertues, while I enjoy My ſelf.

Thou, O Lord, whoſe Juſtice at preſent ſees fit to ſcatter Us, let thy Mercy, in thy due time, re-unite Us on Earth, if it be thy will; however, bring Us both at laſt to thy Heavenly Kingdom.

Preſerve Us from the hands of our deſpiteful and deadly Enemies; and prepare Us by our Sufferings for thy preſence.

Though We differ in ſome things as to Religion, (which is my greateſt temporal Infelicity;) yet, Lord, give and accept the ſincerity of our Affections, which deſire to ſeek, to finde, to embrace every Truth of thine.

Let both our hearts agree in the Love of thy ſelf, and Chriſt crucified for us.

Teach Us both what Thou wouldſt have Us to know in order to thy Glory, our publick relations, and our Souls eternal good; and make Us careful to doe what good We know.

Let neither Ignorance of what is neceſſary to be known, nor Unbelief or diſobedience to what We know, be our miſery or our wilful default.

Let not this great Scandal of thoſe my Subjects which profeſs the ſame Religion with Me, be any hindrance to her love of any Truth thou wouldſt have Her to learn, nor any hardning of Her in any Errour Thou wouldſt have cleared to Her.

Let mine and other mens Conſtancy be an Antidote againſt the poiſon of their Example.

Let the truth of that Religion I profeſs be repreſented to her Judgement with all the beauties of Humility, Loyalty, Charity and Peaceableneſs; which are the proper fruits and ornaments of it: not in the odious diſguiſes of Levity, Schiſm, Hereſie, Novelty, Cruelty and Diſloyalty, which ſome mens practices have lately put upon it.

Let Her ſee thy Sacred and Saving Truths as thine, that She may believe, love and obey them as thine, cleared from all ruſt and droſs of humane mixtures.

That in the glaſs of thy Truth She may ſee Thee, in thoſe Mercies which Thou haſt offered to us in thy Son Jeſus Chriſt our onely Saviour, and ſerve Thee in all thoſe holy Duties which moſt agree with his holy Doctrine and moſt imitable Example.

The experience We have of the vanity and uncertainty of all humane Glory and Greatneſs in our ſcatterings and eclipſes, let it make Us both ſo much the

more ambitious to be inveſted in thoſe durable Honors and Perfections which are only to be found in Thy ſelf, and obtained through Jeſus Chriſt.

VIII.

Upon His MAJESTIES *repulſe at* HULL, *and the fates of the* HOTHAMS.

MY repulſe at *Hull* ſeemed at the firſt view an act of ſo rude Diſloyalty, that my greateſt Enemies had ſcarce confidence enough to abet or own it: It was the firſt overt Eſſay to be made, how patiently I could bear the Loſs of my Kingdoms.

God knows, it affected Me more with ſhame and ſorrow for others, then with Anger for My ſelf: nor did the Affront done to Me trouble Me ſo much as their Sin, which admitted no colour or excuſe.

I was reſolved how to bear this and much more with Patience: But I foreſaw they could hardly contain themſelves within the compaſs of this one unworthy act, who had effrontery enough to commit or countenance it. This was but the hand of that Cloud which was ſoon after to overſpread the whole Kingdome, and caſt all into Diſorder and darkneſs.

For 'tis among the wicked Maximes of bold and diſloyal undertakers, That bad actions muſt alwaies be ſeconded with worſe, and rather not be begun, then not carried on; for they think the retreat more dangerous then the aſſault, and hate Repentance more then perſeverance in a Fault.

This gave Me to ſee clearly through all the pious diſguiſes and ſoft palliations of ſome men; whoſe words were ſometime ſmoother then oyl, but now I ſaw they would prove very Swords.

Againſt which I having (as yet) no defence but that of a good Conſcience, thought it my beſt policy, with Patience to bear what I could not remedy. And in this (I thank God) I had the better of *Hotham*, that no diſdain or emotion of Paſsion tranſported Me, by the indignity of his carriage, to doe or ſay any thing unbeſeeming My ſelf, or unſutable to that temper which in greateſt Injuries, I think,

beſt

beſt becomes a Chriſtian, as coming neareſt to the great example of Chriſt.

And indeed, I deſire always more to remember I am a Chriſtian then a King: for what the Majeſty of the one might juſtly abhor, the Charity of the other is willing to bear; what the height of a King tempteth to revenge, the humility of a Chriſtian teacheth to forgive. Keeping in compaſs all thoſe impotent Paſsions, whoſe exceſs injures a man more then his greateſt enemies can: for theſe give their Malice a full impreſsion on our Souls, which otherways cannot reach very far, nor doe us much hurt.

I cannot but obſerve how God not long after ſo pleaded and avenged my Cauſe in the eye of the world, that the moſt wilfully blind cannot avoid the diſpleaſure to ſee it, and with ſome remorſe and fear to own it as a notable ſtroke, and prediction of Divine Vengeance.

For Sir *John Hotham*, unreproached, unthreatned, uncurſed by any language or ſecret imprecation of Mine, only blaſted with the Conſcience of his own Wickedneſs, and falling from one Inconſtancy to another, not long after pays his own and his eldeſt Sons heads as forfeitures of their Diſloyalty, to thoſe men from whom ſurely he might have expected another reward then thus to divide their Heads from their bodies, whoſe Hearts with them were divided from their KING.

Nor is it ſtrange, that they who imployed them at firſt in ſo high a ſervice and ſo ſucceſsful to them, ſhould not finde mercy enough to forgive him who had ſo much premerited of them: For Apoſtaſy unto Loyalty ſome men account the moſt unpardonable ſin.

Nor did a ſolitary Vengeance ſerve the turn; the cutting off one Head in a Family is not enough to expiate the affront done to the Head of the Common-weal: The eldeſt Son muſt be involved in the puniſhment, as he was infected with the ſin of the Father againſt the Father of his Country: Root and Branch God cuts off in one day.

Theſe obſervations are obvious to every fancy. God knows, I was ſo far from rejoycing in the *Hothams* ruine, (though it were ſuch as was able to give the greateſt thirſt for revenge a full draught, being executed by them who firſt employed him againſt Me) that I ſo

ſar pitied him, as I thought he at firſt acted more againſt the light of his Conſcience then I hope many other men do in the ſame Cauſe.

For he was never thought to be of that ſuperſtitious ſowreneſs which ſome men pretend to in matters of Religion; which ſo darkens their Judgement, that they cannot ſee any thing of Sin and Rebellion in thoſe means they uſe, with intents to reform to their Models, of what they call Religion, who think all is gold of Piety, which doth but gliſter with a ſhew of Zeal and fervency.

Sir *John Hotham* was (I think) a man of another temper, and ſo moſt liable to thoſe down-right temptations of Ambition, which have no cloak or cheat of Religion to impoſe upon themſelves or others.

That which makes Me more pity him is, that after he began to have ſome inclinations towards a repentance for his ſin and reparation of his Duty to Me, he ſhould be ſo unhappy as to fall into the hands of their Juſtice, and not My Mercy, who could as willingly have forgiven him as he could have asked that favor of Me.

For I think Clemency a debt which we ought to pay to thoſe that crave it, when we have cauſe to believe they would not after abuſe it; ſince God himſelf ſuffers us not to pay any thing for his Mercy, but onely Prayers and Praiſes.

Poor Gentleman, he is now become a notable monument of unproſperous Diſloyalty, teaching the world by ſo ſad and unfortunate a ſpectacle, That the rude carriage of a Subject towards his Soveraign carries alwaies its own Vengeance as an unſeparable ſhadow with it; and thoſe oft prove the moſt fatal and implacable Executioners of it, who were the firſt Imployers in the ſervice.

After-times will diſpute it, whether *Hotham* were more infamous at *Hull* or at *Tower-hill*: though 'tis certain that no puniſhment ſo ſtains a mans Honor, as wilful perpetrations of unworthy actions; which beſides the conſcience of the ſin, brand with moſt indeleble characters of infamy the name and memory to Poſterity, who not engaged in the Factions of the times, have the moſt impartial reflections on the actions.

But Thou, O Lord, who haſt in ſo remarkable a way avenged thy Servant, ſuffer Me not to take any ſecret pleaſure in it; for as his death hath ſatisfied the

Injury

Injury he did to Me, ſo let Me not by it gratifie any Paſſion in Me, leſt I make thy vengeance to be mine, and conſider the affront againſt Me more then the ſin againſt Thee.

Thou indeed, without any deſire or endeavour of Mine, haſt made his miſchief to return on his own head, and his violent dealing to come down on his own pate.

Thou haſt pleaded my Cauſe, even before the ſons of men, and taken the matter into thine own hands: That men may know it was thy work, and ſee that Thou, Lord, haſt done it.

I do not, I dare not ſay, So let mine Enemies periſh, O Lord: yea, Lord, rather give them Repentance, Pardon and impunity, if it be thy bleſſed will.

Let not Thy Juſtice prevent the objects and opportunities of My Mercy: yea, let them live and amend who have moſt offended Me in ſo high a nature; that I may have thoſe to forgive, who bear moſt proportion in their offences to thoſe treſpaſſes againſt thy Majeſty, which I hope thy Mercy hath forgiven Me.

Lord, lay not their ſins (who yet live) to their charge for condemnation, but to their Conſciences for amendment: Let the lightning of this thunderbolt, which hath been ſo ſevere a puniſhment to one, be a terror to all.

Diſcover to them their ſin, who know not they have done amiſs; and ſcare them from their ſin, that ſin of malicious wickedneſs.

That preventing thy Judgements by their true Repentance, they may eſcape the ſtrokes of thine eternal Vengeance.

And do Thou, O Lord, eſtabliſh the Throne of thy Servant in mercy and truth meeting together: let my Crown ever flouriſh in righteouſneſs and peace kiſſing each other.

Hear my Prayer, O Lord, who haſt taught us to pray for, to doe good to, and to love our Enemies for thy ſake, who haſt prevented us with offertures of thy love even when we were thine enemies, and haſt ſent thy Son Jeſus Chriſt to dye for us when we were diſpoſed to crucifie him.

IX.

Upon the liſting and raiſing Armies againſt the KING.

I Finde that I am at the ſame point and poſture I was when they forced Me to leave *White-hall*: what Tumults could not doe, an Army muſt; which is but Tumults liſted, and enrolled to a better order, but as bad an End. My receſs hath given them confidence that I may be conquered.

And ſo I eaſily may, as to any outward ſtrength, which, God knows, is little or none at all: But I have a Soul invincible through Gods grace enabling Me; here I am ſure to be Conqueror, if God will give Me ſuch a meaſure of Conſtancy as to fear him more then man, and to love the inward peace of my Conſcience before any outward tranquillity.

And muſt I be oppoſed with Force, becauſe they have not Reaſon wherewith to convince Me? O my Soul, be of good courage: they confeſs their known weakneſs as to Truth and Juſtice, who chuſe rather to contend by Armies then by Arguments.

Is this the reward and thanks that I am to receive for thoſe many Acts of Grace I have lately paſſed, and for thoſe many Indignities I have endured? Is there no way left to make Me a Glorious KING, but by my Sufferings?

It is a hard and diſputable choice for a King, that loves his People and deſires their love, either to kill his own Subjects, or to be killed by them.

Are the hazards and miſeries of Civil War in the bowels of my moſt flouriſhing Kingdom, the fruits I muſt now reap after Seventeen years living and Reigning among them with ſuch a meaſure of Juſtice, Peace, Plenty and Religion, as all Nations about either admired or envied? notwithſtanding ſome Miſcarriages in Government, which might eſcape rather through ill counſel of ſome men driving on their private ends, or the peeviſhneſs of others, envying the Publick ſhould be managed without them, or the hidden and inſuperable

insuperable necessities of State, then any propensity, I hope, of My self either to Injuriousness or Oppression.

Whose innocent blood during my Reign have I shed to satisfie my Lust, Anger, or Covetousness? What Widows or Orphans tears can witness against Me, the just cry of which must now be avenged with My own blood? For the hazards of War are equal, nor doth the Canon know any respect of Persons.

In vain is my Person excepted by a Parenthesis of Words, when so many hands are armed against Me with Swords.

God knows how much I have studied, to see what Ground of Justice is alledged for this War against Me; that so I might (by giving just satisfaction) either prevent, or soon end so unnatural a motion: which (to many men) seems rather the production of a surfeit of Peace, and wantonness of mindes, or of private discontents, Ambition and Faction (which easily finde or make causes of quarrel) then any real obstructions of publick Justice or Parliamentary Priviledge.

But this is pretended, and this I must be able to avoid and answer before God in my own Conscience, however some men are not willing to believe Me, lest they should condemn themselves.

When I first withdrew from *White-hall*, to see if I could allay the Insolency of the Tumults, (of the not suppressing of which no account in Reason can be given, (where an orderly Guard was granted) but onely to oppress both Mine and the Two Houses freedom of declaring and voting according to every mans Conscience) what obstructions of Justice were there further then this, that what seemed just to one man, might not seem so to another?

Whom did I by power protect against the Justice of Parliament?

That some men withdrew, who feared the partiality of their tryal, (warned by my Lord of *Strafford*'s death) while the Vulgar threatned to be their Oppressors, and Judgers of their Judges, was from that instinct which is in all creatures to preserve themselves. If any others refused to appear, where they evidently saw the current of Justice and Freedom so stopped and troubled by the Rabble, that their lawful Judges either durst not come to the Houses, or not declare their sense with liberty and safety; it cannot seem strange to any reasonable man, when the sole exposing them to the publick *Odium* was

enough to ruine them, before their Cauſe could be heard or tried.

Had not factious Tumults overborn the Freedom and Honor of the Two Houſes; had they aſſerted their Juſtice againſt them, and made the way open for all the Members quietly to come and declare their Conſciences; I know no man ſo dear to Me, whom I had the leaſt inclination to adviſe either to withdraw himſelf, or deny appearing upon their Summons, to whoſe Sentence according to Law (I think) every Subject bound to ſtand.

Diſtempers (indeed) were riſen to ſo great a height, for want of timely repreſsing the vulgar Inſolencies, that the greateſt guilt of thoſe which were Voted and demanded as Delinquents was this, That they would not ſuffer themſelves to be over-aw'd with the Tumults and their Patrons, nor compelled to abet by their ſuffrages or preſence, the deſigns of thoſe men who agitated Innovations and Ruine both in Church and State.

In this point I could not but approve their generous Conſtancy and Cautiouſneſs: further then this I did never allow any mans refractorineſs againſt the Priviledges and Orders of the Houſes; to whom I wiſhed nothing more then Safety, Fulneſs and Freedom.

But the truth is, ſome men, and thoſe not many, deſpairing in fair and Parliamentary ways, by free deliberations and Votes, to gain the concurrence of the major part of Lords and Commons, betook themſelves (by the deſperate activity of factious Tumults) to ſift and terrifie away all thoſe Members whom they ſaw to be of contrary mindes to their purpoſes.

How oft was the buſineſs of the Biſhops enjoying their Ancient places and undoubted Priviledges in the Houſe of Peers carried for them by far the major part of Lords? Yet after five repulſes, contrary to all Order and Cuſtome, it was by tumultuary inſtigations obtruded again, and by a few carried, when moſt of the Peers were forced to abſent themſelves.

In like maner was the bill againſt Root and Branch brought on by tumultuary Clamors and ſchiſmatical Terrors, which could never paſs till both Houſes were ſufficiently thinned and over-awed.

To which Partiality while in all Reaſon, Juſtice and Religion, my Conſcience forbids Me by conſenting to make up their Votes to Acts of Parliament; I muſt now be urged with an Army, and conſtrained

ſtrained either to hazard My own and my Kingdoms ruine by my Defence; or proſtrate my Conſcience to the blind obedience of thoſe men, whoſe zealous Superſtition thinks, or pretends, they cannot doe God and the Church a greater ſervice, then utterly to deſtroy that Primitive, Apoſtolical, and anciently-Univerſal Government of the Church by Biſhops.

Which if other mens Judgements binde them to maintain, or forbid them to conſent to the aboliſhing of it, Mine much more; who, beſides the grounds I have in my Judgement, have alſo a moſt ſtrict and indiſpenſable Oath upon my Conſcience, to preſerve that Order and the Rights of the Church: to which moſt Sacrilegious and abhorred Perjury, moſt unbeſeeming a Chriſtian King, ſhould I ever by giving my Conſent be betrayed, I ſhould account it infinitely greater Miſery then any hath or can befal Me; inaſmuch as the leaſt Sin hath more evil in it then the greateſt Affliction. Had I gratified their Anti-epiſcopal Faction at firſt in this point with my Conſent, and ſacrificed the Eccleſiaſtical Government and Revenues to the fury of their Covetouſneſs, Ambition and Revenge, I believe they would then have found no colourable neceſsity of raiſing an Army to fetch in and puniſh Delinquents.

That I conſented to the Bill of putting the Biſhops out of the Houſe of Peers, was done with a firm perſwaſion of their contentedneſs to ſuffer a preſent diminution in their Rights and Honor for My ſake and the Common-weals; which I was confident they would readily yield unto, rather then occaſion (by the leaſt obſtruction on their part) any danger to Me or to my Kingdom. That I cannot add my conſent for the total Extirpation of that Government, (which I have often offered to all fit Regulations) hath ſo much further tie upon my Conſcience, as what I think Religious and Apoſtolical, and ſo very Sacred and Divine, is not to be diſpenſed with or deſtroyed, when what is onely of civil Favor and priviledge of Honor granted to men of that Order, may with their Conſent who are concerned in it be annulled.

This is the true ſtate of thoſe Obſtructions pretended to be in point of Juſtice and Authority of Parliament; when I call God to witneſs, I knew none of ſuch conſequence as was worth ſpeaking of to make a War, being onely ſuch as Juſtice, Reaſon and

Religion

Religion had made in My own and other mens Conſciences.

Afterwards indeed a great ſhew of Delinquents was made; which were but conſequences neceſſarily following upon Mine or others withdrawing from or defence againſt Violence: but thoſe could not be the firſt occaſion of raiſing an Army againſt Me. Wherein I was ſo far from preventing them, (as they have declared often, that they might ſeem to have the advantage and Juſtice of the defenſive part, and load Me with all the Envy and Injuries of firſt aſſaulting them) that God knows, I had not ſo much as any hopes of an Army in my thoughts. Had the Tumults been honorably and effectually repreſſed by exemplary Juſtice, and the Liberty of the Houſes ſo vindicated, that all Members of either Houſe might with Honor and Freedom, becoming ſuch a Senate, have come and diſcharged their Conſciences, I had obtained all that I deſigned by my withdrawing, and had much more willingly and ſpeedily returned then I retired; this being my Neceſsity driving, the other my Choice deſiring.

But ſome men knew, I was like to bring the ſame Judgement and Conſtancy which I carried with Me, which would never fit their Deſigns: and ſo while they invited Me to come, and grievouſly complained of my Abſence, yet they could not but be pleaſed with it; eſpecially when they had found out that plauſible and popular pretext, of raiſing an Army to fetch in Delinquents: when all that while they never puniſhed the greateſt and moſt intolerable Delinquency of the Tumults and their Exciters, which drave My ſelf, and ſo many of both Houſes from their places, by moſt barbarous indignities; which yet in all Reaſon and Honor they were as loath to have deſerted, as thoſe others were willing they ſhould, that ſo they might have occaſion to perſecute them with the Injuries of an Army, for not ſuffering more tamely the Injuries of the Tumults.

That this is the true ſtate and firſt drift and deſign in raiſing an Army againſt Me, is by the ſequel ſo evident that all other pretences vaniſh. For when they declared by Propoſitions, or Treaties, what they would have to appeaſe them; there was nothing of conſequence offered to Me, or demanded of Me, as any original difference in any point of Law or order of Juſtice. But among other leſſer Innovations, this chiefly was urged, The Abolition of Epiſcopal, and the Eſtabliſhment of Presbyterian Government.

All

All other things at any time propounded were either impertinent as to any ground of a War, or eaſily granted by Me, and onely to make up a number; or elſe they were merely conſequential and acceſſary, after the War was by them unjuſtly begun.

I cannot hinder other mens thoughts, whom the noiſe and ſhew of Piety and heat for Reformation and Religion might eaſily ſo fill with Prejudice, that all equality and clearneſs of Judgement might be obſtructed. But this was and is, as to my beſt obſervation, the true ſtate of affairs between us, when they firſt raiſed an Army, with this deſign, either to ſtop my mouth, or to force my Conſent. And in this truth, as to my Conſcience, (who was (God knows) as far from meditating a War, as I was in the eye of the world from having any preparation for one) I finde that comfort, that in the midſt of all the unfortunate ſucceſſes of this War on My ſide, I do not think my Innocency any whit prejudiced or darkned; nor am I without that Integrity and Peace before God, as with humble confidence to addreſs my Prayer to him.

For Thou, O Lord, ſeeſt clearly through all the cloudings of humane affairs; Thou judgeſt without prejudice: Thy Omniſcience eternally guides thy unerrable Judgement.

O my God, the proud are riſen againſt Me, and the aſſemblies of violent men have ſought after my Soul, and have not ſet Thee before their eyes.

Conſider my Enemies, O Lord, for they are many; and they hate Me with a deadly hatred without a cauſe.

For Thou knoweſt, I had no Paſſion, Deſign or preparation to embroil my Kingdoms in a Civil War; whereto I had leaſt temptation, as knowing I muſt adventure more then any, and could gain leaſt of any by it.

Thou, O Lord, art my witneſs how oft I have deplored, and ſtudied to divert the neceſſity thereof; wherein I cannot well be thought ſo prodigally thirſty of my Subjects blood, as to venture My own life, which I have been oft compelled to doe in this unhappy War; and which were better ſpent to ſave, then to deſtroy my People.

O Lord, I need much of thy grace, with Patience to bear the many Afflictions Thou haſt ſuffered ſome men to bring upon Me: but much more to bear the unjuſt reproaches of thoſe, who not content that I ſuffer moſt by the War, will needs perſwade the world that I have raiſed it firſt, or given juſt cauſe to raiſe it.

The confidence of ſome mens falſe tongues is ſuch, that they would make Me almoſt ſuſpect my own Innocency: Yea, I could be content (at leaſt by my ſilence) to take upon Me ſo great a guilt before men, if by that I might allay the Malice of my Enemies, and redeem my People from this miſerable War; ſince thou, O Lord, knoweſt my Innocency in this thing.

Thou wilt finde out bloody and deceitful men; many of whom have not lived out half their days, in which they promiſed themſelves the enjoyment of the fruits of their violent and wicked Counſels.

Save, O Lord, thy Servant, as hitherto Thou haſt; and in thy due time ſcatter the people that delight in Warre.

Ariſe, O Lord, lift up thy ſelf, becauſe of the rage of mine Enemies, which encreaſeth more and more: Behold them that have conceived miſchief, travelled with iniquity, and brought forth falſhood.

Thou knoweſt the chief deſign of this War is, either to deſtroy my Perſon, or force my Judgement, and to make me renege my Conſcience and thy Truth.

I am driven to croſs David's *choice, and deſire rather to fall into the hands of men, by denying them, (though their mercies be cruel) then into thy hands, by ſinning againſt my Conſcience, and in that againſt Thee, who art a conſuming fire: Better they deſtroy Me, then Thou ſhouldſt damn Me.*

Be Thou ever the defence of my Soul, who wilt ſave the upright in heart.

If nothing but my Blood will ſatisfie my Enemies, or quench the flames of my Kingdoms, or thy temporal Juſtice, I am content, if it be thy will, that it be ſhed by mine own Subjects hands.

But O let the Blood of Me, though their King, yet a Sinner, be waſhed with the Blood of my innocent and peace-making Redeemer; for in that thy Juſtice will finde not only a temporary expiation, but an eternal plenary ſatisfaction, both for My ſins and the ſins of my People: whom I beſeech thee ſtill own for Thine; and when thy wrath is appeaſed by My Death, O remember thy great Mercies toward them, and forgive them, O my Father, for they know not what they doe.

Upon

X.

Upon their ſeizing the KING'S *Magazines, Forts, Navy, and Militia.*

HOW untruly I am charged with the firſt raiſing of an Army, and beginning this Civil War, the eyes that onely pity Me, and the Loyal hearts that durſt onely pray for Me at firſt, might witneſs, which yet appear not ſo many on My ſide, as there were men in Arms liſted againſt Me. My unpreparedneſs for a War may well diſhearten thoſe that would help Me; while it argues (truly) my unwillingneſs to fight, yet it teſtifies for Me, that I am ſet on the defenſive part; having ſo little hopes or power to offend others, that I have none to defend My ſelf, or to preſerve what is Mine own from their prereption.

No man can doubt but they prevented Me in their purpoſes as well as their Injuries, who are ſo much before-hand in their Preparations againſt Me, and ſurpriſals of my ſtrength. Such as are not for Them, yet dare not be for Me; ſo overaw'd is their Loyalty by the others Numbers and Terrors. I believe my Innocency and unpreparedneſs to aſſert my Rights and Honor, makes Me the more guilty in their eſteem; who would not ſo eaſily have declared a War againſt Me, if I had firſt aſſaulted them.

They knew my chiefeſt Arms left Me, were thoſe onely which the ancient Chriſtians were wont to uſe againſt their Perſecutors, *Prayers* and *Tears*. Theſe may ſerve a good mans turn, if not to Conquer as a Souldier, yet to Suffer as a Martyr.

Their preventing of Me, and ſurprizing my Caſtles, Forts, Arms and Navy, with the Militia, is ſo far beſt for Me, that it may drive Me from putting any truſt in the arm of fleſh, and wholly to caſt My ſelf into the protection of the living God, who can ſave by few, or none, as well as by many.

He that made the greedy Ravens to be *Elias*'s Caterers, and bring him food, may alſo make their ſurpriſal of outward Force and defence, an opportunity to ſhew Me the ſpecial ſupport of his Power and Protection.

I thank God I reckon not now the want of the *Militia* ſo much in reference to My own protection, as my Peoples.

Their many and ſore Oppreſsions grieve Me; I am above My own: what I want in the hands of Force and Power, I have in the wings of Faith and Prayer.

But this is the ſtrange method theſe men will needs take, to reſolve their Riddle of making Me a Glorious King, by taking away my Kingly Power: Thus I ſhall become a Support to my Friends, and a Terror to my Enemies, by being unable to ſuccor the one, or ſuppreſs the other.

For thus have they deſigned and propoſed to Me the new modelling of Soveraignty and Kingſhip, as without any reality of Power, ſo without any neceſsity of Subjection and Obedience: That the Majeſty of the Kings of *England* might hereafter hang, like *Mahomet*'s Tomb, by a magnetick Charm, between the Power and Priviledges of the Two Houſes, in an aiery imagination of Regality.

But I believe the ſurfeit of too much Power which ſome men have greedily ſeized on, and now ſeek wholly to devour, will ere long make the Common-wealth ſick both of it and them, ſince they cannot well digeſt it; Soveraign Power in Subjects ſeldom agreeing with the ſtomacks of fellow-Subjects.

Yet I have even in this point of the conſtant *Militia* ſought, by ſatisfying their Fears and importunities, both to ſecure my Friends, and overcome mine Enemies, to gain the peace of all, by depriving My ſelf of a ſole power to help or hurt any; yielding the *Militia* (which is My undoubted Right no leſs then the Crown) to be diſpoſed of as the Two Houſes ſhall think fit during My time.

So willing am I to bury all Jealouſies in them of Me, and to live above all Jealouſies of them as to My ſelf: I deſire not to be ſafer then I wiſh them and my People. If I had the ſole actual diſpoſing of the *Militia*, I could not protect my People further then they protected Me and themſelves: ſo that the uſe of the *Militia* is mutual. I would but defend My ſelf ſo far, as to be able to defend my good Subjects from thoſe mens violence and fraud, who, conſcious to their own evil merits and deſigns, will needs perſwade the world, That none but Wolves are fit to be truſted with the cuſtody of the Shepherd and his Flock. Miſerable experience hath taught my Subjects, ſince

Power

Power hath been wreſted from Me, and employed againſt Me and them, That neither can be ſafe, if both be not in ſuch a way as the Law hath entruſted the publick ſafety and welfare.

Yet even this Conceſsion of Mine as to the exerciſe of the *Militia*, ſo vaſt and large, is not ſatisfactory to ſome men; which ſeem to be Enemies not to Me only, but to all Monarchy; and are reſolved to tranſmit to Poſterity ſuch Jealouſies of the Crown, as they ſhould never permit it to enjoy its juſt and neceſſary Rights in point of Power, to which (at laſt) all Law is reſolved, while thereby it is beſt protected.

But here Honor and Juſtice due to my Succeſſors forbid Me to yield to ſuch a totall alienation of that Power from them, which Civility and Duty (no leſſe then Juſtice and Honor) ſhould have forbad them to have asked of Me.

For although I can be content to eclipſe My own beams, to ſatisfie their feares, who think they muſt needs be ſcorched or blinded, if I ſhould ſhine in the full luſtre of Kingly Power wherewith God and the Laws have inveſted Me: yet I will never conſent to put out the Sun of Soveraignty to all Poſterity and ſucceeding Kings, whoſe juſt recovery of their Rights from unjuſt Uſurpations and extortions ſhall never be prejudiced or obſtructed by any Act of Mine; which indeed would not be more injurious to ſucceeding Kings then to my Subjects, whom I deſire to leave in a condition not wholly deſperate for the future, ſo as by a Law to be ever ſubjected to thoſe many factious Diſtractions which muſt needs follow the many-headed *Hydra* of Government: which, as it makes a ſhew to the People to have more eyes to foreſee, ſo they will finde it hath more mouths too which muſt be ſatisfied; and (at beſt) it hath rather a monſtroſity, then any thing of perfection beyond that of right Monarchy, where Counſel may be in many as the Senſes, but the Supreme Power can be but in One as the Head.

Haply, when men have tried the horrors and malignant influence which will certainly follow my enforced darkneſs and Eclipſe (occaſioned by the interpoſition and ſhadow of that Body, which, as the Moon, receiveth its chiefeſt light from Me,) they will at length more eſteem and welcome the reſtored glory & bleſsing of the Sun's light.

And if at preſent I may ſeem by my receding ſo much from the uſe of my Right in the Power of the *Militia*, to come ſhort of the diſcharge of that Truſt to which I am ſworn for my Peoples protection; I conceive thoſe men are guilty of the enforced Perjury, (if ſo it may ſeem) who compell Me to take this new and ſtrange way of diſcharging my Truſt, by ſeeming to deſert it; of protecting my Subjects, by expoſing My ſelf to Danger or Diſhonor for their ſafety and quiet.

Which in the conflicts of Civill war, and advantages of Power, cannot be effected but by ſome ſide yielding: to which the greateſt love of the Publick Peace, and the firmeſt aſſurance of Gods protection (ariſing from a good Conſcience) doth more invite Me, then can be expected from other mens Fears, which ariſing from the Injuſtice of their actions (though never ſo ſucceſsful) yet dare not adventure their Authors upon any other way of ſafety then that of the Sword and *Militia*; which yet are but weak defences againſt the ſtroaks of Divine Vengeance, which will overtake, or of mens own Conſciences, which always attend injurious perpetrations.

For My ſelf, I do not think that I can want any thing which providential neceſsity is pleaſed to take from Me, in order to my Peoples tranquillity and Gods Glory, whoſe protection is ſufficient for Me; and he is able, by his being with Me, abundantly to compenſate to Me, as he did to *Job*, whatever Honor, Power, or Liberty the *Chaldæans*, the *Sabæans*, or the Devil himſelf can deprive Me of.

Although they take from Me all defence of Arms and *Militia*, all refuge by Land of Forts and Caſtles, all flight by Sea in my Ships and Navy, yea though they ſtudy to rob Me of the Hearts of my Subjects, the greateſt treaſure and beſt ammunition of a King; yet cannot they deprive Me of my own Innocency or God's Mercy, nor obſtruct my way to Heaven.

Therefore, O my God, to Thee I flie for help: if Thou wilt be on my ſide, I ſhall have more with Me then can be againſt Me.

There is none in Heaven or in Earth that I deſire in compariſon of Thee. In the loſs of all, be Thou more then all to Me. Make haſt to ſuccor Me, Thou that never faileſt them that put their truſt in Thee.

Thou ſeeſt I have no power to oppoſe them that come againſt Me, who are encou-

raged

raged to fight under the pretence of fighting for Me: But my eyes are toward Thee.

Thou needeſt no help, nor ſhall I, if I may have thine; if not to conquer, yet at leaſt to ſuffer.

If Thou delighteſt not in my ſafety and proſperity, behold here I am willing to be reduced to what Thou wilt have Me, whoſe Judgements oft begin with thy own Children.

I am content to be nothing, that Thou mayeſt be all.

Thou haſt taught Me, That no King can be ſaved by the multitude of an Hoſt; but yet Thou canſt ſave Me by the multitude of thy Mercies, who art the Lord of Hoſts, and the Father of Mercies.

Help Me, O Lord, who am ſore diſtreſſed on every ſide: yet be Thou on my ſide, and I ſhall not fear what man can doe unto Me.

I will give thy Juſtice the glory of my diſtreſs.

O let thy Mercy have the glory of my deliverance from them that perſecute my Soul.

By my Sins have I fought againſt Thee, and robbed Thee of thy Glory, who am thy Subject; and juſtly mayſt Thou by my own Subjects ſtrip Me of my ſtrength, and eclipſe my glory.

But ſhew thy ſelf, O my hope and onely refuge. Let not mine Enemies ſay, There is no help for him in his God.

Hold up my goings in thy paths, that my footſteps ſlip not.

Keep Me as the apple of thine eye, hide Me under the ſhadow of thy wings.

Shew thy marvellous loving kindneſs, O Thou that ſaveſt by thy right hand them that put their truſt in Thee, from thoſe that riſe up againſt them;

From the wicked that oppreſs Me, from my deadly enemies that compaſs Me about.

Shew Me the path of life. In thy preſence is fulneſs of joy, at thy right hand there are pleaſures for evermore.

XI.

Upon the Nineteen Propoſitions firſt ſent to the KING; *and more afterwards.*

ALthough there be many things they demand, yet if theſe be all, I am glad to ſee at what price they ſet My own ſafety and my Peoples peace; which I cannot think I buy at too dear a rate, ſave only the parting with my Conſcience and Honor. If nothing elſe will ſatisfie, I muſt chuſe rather to be as miſerable and inglorious as my Enemies can make or wiſh Me.

Some things here propounded to Me have been offered by Me; others are eaſily granted: The reſt (I think) ought not to be obtruded upon Me with the point of the Sword, nor urged with the injuries of a War; when I have already declared that I cannot yield to them without violating my Conſcience. 'Tis ſtrange, there can be no method of Peace, but by making warre upon my Soul.

Here are many things required of Me, but I ſee nothing offer'd to Me by the way of grateful exchange of Honor; or any requital for thoſe Favors I have, or can yet grant them.

This Honor they doe Me, to put Me on the giving part, which is more Princely and Divine. They cannot ask more then I can give, may I but reſerve to My ſelf the incommunicable Jewel of my Conſcience, and not be forced to part with that whoſe loſs nothing can repair or requite.

Some things (which they are pleaſed to propound) ſeem unreaſonable to Me; and while I have any maſtery of my Reaſon, how can they think I can conſent to them? who know they are ſuch as are inconſiſtent with being either a King, or a good Chriſtian. My yielding ſo much as I have already makes ſome men confident I will deny nothing.

The love I have of my Peoples Peace hath (indeed) great influence upon Me; but the love of Truth and inward Peace hath more.

Should I grant ſome things they require, I ſhould not ſo much weaken my outward ſtate of a King, as wound that inward quiet of

my

my Conſcience, which ought to be, is, and ever ſhall be (by Gods grace) dearer to Me then my Kingdoms.

Some things which a King might approve, yet in Honor and Policy are at ſome time to be denyed to ſome men; leſt he ſhould ſeem not to dare to deny any thing, and give too much incouragement to unreaſonable demands and importunities.

But to bind My ſelf to a general and implicite conſent to whatever they ſhall deſire or propound, (for ſuch is one of their Propoſitions) were ſuch a latitude of blind obedience as never was expected from any Free-man, nor fit to be required of any man, much leſs of a King by his own Subjects; any of whom he may poſsibly exceed as much in Wiſdome, as he doth in Place and Power.

This were, as if *Sampſon* ſhould have conſented, not only to bind his own hands and cut off his hair, but to put out his own eyes, that the *Philiſtines* might with the more ſafety mock and abuſe him; which they choſe rather to doe, then quite to deſtroy him, when he was become ſo tame an object, and fit occaſion for their ſport and ſcorn.

Certainly, to exclude all power of denial, ſeems an arrogancy leaſt of all becoming thoſe who pretend to make their Addreſſes in an humble and loyal way of petitioning; who by that ſufficiently confeſs their own inferiority, which obligeth them to reſt, if not ſatisfied, yet quieted, with ſuch an anſwer as the will and reaſon of their Superior thinks fit to give; who is acknowledged to have a freedom and power of Reaſon, to conſent or diſſent, elſe it were very fooliſh and abſurd to ask, what another having not liberty to deny, neither hath power to grant.

But if this be my right belonging to Me in reaſon as a Man, and in Honor as a Soveraign King, (as undoubtedly it doth) how can it be other then extreme injury to confine my Reaſon to a neceſsity of granting all they have a mind to ask, whoſe mindes may be as differing from Mine both in Reaſon and Honor, as their aims may be, & their qualities are? which laſt God & the Laws have ſufficiently diſtinguiſht, making Me their Soveraign, and them My Subjects: whoſe Propoſitions may ſoon prove violent Oppoſitions, if once they gain to be neceſsary Impoſitions upon the Regal Authority; ſince no man ſeeks to limit and confine his King in Reaſon, who hath

not a ſecret aim to ſhare with him, or uſurp upon him in Power and Dominion.

But they would have Me truſt to their moderation, and abandon Mine own diſcretion; that ſo I might verifie what repreſentations ſome have made of Me to the world, that I am fitter to be their Pupil then their Prince. Truly I am not ſo confident of My own ſufficiency, as not willingly to admit the Counſel of others: But yet I am not ſo diffident of My ſelf, as brutiſhy to ſubmit to any mens dictates, and at once to betray the Soveraignty of Reaſon in my Soul, and the Majeſty of My own Crown to any of my Subjects.

Leaſt of all have I any ground of credulity, to induce Me fully to ſubmit to all the deſires of thoſe men who will not admit, or do refuſe and neglect to vindicate, the freedom of their own and others ſitting and voting in Parliament.

Beſides, all men that know them, know this, how yong Statesmen the moſt part of theſe propounders are: ſo that till experience of one ſeven years hath ſhewed Me how well they can Govern Themſelves, and ſo much Power as is wreſted from Me, I ſhould be very fooliſh indeed, and unfaithful in my Truſt, to put the reins of both Reaſon and Government wholly out of My own into their hands, whoſe driving is already too much like *Jehu*'s, and whoſe forwardneſs to aſcend the throne of Supremacy portends more of *Phaeton* then of *Phœbus*. God divert the Omen, if it be his will.

They may remember, that at beſt they ſit in Parliament as my Subjects, not my Superiors; called to be my Counſellors, not Dictators: Their Summons extends to recommend their Advice, not to command My Duty.

When I firſt heard of Propoſitions to be ſent Me, I expected either ſome good Laws, which had been antiquated by the courſe of time or overlai'd by the corruption of manners, had been deſired to a reſtauration of their vigor & due execution; or ſome evil Cuſtoms preterlegal and abuſes perſonal had been to be removed; or ſome injuries done by My ſelf and others to the Common-weale were to be repaired; or ſome equable offertures were to be tendred to Me, wherein the advantages of my Crown being conſidered by them, might fairly induce Me to condeſcend to what tended to my Subjects good, without any great diminution of My ſelf, whom Nature, Law, Reaſon and Religion

Religion binde Me (in the firſt place) to preſerve, without which 'tis impoſsible to preſerve my People according to my place.

Or (at leaſt) I looked for ſuch moderate deſires of due Reformation of what was (indeed) amiſs in Church and State, as might ſtill preſerve the Foundation and Eſſentialls of Government in both; not ſhake and quite overthrow either of them, without any regard to the Laws in force, the Wiſedom and Piety of former Parliaments, the ancient and univerſal practice of Chriſtian Churches, the Rights and Priviledges of particular men: nor yet any thing offered in lieu or in the room of what muſt be deſtroyed, which might at once reach the good end of the others Inſtitution, and alſo ſupply its pretended defects, reform its abuſes, and ſatisfie ſober and wiſe men, not with ſoft and ſpecious words, pretending zeal and ſpecial piety, but with pregnant and ſolid Reaſons, both Divine and humane, which might juſtifie the abruptneſs and neceſsity of ſuch vaſt alterations.

But in all their Propoſitions I can obſerve little of theſe kindes or to theſe ends: Nothing of any Laws dis-joynted, which are to be reſtored, of any Right invaded, of any Juſtice to be unobſtructed, of any Compenſations to be made, of any impartial Reformation to be granted; to all or any of which Reaſon, Religion, true Policy, or any other humane motives might induce Me.

But as to the main matters propounded by them at any time, in which is either great Novelty or Difficulty; I perceive that what were formerly look'd upon as Factions in the State, and Schiſms in the Church, and ſo puniſhable by the Laws, have now the confidence, by vulgar clamors and aſsiſtance (chiefly,) to demand not only Tolerations of themſelves in their vanity, novelty and confuſion, but alſo Abolition of the Laws againſt them, and a total extirpation of that Government whoſe Rights they have a mind to invade.

This, as to the main: Other Propoſitions are (for the moſt part) but as waſte paper, in which thoſe are wrapped up, to preſent them ſomewhat more handſomly.

Nor do I ſo much wonder at the variety and horrible novelty of ſome Propoſitions (there being nothing ſo monſtrous, which ſome fancies are not prone to long for:)

This caſts Me into, not an Admiration, but an Ecſtaſie, how ſuch things ſhould have the fortune to be propounded in the name of the

Two

Two Houſes of the Parliament of *England*; among whom I am very confident there was not a fourth part of the Members of either Houſe, whoſe Judgements free, ſingle and apart, did approve or deſire ſuch deſtructive changes in the Government of the Church.

I am perſwaded there remains in far the major part of both Houſes (if free & full) ſo much Learning, Reaſon, Religion, and juſt Moderation, as to know how to ſever between the uſe and the abuſe of things, the inſtitution and the corruption, the Government and the miſ-government, the Primitive Patterns and the aberrations or blottings of after-Copies.

Sure they could not all, upon ſo little or no Reaſon (as yet produced to the contrary) ſo ſoon renounce all regard to the Laws in force, to Antiquity, to the Piety of their Reforming Progenitors, to the Proſperity of former times in this Church and State under the preſent Government of the Church.

Yet, by a ſtrange fatality, theſe men ſuffer, either by their abſence, or ſilence, or negligence, or ſupine credulity, (believing that all is good which is gilded with ſhews of Zeal and Reformation) their private diſſenting in Judgement to be drawn into the common ſewer or ſtream of the preſent vogue and humor; which hath its chief riſe and abetment from thoſe Popular Clamors and Tumults, which ſerved to give life and ſtrength to the infinite activity of thoſe men, who ſtudied with all diligence and policy to improve to their Innovating deſigns the preſent Diſtractions.

Such Armies of Propoſitions having ſo little, in my Judgement, of Reaſon, Juſtice and Religion on their ſide, as they had Tumult and Faction for their riſe, muſt not goe alone, but ever be back'd and ſeconded with Armies of Souldiers. Though the ſecond ſhould prevail againſt my Perſon, yet the firſt ſhall never overcome Me, further then I ſee cauſe; for I look not at their Number and Power ſo much, as I weigh their Reaſon and Juſtice.

Had the Two Houſes firſt ſued out their Livery, and once effectually redeemed themſelves from the Wardſhip of the Tumults, (which can be no other then the Hounds that attend the Cry and Hollow of thoſe men who hunt after Factious and private Deſigns, to the ruine of Church and State:)

Did my Judgement tell Me, that the Propoſitions ſent to Me were

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the Reſults of the major part of their Votes, who exerciſe their freedom, as well as they have a right to ſit in Parliament; I ſhould then ſuſpect My own Judgement, for not ſpeedily and fully concurring with every one of them.

For I have Charity enough to think there are wiſe men among them; and Humility to think that, as in ſome things I may want, ſo 'tis fit I ſhould uſe their Advice, which is the end for which I called them to a Parliament. But yet I cannot allow their wiſdom ſuch a compleatneſs and inerrability as to exclude My ſelf; ſince none of them hath that Part to act, that Truſt to diſcharge, nor that Eſtate and Honor to preſerve, as My ſelf; without whoſe Reaſon concurrent with theirs (as the Suns influence is neceſsary in all Natures productions) they cannot beget or bring forth any one compleat and authoritative Act of publick wiſdom, which makes the Laws.

But the unreaſonableneſs of ſome Propoſitions is not more evident to Me then this is, That they are not the joynt and free deſires of thoſe in their major number, who are of right to ſit and Vote in Parliament.

For many of them ſavor very ſtrong of that old leaven of Innovations, masked under the name of Reformation, which in my two laſt famous Predeceſſors days heaved at, and ſometime threatned both Prince and Parliaments; but, I am ſure, was never wont ſo far to infect the whole maſs of the Nobility and Gentry of this Kingdom, however it diſperſed among the Vulgar: Nor was it likely ſo ſuddenly to taint the major part of both Houſes, as that they ſhould unanimouſly deſire and affect ſo enormous and dangerous Innovations in Church and State, contrary to their former education, practice and Judgement.

Not that I am ignorant how the choice of many Members was carried by much Faction in the Countreys; ſome thirſting after nothing more then a paſsionate revenge of whatever diſpleaſure they had conceived againſt Me, my Court, or the Clergy.

But all Reaſon bids Me impute theſe ſudden and vaſt deſires of change to thoſe few, who armed themſelves with the many-headed and many-handed Tumults.

No leſs doth Reaſon, Honor, and Safety both of Church and State, command Me to chew ſuch morſels before I let them down. If the

ſtreightneſs

ſtreightneſs of my Conſcience will not give Me leave to ſwallow down ſuch Camels as others do of Sacriledge and Injuſtice both to God and Man, they have no more cauſe to quarrel with Me then for this, that my throat is not ſo wide as theirs. Yet by Gods help I am reſolved, that nothing of Paſsion, or Peeviſhneſſe, or liſt to contradict, or vanity to ſhew my Negative Power, ſhall have any byaſs upon my Judgement, to make Me gratifie my Will, by denying any thing which my Reaſon and Conſcience commands Me not.

Nor on the other ſide will I conſent to more then Reaſon, Juſtice, Honor and Religion perſwade Me to be for Gods glory, the Churches good, my Peoples welfare, and my own Peace.

I will ſtudy to ſatisfie my Parliament and my People; but I will never, for fear or flattery, gratifie any Faction, how potent ſoever; for this were to nouriſh the Diſeaſe, and oppreſs the body.

Although many mens Loyalty and prudence are terrified from giving Me that free & faithful Counſel which they are able and willing to impart, and I may want; yet none can hinder Me from craving of the Counſel of that mighty Counſellor, who can both ſuggeſt what is beſt, and incline my Heart ſtedfaſtly to follow it.

O Thou firſt and Eternal Reaſon, whoſe Wiſdom is fortified with Omnipotency, furniſh thy Servant firſt with clear diſcoveries of Truth, Reaſon and Juſtice in my Underſtanding; then ſo confirme my Will and reſolution to adhere to them, that no Terrors, Injuries or Oppreſſions of my Enemies may ever inforce Me againſt thoſe rules which Thou by them haſt planted in my Conſcience.

Thou never madeſt Me a King, that I ſhould be leſs then a Man, and not dare to ſay Yea or Nay, as I ſee cauſe; which freedom is not denied to the meaneſt creature that hath the uſe of Reaſon and liberty of Speech.

Shall that be blamable in Me, which is commendable veracity and conſtancy in others?

Thou ſeeſt, O Lord, with what Partiality and Injuſtice they deny that freedom to Me their KING, *which Thou haſt given to all men, and which themſelves pertinaciouſly challenge to themſelves, while they are ſo tender of the leaſt breach of their Priviledges.*

To Thee I make my Supplication, who canſt guide us by an un-erring rule through the perplexed Labyrinths of our own thoughts and other mens Propoſals; which I have ſome cauſe to ſuſpect are purpoſely caſt as Snares, that by my granting

or

or denying them, I might be more entangled in those difficulties wherewith they lie in wait to afflict Me.

O Lord, make thy way plain before Me.

Let not My own sinful Passions cloud or divert thy Sacred Suggestions.

Let thy Glory be my End, thy Word my Rule; and then thy will be done.

I cannot please all; I care not to please some men: If I may be happy to please Thee, I need not fear whom I displease.

Thou that makest the wisdome of the world foolishness, and takest in their own devices such as are wise in their own conceits; make Me wise by thy Truth, for thy Honor, my Kingdoms general good, and my own Souls Salvation; and I shall not much regard the Worlds opinion or diminution of Me.

The less Wisdom they are willing to impute to Me, the more they shall be convinced of thy Wisdom directing Me; while I deny nothing fit to be granted out of crossness or humor, nor grant any thing which is to be denied out of any fear or flattery of men.

Suffer Me not to be guilty or unhappy, by willing or inconsiderate advancing any mens Designs which are injurious to the publick good, while I confirm them by my Consent.

Nor let Me be any occasion to hinder or defraud the Publick of what is best, by any morose or perverse dissentings.

Make Me so humbly charitable, as to follow their Advice when it appears to be for the publick good, of whose Affections to me I have yet but few evidences to assure Me.

Thou canst as well bless honest Errors, as blast fraudulent counsels.

Since we must give an account of every evil and idle word in private at thy Tribunal; Lord, make Me careful of those solemn Declarations of my minde which are like to have the greatest influence upon the Publick, either for woe or weale.

The less others consider what they ask, make Me the more solicitous what I answer.

Though Mine own and my Peoples Pressures are grievous, and Peace would be very pleasing: yet, Lord, never suffer Me to avoid the one, or purchase the other, with the least expence or waste of my Conscience; whereof Thou, O Lord, only art deservedly more Master then My self.

XII.

Upon the Rebellion and Troubles in IRELAND.

THe Commotions in *Ireland* were ſo ſudden and ſo violent, that it was hard at firſt either to diſcern the riſe, or apply a remedy to that precipitant Rebellion.

Indeed that ſea of Blood which hath there been cruelly and barbarouſly ſhed, is enough to drown any man in eternal both infamy and miſery, whom God ſhall find the malicious Author or Inſtigator of its effuſion.

It fell out, as a moſt unhappy advantage to ſome mens Malice againſt Me, that when they had impudence enough to lay any thing to my charge, this bloody opportunity ſhould be offered them, with which I muſt be aſperſed. Although there was nothing which could be more abhorred to Me, being ſo full of ſin againſt God, Diſloyalty to My ſelf, and deſtructive to my Subjects.

Some men took it very ill not to be believed, when they affirmed that what the *Iriſh* Rebels did was done with My privity (at leaſt) if not by My Commiſsion. But theſe knew too well, that it is no news for ſome of my Subjects to fight, not only without my Commiſsion, but againſt my Command and Perſon too; yet all the while to pretend they fight by My Authority, and for My Safety.

I would to God the *Iriſh* had nothing to alledge for their imitation againſt thoſe, whoſe blame muſt needs be the greater, by how much Proteſtant Principles are more againſt all Rebellion againſt Princes then thoſe of Papiſts. Nor will the goodneſs of mens Intentions excuſe the ſcandal and contagion of their Examples.

But whoever fail of their Duty toward Me, I muſt bear the blame: this Honor my Enemies have always done Me, to think moderate Injuries not proportionate to Me, nor competent trialls either of my Patience under them, or my Pardon of them.

Therefore with exquiſite Malice they have mixed the gall and vineger of Falſity and Contempt with the cup of my Affliction; charging Me not only with Untruths, but ſuch as wherein I have the greateſt

greateſt ſhare of Loſs and Diſhonor by what is committed: whereby (in all Policy, Reaſon and Religion, having leaſt cauſe to give the leaſt conſent, and moſt grounds of utter deteſtation) I might be repreſented by them to the world the more inhumane and barbarous; like ſome Cyclopick Monſter, whom nothing will ſerve to eat and drink but the fleſh and blood of my own Subjects, in whoſe common Welfare my Intereſt lies as much as ſome mens doth in their Perturbations; who think they cannot doe well but in evil times, nor ſo cunningly, as in laying the *odium* of thoſe ſad events on others, wherewith themſelves are moſt pleaſed, and whereof they have been not the leaſt occaſion.

And certainly, 'tis thought by many wiſe men, that the prepoſterous rigor and unreaſonable ſeverity which ſome men carried before them in *England*, was not the leaſt incentive that kindled and blew up into thoſe horrid flames the ſparks of Diſcontent, which wanted not prediſpoſed fewel for Rebellion, in *Ireland*: where Deſpair being added to their former Diſcontents, and the fears of utter Extirpation to their wonted Oppreſsions, it was eaſie to provoke to an open Rebellion a people prone enough to break out to all exorbitant violence, both by ſome Principles of their Religion, and the natural deſires of Liberty; both to exempt themſelves from their preſent reſtraints, and to prevent thoſe after Rigors wherewith they ſaw themſelves apparently threatned by the covetous Zeal and uncharitable Fury of ſome men, who think it a great Argument of the truth of their Religion, to endure no other but their own.

God knows, as I can with truth waſh my hands in Innocency as to any Guilt in that Rebellion; ſo I might waſh them in my Teares, as to the ſad apprehenſions I had to ſee it ſpread ſo far and make ſuch waſte. And this in a time, when Diſtractions and Jealouſies here in *England* made moſt men rather intent to their own ſafety, or deſigns they were driving, then to the relief of thoſe who were every day inhumanely butchered in *Ireland*: whoſe Tears and Blood might, if nothing elſe, have quenched, or at leaſt for a time repreſſed and ſmothered, thoſe ſparks of Civil Diſſenſions and Jealouſies which in *England* ſome men moſt induſtriouſly ſcattered.

I would to God no man had been leſs affected with *Ireland*'s ſad eſtate then My ſelf. I offered to go My ſelf in Perſon upon that expe-

dition: But ſome men were either afraid I ſhould have any one Kingdome quieted; or loath they were to ſhoot at any mark here leſs then My ſelf; or that any ſhould have the glory of my Deſtruction but themſelves. Had my many offers been accepted, I am confident neither the Ruine had been ſo great, nor the Calamity ſo long, nor the Remedy ſo deſperate.

So that, next to the ſin of thoſe who began that Rebellion, theirs muſt needs be, who either hindred the ſpeedy ſuppreſsing of it by Domeſtick Diſſentions, or diverted the Aids, or exaſperated the Rebels to the moſt deſperate reſolutions and actions, by threatning all Extremities, not only to the known Heads and chief Incendiaries, but even to the whole community of that Nation; reſolving to deſtroy Root and branch, men, women and children, without any regard to thoſe uſual pleas for Mercy which Conquerors, not wholly barbarous, are wont to heare from their own breaſts in behalf of thoſe whoſe oppreſsive Fears, rather then their Malice, engaged them; or whoſe imbecillity for Sex and Age was ſuch, as they could neither lift up a hand againſt them, nor diſtinguiſh between their right hand and their left. Which prepoſterous and (I think) un-evangelical Zeal is too like that of the rebuked Diſciples, who would go no lower in their revenge, then to call for fire from Heaven upon whole Cities for the repulſe or neglect of a few; or like that of *Jacob*'s Sons, which the Father both blamed and curſed: chuſing rather to uſe all extremities which might drive men to deſperate obſtinacy, then to apply moderate remedies; ſuch as might puniſh ſome with exemplary Juſtice, yet diſarm others, with tenders of mercy upon their ſubmiſsion, and our protection of them from the fury of thoſe who would ſoon drown them if they refuſed to ſwim down the popular ſtream with them.

But ſome kind of Zeal counts all merciful moderation Lukewarmneſs, and had rather be cruel then counted cold, and is not ſeldom more greedy to kill the Bear for his skin, then for any harm he hath done; the confiſcation of mens Eſtates being more beneficial, then the Charity of ſaving their Lives, or reforming their Errors.

When all proportionable ſuccors of the poor Proteſtants in *Ireland* (who were daily maſſacred, and overborn with numbers of now deſperate Enemies) was diverted and obſtructed here, I was earneſtly

earneſtly entreated and generally adviſed by the chief of the Proteſtantparty there, to get them ſome reſpite & breathing by a ceſſation, without which they ſaw no probability (unleſs by Miracle) to preſerve the remnant that had yet eſcaped. God knows with how much Commiſeration and ſolicitous Caution I carried on that buſineſs, by perſons of Honor and Integrity, that ſo I might neither incourage the Rebels Inſolence, nor diſcourage the Proteſtants Loyalty and Patience.

Yet when this was effected in the beſt ſort that the neceſsity and difficulty of affairs would then permit, I was then to ſuffer again in my Reputation and Honor, becauſe I ſuffered not the Rebels utterly to devour the remaining handfuls of the Proteſtants there.

I thought that in all reaſon, the gaining of that reſpite could not be ſo much to the Rebels advantages (which ſome have highly calumniated againſt Me) as it might have been for the Proteſtants future as well as preſent ſafety; if during the time of that Ceſſation, ſome men had had the grace to have laid *Ireland*'s ſad condition more to heart, and laid aſide thoſe violent motions which were here carried on by thoſe that had better skill to let blood then to ſtanch it.

But in all the miſconſtructions of my Actions, (which are prone to find more credulity in men to what is falſe and evil, then love or charity to what is true and good) as I have no Judge but God above Me; ſo I can have comfort to appeal to his Omniſcience, who doth not therefore deny my Innocence, becauſe he is pleaſed ſo far to try my Patience, as he did his ſervant *Job*'s.

I have enough to doe to look to my own Conſcience, & the faithfull diſcharge of my Truſt as a KING: I have ſcarce leiſure to conſider thoſe ſwarms of reproaches which iſſue out of ſome mens mouths and hearts, as eaſily as ſmoke or ſparks do out of a furnace; much leſs to make ſuch prolix Apologies as might give thoſe men ſatisfaction, who conſcious to their own depth of wickedneſs, are loath to believe any man not to be as bad as themſelves.

'Tis Kingly to doe well, and hear ill: If I can but act the one, I ſhall not much regard to hear the other.

I thank God, I can hear with patience as bad as my worſt Enemies can falſly ſay: and I hope I ſhall ſtill doe better then they deſire or deſerve I ſhould.

I believe it will at laſt appear, that they who firſt began to embroil my other Kingdoms, are in great part guilty, if not of the firſt letting out, yet of the not timely ſtopping, thoſe horrid effuſions of blood in *Ireland*.

Which (whatever my Enemies pleaſe to ſay or think) I look upon, as that of my other Kingdoms, exhauſted out of My own veins; no man being ſo much weakned by it as My ſelf. And I hope, though mens unſatiable Cruelties never will, yet the Mercy of God will at length ſay to his Juſtice, *It is enough*; and command the Sword of Civil wars to ſheath it ſelf: his merciful Juſtice intending, I truſt, not our utter Confuſion, but our Cure; the abatement of our Sins, not the deſolating of theſe Nations.

O my God, let thoſe infinite Mercies prevent us once again, which I and my Kingdoms have formerly abuſed, and can never deſerve ſhould be reſtored.

Thou ſeeſt how much Cruelty among Chriſtians is acted under the colour of Religion; as if we could not be Chriſtians, unleſs we crucifie one another.

Becauſe we have not more loved thy Truth, and practiſed in Charity, Thou haſt ſuffered a ſpirit of Error and bitterneſs, of mutual and mortal Hatred to ariſe among us.

O Lord, forgive wherein we have ſinned, and ſanctifie what we have ſuffered.

Let our Repentance be our Recovery, as our great Sins have been our Ruine.

Let not the Miſeries I and my Kingdoms have hitherto ſuffered ſeem ſmall to Thee: but make our Sins appear to our Conſciences as they are repreſented in the glaſs of thy Judgements; for Thou never puniſheſt ſmall failings with ſo ſevere Afflictions.

O therefore, according to the multitude of thy great Mercies pardon our Sins; and remove thy Judgements, which are very many and very heavy.

Yet let our Sins be ever more grievous to us then thy Judgements; and make us more willing to repent, then to be relieved: firſt give us the Peace of penitent Conſciences, and then the tranquillity of united Kingdoms.

In the ſea of our Saviours Blood drown our Sins; and through this Red ſea of our own blood bring us at laſt to a ſtate of Piety, Peace and Plenty.

As

As my publick relations to all make Me ſhare in all my Subjects ſufferings; ſo give Me ſuch a pious ſenſe of them as becomes a Chriſtian King, and a loving Father of my People.

Let the ſcandalous and unjuſt Reproaches caſt upon Me be as a breath, more to kindle my Compaſſion: Give Me grace to heap Charitable coals of fire upon their heads to melt them, whoſe Malice or cruel Zeal hath kindled, or hindred the quenching of thoſe Flames, which have ſo much waſted my Three Kingdoms.

O reſcue and aſſiſt thoſe poor Proteſtants in Ireland *whom Thou haſt hitherto preſerved.*

And lead thoſe in the ways of thy ſaving Truths, whoſe Ignorance or Errors have filled them with Rebellious and deſtructive Principles; which they act under an opinion that they doe Thee good ſervice.

Let the hand of thy Juſtice be againſt thoſe who maliciouſly and deſpitefully have raiſed or fomented thoſe cruel and deſperate Wars.

Thou that art far from deſtroying the innocent with the guilty, and the erroneous with the malicious, Thou that hadſt pity on Nineveh *for the many Children that were therein, give not over the whole ſtock of that populous and ſeduced Nation to the wrath of thoſe whoſe Covetouſneſs makes them Cruel; nor to their Anger, which is too fierce, and therefore juſtly curſed.*

Preſerve, if it be thy will, in the midſt of the furnace of thy ſevere Juſtice, a Poſterity which may praiſe Thee for thy Mercy.

And deal with Me, not according to mans unjuſt Reproaches, but according to the Innocency of my hands in thy ſight.

If I have deſired or delighted in the woful day of my Kingdoms Calamities, if I have not earneſtly ſtudied and faithfully endeavored the preventing and compoſing of theſe bloody Diſtractions; then let thy hand be againſt Me and my Fathers houſe. O Lord, Thou ſeeſt I have Enemies enough of men; as I need not, ſo I ſhould not dare thus to imprecate thy Curſe on Me and Mine, if my Conſcience did not witneſs my Integrity, which Thou, O Lord, knoweſt right well. But I truſt not to My own Merit, but thy Mercies. Spare us, O Lord, and be not angry with us for ever.

XIII.

Upon the Calling in of the SCOTS, *and their Coming.*

THe *Scots* are a Nation upon whom I have not only common ties of Nature, Soveraignty and Bounty, with my Father of Bleſſed memory; but alſo ſpecial and late obligations of Favors, having gratified the active Spirits among them ſo far, that I ſeemed to many to prefer the deſires of that Party before My own intereſt and Honor. But, I ſee, Royal bounty emboldens ſome men to ask and act beyond all bounds of Modeſty and Gratitude.

My Charity and Act of Pacification forbids Me to reflect on former paſſages; wherein I ſhall ever be far from letting any mans Ingratitude or Inconſtancy make Me repent of what I granted them for the publick good. I pray God it may ſo prove.

The coming again of that Party into *England* with an Army, only to conform this Church to their late New model, cannot but ſeem as unreaſonable, as they would have thought the ſame meaſure offered from hence to themſelves.

Other Errand I could never underſtand they had, (beſides thoſe common and vulgar flouriſhes for Religion and Liberty) ſave only to confirm the Presbyterian Copy they had ſet, by making this Church to write after them, though it were in bloody Characters.

Which deſign and End, whether it will juſtifie the uſe of ſuch violent Means before the Divine Juſtice, I leave to their Conſciences to judge who have already felt the miſery of the Means, but not reaped the benefit of the End, either in this Kingdom or that.

Such knots and croſneſs of grain being objected here, as will hardly ſuffer that Form which they cry up as the only juſt Reformation, and ſetling of Government and Diſcipline in Churches,

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to go on ſo ſmoothly here as it might do in *Scotland*; and was by them imagined would have done in *England*, when ſo many of the *Engliſh* Clergy, through levity or diſcontent, if no worſe Paſſion, ſuddenly quitted their former engagements to Epiſcopacy, and faced about to their Presbytery.

It cannot but ſeem either Paſsion or ſome Self-ſeeking, more then true Zeal and pious Diſcretion, for any foreign State or Church to preſcribe ſuch medicines only for others, which themſelves have uſed rather ſucceſsfully then commendably: not conſidering that the ſame Phyſick on different conſtitutions will have different operations; that may kill one, which doth but cure another.

Nor do I know any ſuch tough and malignant Humors in the conſtitution of the *Engliſh* Church, which gentler applications then thoſe of an Army might not eaſily have removed: Nor is it ſo proper to hew out religious Reformations by the Sword, as to poliſh them by fair and equal Diſputations among thoſe that are moſt concerned in the Differences, whom not Force but Reaſon ought to convince.

But their deſign now ſeemed rather to cut off all Diſputation here, then to procure a fair and equal one: For it was concluded there, that the *Engliſh* Clergy muſt conform to the *Scots* pattern, before ever they could be heard what they could ſay for themſelves, or againſt the others way.

I could have wiſhed fairer proceedings, both for their credits who urge things with ſuch Violence; and for other mens Conſciences too, who can receive little ſatisfaction in theſe Points, which are maintained rather by Souldiers fighting in the Field, then Scholars diſputing in free and learned Synods.

Sure, in matters of Religion, thoſe Truths gain moſt on mens Judgements and Conſciences which are leaſt urged with ſecular Violence, which weakens Truth with Prejudices; and is unreaſonable to be uſed, till ſuch means of rational Conviction have been applied, as leaving no excuſe for Ignorance, condemns mens Obſtinacy to deſerved penalties.

Which no Charity will eaſily ſuſpect of ſo many Learned and Pious Church-men in *England*; who being always bred up, and conformable

conformable to the Government of Epiſcopacy, cannot ſo ſoon renounce both their former Opinion and practice, only becauſe that Party of the *Scots* will needs by Force aſsiſt a like Party here, either to drive all Miniſters as ſheep into the common fold of Presbytery, or deſtroy them, at leaſt fleece them, by depriving them of the benefit of their Flocks. If the *Scotch* ſole Presbytery were proved to be the only inſtitution of Jeſus Chriſt for all Churches Government; yet I believe it would be hard to prove that Chriſt had given thoſe *Scots*, or any other of my Subjects, Commiſsion by the Sword to ſet it up in any of my Kingdoms without My conſent.

What reſpect and obedience Chriſt and his Apoſtles pay'd to the chief Governors of States where they lived, is very clear in the Goſpel: but that he or they ever commanded to ſet up ſuch a Parity of Presbyters, and in ſuch a way as thoſe *Scots* endeavor, I think is not very diſputable.

If Presbytery, in ſuch a ſupremacy, be an inſtitution of Chriſt, ſure it differs from all others, and is the firſt and only Point of Chriſtianity that was to be planted and watered with ſo much Chriſtian blood; whoſe effuſions run in a ſtream ſo contrary to that of the Primitive Planters both of Chriſtianity and Epiſcopacy, which was with patient ſhedding of their own blood, not violent drawing other mens. Sure there is too much of Man in it, to have much of Chriſt, none of whoſe inſtitutions were carried on or begun with the temptations of Covetouſneſs or Ambition; of both which this is vehemently ſuſpected.

Yet was there never any thing upon the point which thoſe *Scots* had by Army or Commiſsioners to move Me with, by their many ſolemn Obteſtations and pious Threatnings, but only this, To repreſent to Me the wonderful neceſsity of ſetting up their Presbytery in *England*, to avoid the further miſeries of a War; which ſome men chiefly on this deſign at firſt had begun, and now further engaged themſelves to continue.

What hinders that any Sects, Schiſms or Hereſies, if they can get but numbers, ſtrength and opportunity, may not, according to this opinion and pattern, ſet up their ways by the like methods of violence? All which Presbytery ſeeks to ſuppreſs, and render odious under thoſe Names: when Wiſe and Learned

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men think that nothing hath more marks of Schiſm and Sectariſm then this Presbyterian way, both as to the Ancient, and ſtill moſt Univerſal way of the Church-Government, and ſpecially as to the particular Laws and Conſtitutions of this *Engliſh* Church; which are not yet repealed, nor are like to be for Me, till I ſee more Rational and Religious motives then Souldiers uſe to carry in their Knapſacks.

But we muſt leave the ſucceſs of all to God, who hath many ways (having firſt taken us off from the folly of our Opinions, and fury of our Paſsion) to teach us thoſe Rules of true Reaſon and peaceable Wiſedom which is from above, tending moſt to Gods glory and his Churches good: which I think My ſelf ſo much the more bound in Conſcience to attend with the moſt judicious zeal and care, by how much I eſteem the Church above the State, the glory of Chriſt above Mine own, and the Salvation of mens Souls above the Preſervation of their Bodies and Eſtates.

Nor may any men, I think, without ſin and preſumption, forcibly endeavor to caſt the Churches under my care and tuition, into the moulds they have fancied and faſhioned to their deſigns, till they have firſt gained My conſent, and reſolved both my own and other mens Conſciences by the ſtrength of their Reaſons.

Other violent motions, which are neither Manly, Chriſtian nor Loyal, ſhall never either ſhake or ſettle My Religion; nor any mans elſe who knows what Religion means, and how far it is removed from all Faction, whoſe proper engine is Force, the Arbitrator of Beaſts, not of reaſonable Men, much leſs of humble Chriſtians and loyal Subjects in matters of Religion.

But men are prone to have ſuch high conceits of themſelves, that they care not what coſt they lay out upon their Opinions; eſpecially thoſe that have ſome temptations of Gain, to recompence their loſſes and hazards.

Yet I was not more ſcandalized at the *Scots* Armies coming in againſt my will, and their forfeiture of ſo many Obligations of Duty and Gratitude to Me, then I wondred how thoſe here could ſo much diſtruſt Gods aſsiſtance, who ſo much pretended Gods Cauſe to the People, as if they had the certainty of ſome

Divine

Divine Revelation : conſidering they were more then competently furniſhed with my Subjects Arms and Ammunition, my Navy by Sea, my Forts, Caſtles and Cities by Land.

But I finde, that men jealous of the juſtifiableneſs of their doings and deſigns before God, never think they have humane ſtrength enough to carry their work on, ſeem it never ſo plauſible to the People. What cannot be juſtified in Law or Religion, had need be fortified with Power.

And yet ſuch is the inconſtancy that attends all mindes engaged in violent motion, that whom ſome of them one while earneſtly invite to come in to their Aſsiſtance, others of them ſoon after are weary of, and with nauſeating caſt them out: what one Party thought to rivet to a ſetledneſs by the ſtrength and influence of the *Scots*, that the other rejects and contemns; at once deſpiſing the Kirk-Government and Diſcipline of the *Scots*, and fruſtrating the Succeſs of ſo chargeable, more then charitable, Aſsiſtance. For ſure the Church of *England* might have purchaſed at a far cheaper rate the Truth and Happineſs of Reformed Government and Diſcipline (if it had been wanting,) though it had entertained the beſt Divines of Chriſtendom for their Advice in a full and free Synod: which I was ever willing to and deſirous of, that matters being impartially ſetled, might be more ſatisfactory to all and more durable.

But much of Gods Juſtice and Mans Folly will at length be diſcovered through all the films and pretenſions of Religion, in which Politicians wrap up their deſigns: In vain do men hope to build their Piety on the ruines of Loyalty. Nor can thoſe confederations or deſigns be durable, when Subjects make Bankrupt of their Allegiance, under pretence of ſetting up a quicker trade for Religion.

But as my beſt Subjects of *Scotland* never deſerted Me; ſo I cannot think that the moſt are gone ſo far from Me, in a Prodigality of their love and reſpects toward Me, as to make Me to deſpair of their return: when beſides the bonds of Nature and Conſcience which they have to Me, all Reaſon and true Policy will teach them, that their chiefeſt intereſt conſiſts in their Fidelity to the Crown, not in their ſerviceableneſs to any Party

of

of the People, to a neglect and betraying of my Safety and Honor for their own advantages. However, the leſs cauſe I have to truſt to men, the more I ſhall apply My ſelf to God.

The troubles of my Soul are enlarged: O Lord, bring Thou Me out of my diſtreſs.

Lord, direct thy Servant in the ways of that Pious Simplicity, which is the beſt Policy.

Deliver Me from the combined ſtrength of thoſe, who have ſo much of the Serpents Subtilty, that they forget the Doves Innocency.

Though hand joyn in hand, yet let them not prevail againſt my Soul, to the betraying of my Conſcience and Honor.

Thou, O Lord, canſt turn the hearts of thoſe Parties in both Nations, as Thou didſt the men of Judah *and* Iſrael, *to reſtore* David *with as much loyal zeal, as they did with inconſtancy and eagerneſs purſue him.*

Preſerve the love of thy Truth and Uprightneſs in Me, and I ſhall not deſpair of my Subjects affections returning towards Me.

Thou canſt ſoon cauſe the overflowing Seas to ebbe, and retire back again to the bounds which Thou haſt appointed for them.

O My God, I truſt in Thee: let Me not be aſhamed; let not my Enemies triumph over Me.

Let them be aſhamed who tranſgreſs without a cauſe: let them be turned back that perſecute my Soul.

Let Integrity and Uprightneſs preſerve Me, for I wait on Thee, O Lord.

Redeem thy Church, O God, out of all its Troubles.

XIV.

Upon the COVENANT.

THe Presbyterian *Scots* are not to be hired at the ordinary rate of Auxiliaries; nothing will induce them to engage, till those that call them in have pawned their Souls to them by a Solemn League and Covenant:

Where many engines of Religious and faire pretensions are brought, chiefly to batter or rase Episcopacy. This they make the grand evil Spirit, which, with some other Imps purposely added, to make it more odious and terrible to the Vulgar, must by so solemn a Charm and Exorcism be cast out of this Church, after more then a thousand years possession here, from the first plantation of Christianity in this Island, and an universal prescription of time and practice in all other Churches since the Apostles times till this last Century.

But no Antiquity must plead for it: Presbytery, like a yong Heir, thinks the Father hath lived long enough; and impatient not to be in the Bishops Chair and Authority (though Lay-men go away with the Revenues) all Art is used to sink Episcopacy, and lanch Presbytery in *England*, which was lately boyed up in *Scotland* by the like artifice of a Covenant.

Although I am unsatisfied with many passages in that Covenant (some referring to My self with very dubious and dangerous limitations) yet I chiefly wonder at the design and drift touching the Discipline and Government of the Church; and such a manner of carrying them on to new ways, by Oaths and Covenants, where it is hard for men to be engaged by no less then swearing for or against those things which are of no clear Moral necessity, but very disputable, and controverted among Learned and Godly men: whereto the application of Oaths can hardly be made and enjoined with that Judgement and certainty in ones self, or that Charity and candor to others of different Opinion, as I think Religion requires; which never refuses fair and equable Deliberations

rations, yea and Diſſentings too in matters onely probable.

The enjoyning of Oaths upon People, muſt needs in things doubtful be dangerous, as in things unlawful damnable; and no leſs ſuperfluous, where former Religious and Legal Engagements bound men ſufficiently to all neceſſary duties. Nor can I ſee how they will reconcile ſuch an Innovating Oath and Covenant with that former Proteſtation which was ſo lately taken, To maintain the Religion eſtabliſhed in the Church of *England*; ſince they count Diſcipline ſo great a part of Religion.

But ambitious mindes never think they have laid ſnares and gins enough to catch and hold the Vulgar credulity; for by ſuch politick and ſeemingly-pious Stratagems they think to keep the populacy faſt to their Parties, under the terror of Perjury: Whereas certainly all honeſt and wiſe men ever thought themſelves ſufficiently bound by former ties of Religion, Allegiance, and Laws, to God and Man.

Nor can ſuch after-Contracts, deviſed and impoſed by a few men in a declared Party, without My conſent, and without any like power or precedent from God's or Mans Laws, be ever thought by judicious men ſufficient either to abſolve or ſlacken thoſe Moral and Eternal bonds of Duty, which lie upon all my Subjects Conſciences, both to God and Me.

Yet as things now ſtand, good men ſhall leaſt offend God or Me by keeping their Covenant in honeſt and lawful ways, ſince I have the Charity to think, that the chief End of the Covenant in ſuch mens intentions was, To preſerve Religion in Purity, and the Kingdoms in Peace: to other then ſuch ends and means they cannot think themſelves engaged. Nor will thoſe that have any true touches of Conſcience endeavor to carry on the beſt deſigns (much leſs ſuch as are and will be daily more apparently factious and ambitious) by any unlawful means, under that Title of the *Covenant*: unleſs they dare prefer ambiguous, dangerous and unauthorized Novelties before their known and ſworn Duties, which are indiſpenſable, both to God and My ſelf.

I am prone to believe and hope, that many who took the Covenant are yet firm to this Judgement, That ſuch later Vows, Oaths or Leagues, can never blot out thoſe former gravings

and characters which by juſt and lawful Oaths were made upon their Souls.

That which makes ſuch Confederations by way of Solemn Leagues and Covenants more to be ſuſpected is, That they are the common road uſed in all Factions and powerful Perturbations of State or Church : Where formalities of extraordinary Zeal and Piety are never more ſtudied and elaborate, then when Politicians moſt agitate deſperate deſigns againſt all that is ſetled or ſacred in Religion and Laws ; which by ſuch ſcrews are cunningly,yet forcibly, wreſted by ſecret ſteps and leſs ſenſible degrees from their known Rule and wonted Practice, to comply with the Humors of thoſe men who aime to ſubdue all to their own Will and Power, under the diſguiſes of Holy Combinations.

Which cords and withes will hold mens Conſciences no longer then Force attends and twiſts them : For every man ſoon grows his own Pope, and eaſily abſolves himſelf of thoſe ties which, not the commands of Gods Word, or the Laws of the Land, but only the ſubtilty and terror of a Party caſts upon him ; either ſuperfluous and vain, when they were ſufficiently tyed before ; or fraudulent and injurious, if by ſuch after-ligaments they find the Impoſers really aiming to diſſolve or ſuſpend their former juſt and neceſſary Obligations.

Indeed, ſuch Illegal ways ſeldom or never intend the engaging men more to Duties, but only to Parties ; therefore it is not regarded how they keep their Covenants in point of Piety pretended, provided they adhere firmly to the Party and Deſign intended.

I ſee the Impoſers of it are content to make their Covenant like Manna (not that it came from Heaven as this did) agreeable to every mans palate and reliſh who will but ſwallow it : They admit any mens ſenſes of it, though diverſe or contrary, with any Salvo's, Cautions and Reſervations; ſo as they croſs not their chief Deſign, which is laid againſt the Church and Me.

It is enough, if they get but the reputation of a ſeeming encreaſe to their Party : So little do men remember that God is not mocked.

In ſuch latitudes of ſenſe, I believe many that love Me and the Church well may have taken the Covenant, who yet are not ſo fondly

fondly and ſuperſtitiouſly taken by it, as now to act clearly againſt both all Piety and Loyalty: who firſt yielded to it, more to prevent that imminent Violence and Ruine which hung over their heads, in caſe they wholly refuſed it, then for any value of it or devotion to it.

Wherein the latitude of ſome general clauſes may (perhaps) ſerve ſomewhat to relieve them, as of *Doing and endeavoring what lawfully they may, in their Places and Callings*, and *according to the Word of God*: For theſe (indeed) carry no man beyond thoſe bounds of good Conſcience which are certain and fixed, either in Gods Laws, as to the general, or the Laws of the State and Kingdom, as to the particular regulation and exerciſe of mens duties.

I would to God ſuch as glory moſt in the name of *Covenanters*, would keep themſelves within thoſe lawful bounds to which God hath called them: ſurely it were the beſt way to expiate the raſhneſs of taking it: which muſt needs then appear, when beſides the want of a full and lawful Authority at firſt to enjoyn it, it ſhall actually be carried on beyond and againſt thoſe Ends which were in it ſpecified and pretended. I willingly forgive ſuch mens taking the Covenant, who keep it within ſuch bounds of Piety, Law and Loyalty, as can never hurt either the Church, My ſelf, or the Publick Peace: againſt which no mans lawful Calling can engage him.

As for that Reformation of the Church which the Covenant pretends, I cannot think it juſt or comely, that by the partial Advice of a few Divines, (of ſo ſoft and ſervile tempers, as diſpoſed them to ſo ſudden acting and compliance, contrary to their former Judgements, Profeſsion and Practice) ſuch foul Scandals and Suſpicions ſhould be caſt upon the Doctrine and Government of the Church of *England*, as was never done (that I have heard) by any that deſerved the name of *Reformed Churches* abroad, nor by any men of Learning and Candor at home: all whoſe Judgements I cannot but prefer before any mens now factiouſly engaged.

No man can be more forward then My ſelf, to carry on all due Reformations with mature Judgement and a good Conſcience, in what things I ſhall (after impartial advice) be by Gods Word and right Reaſon convinced to be amiſs. I have offered more then ever the fulleſt, freeſt, and wiſeſt Parliaments did deſire.

But the ſequel of ſome mens actions makes it evident, that the main Reformation intended is, The abaſing of Epiſcopacy into Presbytery, and the robbing the Church of its Lands and Revenues: For, no men have been more injuriouſly uſed, as to their legal Rights, then the Biſhops and Church-men. Theſe, as the fatteſt Deer, muſt be deſtroyed; the other Raſcal-herd of Schiſms, Hereſies, &c. being lean, may enjoy the benefit of a Toleration. Thus *Naboth*'s Vineyard made him the only Blaſphemer of his City, and fit to die. Still, I ſee, while the breath of Religion fills the Sails, Profit is the Compaſs by which Factious men ſteer their courſe in all ſeditious Commotions.

I thank God, as no man lay more open to the Sacrilegious temptation of uſurping the Churches Lands and Revenues, (which iſſuing chiefly from the Crown, are held of it, and legally can revert only to the Crown with My Conſent;) ſo I have always had ſuch a perfect abhorrence of it in my Soul, that I never found the leaſt inclination to ſuch Sacrilegious Reformings: yet no man hath a greater deſire to have Biſhops and all Church-men ſo reformed, that they may beſt deſerve and uſe, not only what the pious Munificence of my Predeceſſors hath given to God and the Church, but all other additions of Chriſtian Bounty.

But no neceſsity ſhall ever, I hope, drive Me or Mine to invade or ſell the Prieſts Lands, which both *Pharaoh*'s divinity and *Joſeph*'s true Piety abhorred to doe: So unjuſt I think it both in the eye of Reaſon and Religion, to deprive the moſt Sacred employment of all due incouragements; and like that other hard-hearted *Pharaoh*, to withdraw the Straw, and encreaſe the Task; ſo purſuing the oppreſſed Church, as ſome have done, to the Red ſea of a Civil War, where nothing but a Miracle can ſave either It, or Him who eſteems it his greateſt Title to be called, and his chiefeſt glory to be, *The Defender of the Church, both in its true Faith and its juſt Fruitions, equally abhorring Sacrilege and Apoſtaſy.*

I had rather live, as my Predeceſſor *Henry* the Third ſometime did, on the Churches Alms, then violently to take the bread out of Biſhops and Miniſters mouths.

The next work will be *Jeroboam*'s Reformation, conſecrating the meaneſt of the People to be Prieſts in *Iſrael*, to ſerve thoſe Golden Calves who have enriched themſelves with the Churches Patrimony

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and Dowry; which how it thrived both with Prince, Prieſts and People, is well enough known: And ſo it will be here, when from the tuition of Kings and Queens, which have been nurſing Fathers and Mothers of this Church, it ſhall be at their allowance who have already diſcovered what hard Fathers and Stepmothers they will be.

If the Poverty of *Scotland* might, yet the Plenty of *England* cannot excuſe the Envy and Rapine of the Churches Rights and Revenues.

I cannot ſo much as pray God to prevent thoſe ſad Conſequences which will inevitably follow the Parity and Poverty of Miniſters, both in Church and State; ſince I think it no leſs then a mocking and tempting of God, to deſire him to hinder thoſe miſchiefs whoſe occaſions and remedies are in our own power; it being every mans ſin not to avoid the one, and not to uſe the other.

There are ways enough to repair the Breaches of the State without the Ruines of the Church: as I would be a Reſtorer of the one, ſo I would not be an Oppreſsor of the other, under the pretence of Publick Debts: The occaſions contracting them were bad enough, but ſuch a diſcharging of them would be much worſe. I pray God neither I nor Mine may be acceſſary to either.

To Thee, O Lord, do I addreſs my Prayer, beſeeching Thee to pardon the raſhneſs of my Subjects Swearings, and to quicken their ſenſe and obſervation of thoſe juſt, moral and indiſpenſable bonds, which thy Word and the Laws of this Kingdom have laid upon their Conſciences: From which no pretenſions of Piety and Reformation are ſufficient to abſolve them, or to engage them to any contrary practices.

Make them at length ſeriouſly to conſider, that nothing Violent and Injurious can be Religious.

Thou alloweſt no mans committing Sacrilege, under the zeal of abhorring Idols.

Suffer not Sacrilegious deſigns to have the countenance of Religious ties.

Thou haſt taught us by the wiſeſt of Kings, that it is a ſnare to take things that are holy, and after Vows to make enquiry.

Ever keep thy Servant from conſenting to Perjurious and Sacrilegious Rapines, that I may not have the brand and curſe to all poſterity, of robbing Thee and thy Church of what thy Bounty hath given us, and thy

Clemency hath accepted from us, wherewith to encourage Learning and Religion.

Though my Treaſures are exhauſted, my Revenues diminiſhed, and my Debts encreaſed, yet never ſuffer Me to be tempted to uſe ſuch profane Reparations; leſt a Coal from thine Altar ſet ſuch a fire on my Throne and Conſcience as will be hardly quenched.

Let not the Debts and Engagements of the Publick, which ſome mens Folly and Prodigality hath contracted, be an occaſion to impoveriſh thy Church.

The State may ſoon recover by thy bleſsing of Peace upon us; the Church is never likely, in Times where the Charity of moſt men is grown ſo cold and their Religion ſo illiberal.

Continue to thoſe that ſerve Thee and thy Church all thoſe Incouragements which by the will of the pious Donors and the Juſtice of the Laws are due unto them; and give them grace to deſerve and uſe them aright to thy Glory, and the relief of the Poor: That thy Prieſts may be cloathed with Righteouſneſs, and the Poor may be ſatisfied with bread.

Let not Holy things be given to Swine, nor the Churches bread to Dogs: rather let them goe about the City, grin like a Dog, and grudge that they are not ſatisfied.

Let thoſe Sacred morſels, which ſome men have already by violence devoured, never digeſt with them nor theirs: Let them be as Naboth's *Vineyard to* Ahab, *gall in their mouths, rottenneſs to their names, a moth to their Families, and a ſting to their Conſciences.*

Break in ſunder, O Lord, all violent and Sacrilegious Confederations to doe wickedly and injuriouſly.

Divide their hearts and tongues who have bandied together againſt the Church and State; that the Folly of ſuch may be manifeſt to all men, and proceed no further.

But ſo favour My righteous dealing, O Lord, that in the Mercies of Thee, the moſt High, I may never miſcarry.

Upon

XV.

Upon the many Jealouſies raiſed, and Scandals caſt upon the KING, *to ſtir up the People againſt Him.*

IF I had not My own Innocency and Gods Protection, it were hard for Me to ſtand out againſt thoſe ſtratagems and conflicts of Malice which by Falſities ſeek to oppreſs the Truth, and by Jealouſies to ſupply the defect of Real cauſes, which might ſeem to juſtifie ſo unjuſt Engagements againſt Me.

And indeed, the worſt effects of open Hoſtility come ſhort of theſe Deſigns : For I can more willingly loſe my Crowns then my Credit ; nor are my Kingdomes ſo dear to Me as my Reputation and Honor.

Thoſe muſt have a period with my Life ; but theſe may ſurvive to a glorious kinde of Immortality when I am dead and gone: A good name being the embalming of Princes, and a ſweet conſecrating of them to an Eternity of Love and Gratitude among Poſterity.

Thoſe foul and falſe Aſperſions were ſecret engines at firſt employed againſt my Peoples love of Me: that undermining their opinion and value of Me, my Enemies, and theirs too, might at once blow up their Affections, and batter down their Loyalty.

Wherein yet (I thank God) the detriment of my Honor is not ſo afflictive to Me, as the ſin and danger of my Peoples Souls, whoſe eyes once blinded with ſuch miſts of Suſpicions, they are ſoon miſ-led into the moſt deſperate precipices of actions : wherein they do not only not conſider their Sin and Danger, but glory in their zealous adventures ; while I am rendred to them ſo fit to be deſtroyed, that many are ambitious to merit the name of my Deſtroyers, imagining they then feare God moſt, when they leaſt honour their King.

I thank God, I never found but my Pity was above my Anger; nor have my Paſsions ever ſo prevailed againſt Me, as to exclude

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my moſt compaſsionate Prayers for them whom devout Errors, more then their own Malice, have betrayed to a moſt Religious Rebellion.

I had the Charity to interpret, that moſt part of my Subjects fought againſt my ſuppoſed Errors, not my Perſon; and intended to mend Me, not to end Me. And I hope that God pardoning their Errors, hath ſo far accepted and anſwered their good Intentions, that as he hath yet preſerved Me, ſo he hath by theſe Afflictions prepared Me both to doe Him better ſervice, and my people more good then hitherto I have done.

I do not more willingly forgive their ſeductions, which occaſioned their loyal Injuries, then I am ambitious by all Princely merits to redeem them from their unjuſt Suſpicions, and reward them for their good Intentions.

I am too conſcious to My own Affections toward the generality of my People, to ſuſpect theirs to Me; nor ſhall the Malice of my Enemies ever be able to deprive Me of the comfort which that confidence gives Me. I ſhall never gratifie the ſpightfulneſs of a few, with any ſiniſter thoughts of all their Allegiance whom Pious frauds have ſeduced.

The worſt ſome mens Ambition can doe ſhall never perſwade Me to make ſo bad interpretations of moſt of my Subjects actions; who poſſibly may be Erroneous, but not Heretical in point of Loyalty.

The ſenſe of the Injuries done to my Subjects is as ſharp as thoſe done to My ſelf; our welfares being inſeparable: in this only they ſuffer more then My ſelf, that they are animated by ſome Seducers to injure at once both themſelves and Me.

For this is not enough to the Malice of my Enemies, that I be afflicted; but it muſt be done by ſuch inſtruments, that my Afflictions grieve Me not more then this doth, that I am afflicted by thoſe whoſe Proſperity I earneſtly deſire, and whoſe Seduction I heartily deplore.

If they had been my open and forein Enemies, I could have born it; but they muſt be my own Subjects, who are, next to my Children, dear to Me: and for the reſtoring of whoſe Tranquillity I could willingly be the *Jonah*; if I did not evi-

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dently foreſee, that by the divided Intereſts of their and Mine Enemies, as by contrary winds, the ſtorm of their Miſeries would be rather encreaſed then allayed.

I had rather prevent my Peoples Ruine then rule over them; nor am I ſo ambitious of that Dominion which is but my Right, as of their Happineſs, if it could expiate or countervail ſuch a way of obtaining it, by the higheſt Injuries of Subjects committed againſt their Soveraign.

Yet I had rather ſuffer all the miſeries of life, and die many deaths, then ſhamefully to deſert or diſhonorably to betray my own juſt Rights and Soveraignty, thereby to gratify the Ambition, or juſtifie the Malice of my Enemies; between whoſe Malice and other mens Miſtakes I put as great a difference, as between an ordinary Ague and the Plague, or the Itch of Novelty and the Leproſie of Diſloyalty.

As Liars need have good memories, ſo Malicious perſons need good inventions, that their Calumnies may fit every mans fancy; and what their Reproaches want of truth, they may make up with number and ſhew.

My Patience (I thank God) will better ſerve Me to bear, and my Charity to forgive, then my Leiſure to anſwer the many falſe aſperſions which ſome men have caſt upon Me.

Did I not more conſider my Subjects Satisfaction then My own Vindication, I ſhould never have given the Malice of ſome men that pleaſure, as to ſee Me take notice of or remember what they ſay or object.

I would leave the Authors to be puniſhed by their own evil Maners and ſeared Conſciences, which will, I believe, in a ſhorter time then they be aware of, both confute and revenge all thoſe black and falſe Scandals which they have caſt on Me; and make the world ſee, there is as little truth in them, as there was little worth in the broaching of them, or Civility (I need not ſay Loyalty) in the not-ſuppreſsing of them: whoſe credit and reputation, even with the People, ſhall ere long be quite blaſted by the breath of that ſame fornace of Popular obloquy and detraction, which they have ſtudied to heat and inflame to the higheſt degree of Infamy, and wherein they have ſought to caſt and conſume my Name and Honor.

Firſt, nothing gave Me more cauſe to ſuſpect and ſearch My own

Innocency

Innocency, then when I obſerved ſo many forward to engage againſt Me who had made great profeſsions of ſingular Piety: For this gave to vulgar mindes ſo bad a reflection upon Me and My Cauſe, as if it had been impoſsible to adhere to Me, and not withal depart from God; to think or ſpeak well of Me, and not to blaſpheme him; ſo many were perſwaded that theſe two were utterly inconſiſtent, to be at once Loyal to Me and truly Religious toward God.

Not but that I had (I thank God) many with Me which were both Learned and Religious, (much above that ordinary ſize and that vulgar proportion wherein ſome men glory ſo much) who were ſo well ſatisfied in the cauſe of my Sufferings, that they choſe rather to ſuffer with Me then forſake Me.

Nor is it ſtrange, that ſo religious Pretenſions as were uſed againſt Me ſhould be to many well-minded men a great temptation to oppoſe Me; eſpecially being urged by ſuch popular Preachers as think it no ſin to lye for God, and what they pleaſe to call Gods Cauſe, curſing all that will not curſe with them; looking ſo much at, and crying up the goodneſs of the End propounded, that they conſider not the lawfulneſs of the Means uſed, nor the depth of the Miſchief chiefly plotted and intended.

The weakneſs of theſe mens Judgements muſt be made up by their Clamors and activity.

It was a great part of ſome mens Religion to ſcandalize Me and Mine; they thought theirs could not be true, if they cryed not down Mine as falſe.

I thank God, I have had more tryal of his Grace as to the conſtancy of my Religion in the Proteſtant profeſsion of the Church of *England*, both abroad and at home, then ever they are like to have.

Nor do I know any Exception I am ſo lyable to in their opinion, as too great a Fixedneſs in that Religion; whoſe judicious and ſolid grounds, both from Scripture and Antiquity, will not give my Conſcience leave to approve or conſent to thoſe many dangerous and divided Innovations, which the bold Ignorance of ſome men would needs obtrude upon Me and my People.

Contrary to thoſe well-tryed foundations both of Truth and Order, which men of far greater Learning and clearer Zeal have ſetled in the Confeſsion and Conſtitution of this Church in *England*, which

which many former Parliaments, in the moſt calm and unpaſsionate times, have oft confirmed; in which I ſhall ever, by Gods help, perſevere, as believing it hath moſt of Primitive Truth and Order.

Nor did my uſing the aſsiſtance of ſome Papiſts which were my Subjects any way fight againſt my Religion, as ſome men would needs interpret it; eſpecially thoſe who leaſt of all men cared whom they imployed, or what they ſaid and did, ſo they might prevail.

'Tis ſtrange that ſo wiſe men as they would be eſteemed ſhould not conceive, that differences of perſwaſion in matters of Religion may eaſily fall out, where there is the ſameneſs of Duty, Allegiance and Subjection. The firſt they owe as Men and Chriſtians, to God; the ſecond they owe to Me in common, as their KING. Different profeſsions in point of Religion cannot (any more then in civil Trades) take away the community of relations either to Parents or to Princes: And where is there ſuch an *Oglio* or medley of various Religions in the world again, as thoſe men entertain in their ſervice (who finde moſt fault with Me) without any ſcruple, as to the diverſity of their Sects and Opinions?

It was, indeed, a foul and indeleble ſhame for ſuch as would be counted Proteſtants, to enforce Me, a declared Proteſtant, their Lord and King, to a neceſſary uſe of Papiſts or any other, who did but their duty to help Me to defend My ſelf.

Nor did I more then is lawful for any King in ſuch exigents, to uſe the aid of any his Subjects.

I am ſorry the Papiſts ſhould have a greater ſenſe of their Allegiance then many Proteſtant Profeſſors, who ſeem to have learned and to practiſe the worſt Principles of the worſt Papiſts.

Indeed, it had been a very impertinent and unſeaſonable ſcruple in Me (and very pleaſing no doubt to my Enemies) to have been then diſputing the points of different Beliefs in my Subjects, when I was diſputed with by Swords points; and when I needed the help of my Subjects as Men, no leſs then their Prayers as Chriſtians.

The noiſe of my Evil Counſellors was another uſeful device for thoſe who were impatient any mens counſels but their own ſhould be followed in Church or State; who were ſo eager in giving Me better counſel, that they would not give Me leave to take it with Freedome, as a Man, or Honor, as a King; making their counſels

more like a Drench, that muſt be poured down, then a Draught, which might be fairly and leiſurely drank, if I liked it.

I will not juſtifie beyond humane errors and frailties My ſelf or my Counſellors: They might be ſubject to ſome Miſcarriages, yet ſuch as were far more reparable by ſecond and better thoughts, then thoſe enormous Extravagances wherewith ſome men have now even wildred and almoſt quite loſt both Church and State.

The event of things at laſt will make it evident to my Subjects, that had I followed the worſt counſels that my worſt Counſellors ever had the boldneſs to offer to Me, or My ſelf any inclination to uſe, I could not ſo ſoon have brought both Church and State in Three flouriſhing Kingdoms to ſuch a *Chaos* of Confuſions and Hell of Miſeries as ſome have done; out of which they cannot, or will not, in the midſt of their many great advantages, redeem either Me or my Subjects.

No men were more willing to complain, then I was to redreſs what I ſaw in Reaſon was either done or adviſed amiſs: and this I thought I had done even beyond the expectation of moderate men, who were ſorry to ſee Me prone even to injure My ſelf out of a Zeal to relieve my Subjects.

But other mens inſatiable deſire of Revenge upon Me, my Court and my Clergy, hath wholly beguiled both Church and State of the benefit of all my either Retractations or Conceſsions; and withall, hath deprived all thoſe (now ſo zealous Perſecutors) both of the comfort and reward of their former pretended Perſecutions, wherein they ſo much gloried among the Vulgar; and which indeed a truly-humble Chriſtian will ſo highly prize, as rather not to be relieved then be revenged, ſo as to be bereaved of that Crown of Chriſtian Patience which attends humble and injured Sufferers.

Another artifice uſed to withdraw my Peoples Affections from Me to their deſigns was, The noiſe and oſtentation of Liberty, which men are not more prone to deſire, then unapt to bear in the Popular ſenſe; which is to doe what every man liketh beſt.

If the divineſt Liberty be to will what men ſhould, and to doe what they ſo will, according to Reaſon, Laws and Religion, I envy not my Subjects that Liberty, which is all I deſire to enjoy My ſelf; ſo far am I from the deſire of oppreſsing theirs: Nor were thoſe Lords and Gentlemen which aſsiſted Me ſo prodigal

digal of their Liberties, as with their Lives and Fortunes to help on the enſlaving of Themſelves and their Poſterities.

As to Civil Immunities, none but ſuch as deſire to drive on their Ambitious and Covetous Deſigns over the Ruines of Church and State, Prince, Peers and People, will ever deſire greater Freedoms then the Laws allow; whoſe bounds good men count their Ornament and Protection, others their Manacles and Oppreſsion.

Nor is it juſt any man ſhould expect the Reward and Benefit of the Law, who deſpiſeth its Rule and Direction; loſing juſtly his Safety, while he ſeeks an unreaſonable Liberty.

Time will beſt inform my Subjects, that thoſe are the beſt preſervers of their true Liberties, who allow themſelves the leaſt licentiouſneſs againſt or beyond the Laws.

They will feel it at laſt to their coſt, that it is impoſsible thoſe men ſhould be really tender of their fellow-Subjects Liberties, who have the hardineſs to uſe their King with ſo ſevere reſtraints, againſt all Laws, both Divine and Humane; under which yet I will rather periſh, then complain to thoſe who want nothing to compleat their mirth and Triumph but ſuch Muſick.

In point of true Conſcientious Tenderneſs (attended with Humility and Meekneſs, not with proud and arrogant activity, which ſeeks to hatch every egge of different opinion to a Faction or Schiſm) I have oft declared, how little I deſire my Laws and Scepter ſhould intrench on Gods Soveraignty, which is the only King of mens Conſciences; and yet He hath laid ſuch reſtraints upon men, as commands them to be ſubject for Conſcience ſake, giving no men liberty to break the Law eſtabliſhed, further then with Meekneſs and Patience they are content to ſuffer the Penalties annexed, rather then perturb the publick Peace.

The truth is, ſome mens thirſt after Novelties, others deſpair to relieve the neceſsities of their Fortunes, or ſatisfie their Ambition in Peaceable times, (diſtruſting Gods Providence as well as their own Merits) were the ſecret (but principall) impulſives to theſe Popular Commotions, by which Subjects have been perſwaded to expend much of thoſe plentiful Eſtates they got and enjoyed under My Government in peaceable times; which yet muſt now be blaſted with all the odious Reproaches which im-

potent Malice can invent, and My ſelf expoſed to all thoſe Contempts which may moſt diminiſh the Majeſty of a King, and encreaſe the ungrateful Inſolences of my People.

For mine Honor, I am well aſſured that as mine Innocency is clear before God in point of any Calumnies they object; ſo my Reputation ſhall, like the Sun, (after Owls and Bats have had their freedom in the night and darker times) riſe and recover it ſelf to ſuch a degree of ſplendor as thoſe feral Birds ſhall be grieved to behold and unable to bear. For never were any Princes more glorious then thoſe whom God hath ſuffer'd to be tried in the furnace of Afflictions by their injurious Subjects.

And who knows but the juſt and merciful God will doe Me good for ſome mens hard, falſe and evil ſpeeches againſt Me? wherein they ſpeak rather what they wiſh, then what they believe or know.

Nor can I ſuffer ſo much in point of Honor by thoſe rude and ſcandalous Pamphlets (which, like fire in great Conflagrations, flie up and down to ſet all places on like flames) as thoſe men do, who pretending to ſo much Piety, are ſo forgetful of their duty to God and Me: by no way ever vindicating the Majeſty of their KING againſt any of thoſe who, contrary to the precept of God and precedent of Angels, *ſpeak evil of dignities, and bring railing accuſations againſt* thoſe who are honored with the name of *Gods*.

But 'tis no wonder if men not fearing GOD, ſhould not Honor their KING.

They will eaſily contemn ſuch ſhadows of God, who reverence not that Supreme and adorable Majeſty, in compariſon of whom all the glory of Men and Angels is but obſcurity; yet hath he graven ſuch Characters of Divine Authority and Sacred power upon Kings, as none may without ſin ſeek to blot them out. Nor ſhall their black veils be able to hide the ſhining of My face, while God gives Me a heart frequently and humbly to converſe with him, from whom alone are all the irradiations of true Glory and Majeſty.

Thou, O Lord, knoweſt my reproach and my diſhonor, my Adverſaries are all before Thee.

My Soul is among Lions, among them that are ſet on fire, even the ſons of men; whoſe teeth are ſpears and arrows, their tongue a ſharp ſword.

Mine

Mine Enemies reproach Me all the day long, and thoſe that are mad againſt Me are ſworn together.

O my God, how long ſhall the ſons of men turn my glory into ſhame? how long ſhall they love vanity, and ſeek after lies?

Thou haſt heard the reproaches of wicked men on every ſide. Hold not thy peace, leſt my Enemies prevail againſt Me, and lay mine honour in the duſt.

Thou, O Lord, ſhalt deſtroy them that ſpeak lies; the Lord will abhor both the Blood-thirſty and Deceitful men.

Make my Righteouſneſs to appear as the light, and mine Innocency to ſhine forth as the Sun at noon-day.

Suffer not my ſilence to betray mine Innocency, nor my diſpleaſure my Patience: That after my Saviours example, being reviled, I may not revile again; and being curſed by them, I may bleſs them.

Thou that wouldſt not ſuffer Shimei's *tongue to go unpuniſhed, when by thy Judgements on* David *he might ſeem to juſtifie his diſdainful reproaches; give Me grace to intercede with thy Mercy for theſe my Enemies, that the reward of falſe and lying tongues, even hot burning coals of eternal fire, may not be brought upon them.*

Let my Prayers and Patience be as water to cool and quench their tongues, who are already ſet on fire with the fire of Hell, and tormented with thoſe malicious flames.

Let Me be happy to refute and put to ſilence their evil-ſpeaking by well-doing; and let them enjoy not the fruit of their lips, but of my Prayer for their Repentance and thy Pardon.

Teach Me David's *Patience and* Hezekiah's *Devotion; that I may look to thy Mercy through mans Malice, and ſee thy Juſtice in their Sin.*

Let Sheba's *Seditious ſpeeches,* Rabſhekah's *Railing, and* Shimei's *Curſing, provoke, as my humble Prayer to Thee, ſo thy renewed Bleſſing toward Me.*

Though they curſe, do Thou bleſs; and I ſhall be bleſſed, and made a Bleſſing to my People:

That the ſtone which ſome builders refuſe, may become the head-ſtone of the corner.

Look down from Heaven, and ſave Me from the reproach of them that would ſwallow Me up.

Hide Me in the ſecret of thy preſence from the pride of man, and keep Me from the ſtrife of tongues.

XVI.

Upon the Ordinance againſt the Common-Prayer-Book.

IT is no news to have all Innovations uſhered in with the name of Reformations in Church and State, by thoſe, who ſeeking to gain reputation with the Vulgar for their extraordinary Parts and Piety, muſt needs undoe whatever was formerly ſetled never ſo well and wiſely.

So hardly can the Pride of thoſe that ſtudy Novelties allow former times any ſhare or degree of Wiſdom or Godlineſs.

And becauſe matter of Prayer and Devotion to God juſtly bears a great part in Religion, (being the Souls more immediate converſe with the Divine Majeſty) nothing could be more plauſible to the People then to tell them they ſerved God amiſs in that point.

Hence our publick *Liturgy*, or Forms of conſtant Prayers, muſt be (not amended, in what upon free and publick advice might ſeem to ſober men inconvenient for matter or maner, to which I ſhould eaſily conſent, but) wholly caſhiered and aboliſhed: and after many Popular contempts offered to the Book and thoſe that uſed it according to their Conſciences and the Laws in force, it muſt be crucified by an Ordinance, the better to pleaſe either thoſe men who gloried in their extemporary vein and fluency; or others, who conſcious to their own formality in the uſe of it, thought they fully expiated their ſin of not uſing it aright, by laying all the blame upon it, and a total rejecting of it as a dead letter, thereby to excuſe the deadneſs of their hearts.

As for the matter contained in the Book, ſober and Learned men have ſufficiently vindicated it againſt the Cavils and exceptions of thoſe, who thought it a part of Piety to make what profane objections they could againſt it, eſpecially for Popery and Superſtition: whereas no doubt the Liturgy was exactly conformed to the Doctrine of the Church of *England*; and this by all Reformed Churches is confeſſed to be moſt ſound and Orthodox.

For the maner of uſing Set and Preſcribed Forms, there is no doubt

doubt but that wholesome words being known and fitted to mens Understandings are sooneſt received into their Hearts, and apteſt to excite and carry along with them judicious and fervent Affections.

Nor do I see any reason why Christians should be weary of a well-composed Liturgy (as I hold this to be) more then of all other things, wherein the constancy abates nothing of the Excellency and Usefulness.

I could never see any Reason why any Christian should abhor, or be forbidden to use the same Forms of Prayer; since he prays to the same God, believes in the same Saviour, professeth the same Truths, reads the same Scriptures, hath the same Duties upon him, and feels the same daily wants for the most part, both inward and outward, which are common to the whole Church.

Sure we may as well beforehand know what we pray as to whom we pray, and in what words as to what sense; when we desire the same things, what hinders we may not use the same words? our appetite and digestion too may be good when we use, as we pray for, *our daily bread.*

Some men I hear are so impatient not to use in all their Devotions their own invention and gifts, that they not onely disuse (as too many) but wholly cast away and contemn the *Lords Prayer*; whose great guilt is, that it is the warrant and original Patern of all set Liturgies in the Christian Church.

I ever thought that the proud ostentation of mens abilities for invention, and the vain affectations of variety for expressions in Publick Prayer, or any sacred administrations, merits a greater brand of sin then that which they call Coldness and Barrenness: Nor are men in those Novelties less subject to formal and superficial tempers (as to their hearts) then in the use of constant Forms, where not the words, but mens hearts are to blame.

I make no doubt but a man may be very Formal in the most extemporary variety, and very fervently Devout in the most wonted expressions: nor is God more a God of variety then of constancy: nor are constant Forms of Prayers more likely to flat and hinder the Spirit of prayer and Devotion, then unpremeditated and confused variety to distract and lose it.

Though I am not against a grave, modest, discreet and humble

uſe of Miniſters gifts even in publick, the better to fit and excite their own and the Peoples affections to the preſent occaſions; yet I know no neceſsity why private and ſingle abilities ſhould quite juſtle out and deprive the Church of the joynt abilities and concurrent gifts of many Learned and Godly men, ſuch as the Compoſers of the Service-Book were, who may in all reaſon be thought to have more of Gifts and Graces enabling them to compoſe, with ſerious deliberation and concurrent advice, ſuch Forms of Prayers as may beſt fit the Churches common wants, inform the Hearers underſtanding, and ſtir up that fiduciary and fervent application of their ſpirits (wherein conſiſts the very life and ſoul of Prayer, and that ſo much pretended Spirit of Prayer) then any private man by his ſolitary abilities can be preſumed to have: which what they are many times, (even there where they make a great noiſe and ſhew) the affectations, emptineſs, impertinency, rudeneſs, confuſions, flatneſs, levity, obſcurity, vain and ridiculous repetitions, the ſenſleſs and oft-times blaſphemous expreſsions, all theſe burthened with a moſt tedious and intolerable length, do ſufficiently convince all men but thoſe who glory in that Phariſaick way.

Wherein men muſt be ſtrangely impudent and flatterers of themſelves, not to have an infinite ſhame of what they ſo doe and ſay, in things of ſo ſacred a nature, before God and the Church, after ſo ridiculous and (indeed) profane a manner.

Nor can it be expected but that in duties of frequent performance, as Sacramental adminiſtrations and the like, which are ſtill the ſame, Miniſters muſt either come to uſe their own Forms conſtantly, which are not like to be ſo ſound or comprehenſive of the nature of the Duty as Forms of Publick compoſure; or elſe they muſt every time affect new expreſsions when the Subject is the ſame: which can hardly be preſumed in any mans greateſt ſufficiencies, not to want (many times) much of that compleatneſs, order and gravity becoming thoſe Duties, which by this means are expoſed at every celebration to every Miniſters private Infirmities, Indiſpoſitions, Errors, Diſorders and Defects, both for Judgement and Expreſsion.

A ſerious ſenſe of which incoveniences in the Church unavoidably following every mans ſeveral manner of officiating, no doubt,

firſt

firſt occaſioned the Wiſdom and Piety of the Ancient Churches, to remedy thoſe miſchiefs by the uſe of conſtant Liturgies of Publick compoſure.

The want of which, I believe, this Church will ſufficiently feel, when the unhappy fruits of many mens ungoverned Ignorance and confident defects ſhall be diſcovered in more Errors, Schiſms, Diſorders and uncharitable Diſtractions in Religion, which are already but too many, the more is the pity.

However, if Violence muſt needs bring in and abet thoſe Innovations (that men may not ſeem to have nothing to doe) which Law, Reaſon and Religion forbids at leaſt to be ſo obtruded, as wholly to juſtle out the Publick Liturgy :

Yet nothing can excuſe that moſt unjuſt and partial ſeverity of thoſe men, who either lately had ſubſcribed to, uſed and maintained the Service-book ; or refuſing to uſe it, cryed out of the rigor of the Laws and Biſhops, which ſuffered them not to uſe the liberty of their Conſciences in not uſing it.

That theſe men (I ſay) ſhould ſo ſuddenly change the Liturgy into a Directory ; as if the Spirit needed help for Invention, though not for Expreſsions ; or as if matter preſcribed did not as much ſtint and obſtruct the Spirit, as if it were cloathed in and confined to fit words : (So ſlight and eaſie is that Legerdemain which will ſerve to delude the Vulgar.)

That further, they ſhould uſe ſuch ſeverity, as not to ſuffer without penalty any to uſe the Common-prayer-Book publickly, although their Conſciences bind them to it, as a duty of Piety to God and Obedience to the Laws.

Thus I ſee no men are prone to be greater Tyrants, and more rigorous exacters upon others to conform to their illegal Novelties, then ſuch whoſe Pride was formerly leaſt diſpoſed to the obedience of lawful conſtitutions, and whoſe licentious humors moſt pretended conſcientious liberties : which freedom with much regret they now allow to Me and my Chaplains, when they may have leave to ſerve Me, whoſe Abilities even in their extemporary way comes not ſhort of the others, but their Modeſty and Learning far exceeds the moſt of them.

But this matter is of ſo popular a nature, as ſome men knew it would

would not bear learned and ſober Debates; leſt being convinced by the evidence of Reaſon as well as Laws, they ſhould have been driven either to ſin more againſt their Knowledge, by taking away the Liturgy; or to diſpleaſe ſome Faction of the People, by continuing the uſe of it.

Though I believe they have offended more conſiderable men, not only for their numbers and eſtates, but for their weighty and judicious Piety, then thoſe are whoſe Weakneſs or Giddineſs they ſought to gratifie by taking it away.

One of the greateſt faults ſome men found with the Common-Prayer-Book, I believe, was this, that it taught them to pray ſo oft for Me: to which Petitions they had not Loyalty enough to ſay *Amen*; nor yet Charity enough to forbear Reproaches, and even Curſings of Me in their own Forms, in ſtead of praying for Me.

I wiſh their Repentance may be their only Puniſhment; that ſeeing the miſchiefs which the diſuſe of Publick Liturgies hath already produced, they may reſtore that credit, uſe and reverence to them, which by the ancient Churches were given to Set Forms of ſound and wholeſome words.

And Thou, O Lord, which art the ſame God, bleſſed for ever, whoſe Mercies are full of variety, and yet of conſtancy; Thou denieſt us not a new and freſh ſenſe of our old and daily wants, nor deſpiſeſt renewed affections joyned to conſtant expreſſions.

Let us not want the benefit of thy Churches united and well-adviſed Devotions.

Let the matters of our Praiers be agreeable to thy will, which is alwaies the ſame; and the fervency of our ſpirits to the motions of thy Holy Spirit in us.

And then we doubt not but thy Spiritual perfections are ſuch, as Thou art neither to be pleaſed with affected Novelties for matter or maner, nor offended with the Pious conſtancy of our Petitions in them both.

Whoſe variety or conſtancy Thou haſt no where either forbidden or commanded, but left them to the Piety and Prudence of thy Church, that both may be uſed, neither deſpiſed.

Keep men in that pious moderation of their Judgements in matters of Religion,

Religion, that their Ignorance may not offend others, nor their opinion of their own Abilities tempt them to deprive others of what they may lawfully and devoutly use to help their infirmities.

And since the advantage of Error consists in Novelty and Variety, as Truth's in Unity and Constancy; suffer not thy Church to be pestered with Errors, and deformed with Undecencies in thy Service, under the pretence of Variety and Novelty: nor to be deprived of Truth, Unity and Order, under this fallacy, That Constancy is the cause of Formality.

Lord, keep us from formal Hypocrisie in our own hearts; and then we know that praying to Thee, or praising of Thee (with David *and other Holy men) in the same Forms cannot hurt us.*

Give us Wisdome to amend what is amiss within us, and there will be less to mend without us.

Evermore defend and deliver thy Church from the effects of blind Zeal and over-bold Devotion.

XVII.

Of the Differences between the KING *and the Two Houses, in point of* CHURCH-GOVERNMENT.

TOuching the Government of the Church by Bishops, the common Jealousie hath been, that I am earnest and resolute to maintain it, not so much out of Piety, as Policy and reason of State.

Wherein so far indeed reason of State doth induce Me to approve that Government above any other, as I finde it impossible for a Prince to preserve the State in quiet, unless he hath such an influence upon Church-men, and they such a dependance on Him, as may best restrain the seditious exorbitancies of Ministers tongues; who with the Keys of Heaven have so far the Keys of the Peoples Hearts, as they prevail much by their Oratory to let in or shut out both Peace and Loyalty.

So that I being (as KING) intrusted by God and the Laws with the

the good both of Church and State; I ſee no reaſon I ſhould give up, or weaken by any change, that power and influence which in right and reaſon I ought to have over both.

The removing Biſhops out of the Houſe of Peers (of which I have elſewhere given an account) was ſufficient to take off any ſuſpicion, that I encline to them for any uſe to be made of their Votes in State-affairs: Though indeed I never thought any Biſhop worthy to ſit in that Houſe, who would not Vote according to his Conſcience.

I muſt now in Charity be thought deſirous to preſerve that Government in its right conſtitution, as a matter of Religion, wherein both my Judgement is fully ſatisfied that it hath of all other the fulleſt Scripture grounds, and alſo the conſtant Practice of all Chriſtian Churches; till of late years the Tumultuarineſs of people, or the Factiouſneſs and Pride of Presbyters, or the Covetouſneſs of ſome States and Princes, gave occaſion to ſome mens wits to invent new models, and propoſe them under the ſpecious titles of *Chriſts Government, Scepter and Kingdom*, the better to ſerve their turns, to whom the change was beneficial.

They muſt give Me leave, having none of their temptations to invite Me to alter the Government of Biſhops, (that I may have a title to their Eſtates) not to believe their pretended grounds to any new ways; contrary to the full and conſtant teſtimony of all Hiſtories, ſufficiently convincing unbiaſſed men, that as the Primitive Churches were undoubtedly governed by the Apoſtles, and their immediate Succeſſors, the firſt and beſt Biſhops, ſo it cannot in Reaſon or Charity be ſuppoſed that all Churches in the world ſhould either be ignorant of the Rule by them preſcribed, or ſo ſoon deviate from their Divine and Holy Patern: That ſince the firſt Age, for fifteen hundred years, not one Example can be produced of any ſetled Church, wherein were many Miniſters and Congregations, which had not ſome Biſhop above them, under whoſe Juriſdiction and Government they were.

Whoſe conſtant and univerſal practice agreeing with ſo large and evident Scripture-Directions and Examples, as are ſet down in the Epiſtles to *Timothy* and *Titus*, for the ſetling of that Government, not in the Perſons onely of *Timothy* and *Titus*, but in the Succeſsion; (the want of Government being that which the Church can no more

diſpenſe

diſpenſe with in point of well-being, then the want of the Word and Sacraments in point of being:)

I wonder how men came to look with ſo envious an eye upon Biſhops power and authority, as to overſee both the Eccleſiaſtical uſe of them and Apoſtolical conſtitution: which to Me ſeems no leſs evidently ſet forth, as to the main ſcope and deſign of thoſe Epiſtles; for the ſetling of a peculiar Office, Power and Authority in them, as Preſident-Biſhops above others, in point of Ordination, Cenſures, and other acts of Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline; then thoſe ſhorter characters of the qualities and duties of Presbyter-Biſhops and Deacons are deſcribed in ſome parts of the ſame Epiſtles; who in the latitude and community of the name were then, and may now, not improperly be call'd *Biſhops*, as to the overſight and care of ſingle Congregations committed to them by the Apoſtles, or thoſe Apoſtolical Biſhops who (as *Timothy* and *Titus*) ſucceeded them in that ordinary power, there aſsigned over larger diviſions, in which were many Presbyters.

The Humility of thoſe firſt Biſhops avoiding the eminent title of Apoſtles, as a name in the Churches ſtyle appropriated from its common notion (of *a Meſſenger*, or *one ſent*) to that ſpecial Dignity which had extraordinary Call, Miſsion, Gifts, and Power immediately from Chriſt; they contented themſelves with the ordinary titles of Biſhops and Presbyters: until uſe (the great arbitrator of words and maſter of language) finding reaſon to diſtinguiſh by a peculiar name, thoſe Perſons whoſe Power and Office were indeed diſtinct from and above all other in the Church, as ſucceeding the Apoſtles in the ordinary and conſtant power of governing the Churches, (the honor of whoſe name they moderately, yet commendably, declined) all Chriſtian Churches (ſubmitting to that ſpecial authority) appropriated alſo the name of *Biſhop*, without any ſuſpicion or reproach of arrogancy, to thoſe who were by Apoſtolical propagation rightly deſcended and inveſted into that higheſt and largeſt power of governing even the moſt pure and Primitive Churches: which, without all doubt, had many ſuch holy Biſhops, after the patern of *Timothy* and *Titus*; whoſe ſpecial power is not more clearly ſet down in thoſe Epiſtles (the chief grounds and limits of all Epiſcopal claim as from Divine Right) then are the characters of theſe perilous times,

and thoſe men that make them ſuch, who not enduring ſound Doctrine, and clear teſtimonies of all Churches practice, are moſt perverſe Diſputers, and proud Uſurpers againſt true Epiſcopacy: who, if they be not Traitors and Boaſters, yet they ſeem to be very covetous, heady, high-minded, inordinate and fierce, lovers of themſelves, having much of the Form, little of the power of Godlineſs.

Who, by popular heaps of weak, light and unlearned Teachers, ſeek to over-lay and ſmother the pregnancy and authority of that power of Epiſcopal Government, which, beyond all equivocation and vulgar fallacy of names, is moſt convincingly ſet forth both by Scripture and all after-Hiſtories of the Church.

This I write rather like a Divine then a Prince, that Poſterity may ſee (if ever theſe Papers be publick) that I had fair grounds, both from Scripture-Canons and Eccleſiaſtical Examples, whereon my Judgement was ſtated for Epiſcopal Government.

Nor was it any Policy of State, or obſtinacy of Will, or partiality of Affection, either to the men or their Function, which fixed Me; who cannot in point of wordly reſpects be ſo conſiderable to Me, as to recompence the injuries and loſſes I and My deareſt Relations, with my Kingdoms, have ſuſtained and hazarded, chiefly at firſt upon this quarrel.

And not only in Religion, of which Scripture is the beſt rule, and the Churches Univerſal Practice the beſt commentary; but alſo in right Reaſon and the true nature of Government, it cannot be thought that an orderly Subordination among Presbyters or Miniſters ſhould be any more againſt Chriſtianity, then it is in all ſecular and Civil Governments, where Parity breeds Confuſion and Faction.

I can no more believe that ſuch Order is inconſiſtent with true Religion, then good Features are with Beauty, or Numbers with Harmony.

Nor is it likely that God, who appointed ſeveral orders and a Prelacy in the Government of his Church among the Jewiſh Prieſts, ſhould abhor or forbid them among Chriſtian Miniſters, who have as much of the Principles of Schiſm and Diviſion as other men; for preventing and ſuppreſsing of which, the Apoſtolical

lical Wiſdom (which was divine) after that Chriſtians were multiplied to many Congregations, and Presbyters with them, appointed this way of Government, which might beſt preſerve Order and Union with Authority.

So that I conceive it was not the Favor of Princes or Ambition of Presbyters, but the Wiſdom and Piety of the Apoſtles, that firſt ſetled Biſhops in the Church; which Authority they conſtantly uſed, and enjoyed in thoſe times which were pureſt for Religion, though ſharpeſt for Perſecution.

Not that I am againſt the managing of this Preſidency and Authority in one man by the joynt counſel and conſent of many Presbyters : I have offered to reſtore that, as a fit means to avoid thoſe Errors, Corruptions and Partialities which are incident to any one man ; alſo to avoid Tyranny, which becomes no Chriſtians, leaſt of all Church-men ; beſides, it will be a means to take away that burthen and *odium* of affairs which may lie too heavy on one mans ſhoulders, as indeed I think it formerly did on the Biſhops here.

Nor can I ſee what can be more agreeable both to Reaſon and Religion, then ſuch a frame of Government which is Paternal, not Magiſterial : and wherein not only the neceſsity of avoiding Faction and Confuſion, Emulations and Contempts, which are prone to ariſe among equals in Power and Function ; but alſo the differences of ſome Miniſters gifts, and aptitudes for Government above others, doth invite to imploy them, in reference to thoſe Abilities wherein they are eminent.

Nor is this Judgement of Mine touching Epiſcopacy any preoccupation of Opinion, which will not admit any oppoſitions againſt it : It is well known I have endeavored to ſatisfie My ſelf in what the chief Patrons for other ways can ſay againſt this, or for theirs : And I find, as they have far leſs of Scripture grounds and of Reaſon ; ſo for Examples, and Practice of the Church, or teſtimonies of Hiſtories, they are wholly deſtitute, wherein the whole ſtream runs ſo for Epiſcopacy, that there is not the leaſt rivulet for any others.

As for thoſe obtruded Examples of ſome late Reformed Churches, (for many retain Biſhops ſtill) whom neceſsity of times

and affairs rather excuſeth then commendeth for their Inconformity to all Antiquity; I could never ſee any reaſon why Churches orderly reformed, and governed by Biſhops, ſhould be forced to conform to thoſe few, rather then to the Catholick example of all Ancient Churches which needed no Reformation, and to thoſe Churches at this day, who, governed by Biſhops in all the Chriſtian world, are many more then Presbyterians or Independents can pretend to be: All whom the Churches in my Three Kingdoms lately governed by Biſhops would equalize, (I think) if not exceed.

Nor is it any point of Wiſdom or Charity, where Chriſtians differ, (as many do in ſome points) there to widen the differences, and at once to give all the Chriſtian world (except a handful of ſome Proteſtants) ſo great a ſcandal in point of Church-government; whom though you may convince of their Errors in ſome points of Doctrine, yet you ſhall never perſwade them, that to compleat their Reformation, they muſt neceſſarily deſert and wholly caſt off that Government which they and all before them have ever owned as Catholick, Primitive and Apoſtolical, ſo far, that never Schiſmaticks nor Hereticks (except thoſe *Aerians*) have ſtrayed from the Unity and Conformity of the Church in that point, ever having Biſhops above Presbyters.

Beſides, the late general Approbation and Submiſsion to this Government of Biſhops by the Clergy as well as the Laity of theſe Kingdoms, is a great confirmation of My Judgement; and their Inconſtancy is a great prejudice againſt their Novelty. I cannot in charity ſo far doubt of their Learning or Integrity, as if they underſtood not what heretofore they did, or that they did conform contrary to their Conſciences: So that their facility and Levity is never to be excuſed, who, before ever the point of Church-government had any free and impartial debate, contrary to their former Oathes and Practice, againſt their obedience to the Laws in force, and againſt My Conſent, have not onely quite cried down the Government by Biſhops; but have approved and incouraged the violent and moſt illegal ſtripping all the Biſhops, and many other Church-men, of all their due Authority and Revenues, even to the ſelling away and utter alienation of thoſe Church-lands from any Eccleſiaſtical uſes. So great a

power

power hath the ſtream of Times and the prevalency of Parties over ſome mens Judgements; of whoſe ſo ſudden and ſo total change little reaſon can be given, beſides the *Scots* Army coming into *England*.

But the Folly of theſe men will at laſt puniſh it ſelf, and the Deſertors of Epiſcopacy will appear the greateſt Enemies to and Betrayers of their own Intereſt: for Presbytery is never ſo conſiderable or effectual as when it is joyned to and crowned with Epiſcopacy. All Miniſters will find as great a difference in point of thriving between the favor of the People and of Princes, as Plants do between being watered by hand, or by the ſweet and liberal dews of Heaven.

The tenuity and contempt of Clergy-men will ſoon let them ſee, what a poor Carcaſs they are when parted from the influence of that Head to whoſe Supremacy they have been ſworn.

A little Moderation might have prevented great miſchiefs. I am firm to Primitive Epiſcopacy, not to have it extirpated, (if I can hinder it.) Diſcretion without Paſsion might eaſily reform whatever the ruſt of Times or indulgence of Laws or corruption of Maners have brought upon it. It being a groſs vulgar Error, to impute to or revenge upon the Function the faults of Times or Perſons; which Seditious and Popular Principle and Practice all wiſe men abhor.

For thoſe Secular additaments and ornaments of Authority, Civil Honor and Eſtate, which my Predeceſſors and Chriſtian Princes in all Countries have annexed to Biſhops and Church-men, I look upon them but as juſt Rewards of their Learning and Piety, who are fit to be in any degree of Church-Government; alſo enablements to works of Charity and Hoſpitality, meet ſtrengthenings of their Authority in point of Reſpect and Obſervance, which in peaceful times is hardly payed to any Governors by the meaſure of their Vertues ſo much as by that of their Eſtates; Poverty and meanneſs expoſing them and their Authority to the contempt of licentious mindes and maners, which perſecuting Times much reſtrained.

I would have ſuch men Biſhops as are moſt worthy of thoſe incouragements, and beſt able to uſe them. If at any time my Judgement of men failed, my good Intention made my error venial: And ſome Biſhops I am ſure I had, whoſe Learning, Gravity and Piety no men of any worth or forehead can deny. But of all men, I would

have Church-men, eſpecially the Governors, to be redeemed from that vulgar Neglect, which (beſides an innate principle of vitious oppoſition which is in all men againſt thoſe that ſeem to reprove or reſtrain them) will neceſſarily follow both the Presbyterian Parity, which makes all Miniſters equal, and the Independent Inferiority, which ſets their Paſtors below the People.

This for my Judgement touching Epiſcopacy; wherein (God knows) I do not gratifie any deſign or Paſsion with the leaſt perverting of Truth.

And now I appeal to God above and all the Chriſtian world, whether it be juſt for Subjects, or pious for Chriſtians, by Violence and infinite Indignities, with ſervile reſtraints to ſeek to force Me their KING and Soveraign, as ſome men have endeavored to doe, againſt all theſe grounds of my Judgement, to conſent to their weak and divided Novelties.

The greateſt Pretender of them deſires not more then I do, that the Church ſhould be governed as Chriſt hath appointed, in true Reaſon and in Scripture; of which I could never ſee any probable ſhew for any other ways: who either content themſelves with the examples of ſome Churches in their infancy and ſolitude, when one Presbyter might ſerve one Congregation, in a City or Countrey; or elſe they deny theſe moſt evident Truths, That the Apoſtles were Biſhops over thoſe Presbyters they ordained as well as over the Churches they planted; and That Government being neceſſary for the Churches well-being, when multiplied and ſociated, muſt alſo neceſſarily deſcend from the Apoſtles to others, after the example of that power and ſuperiority they had above others; which could not end with their Perſons, ſince the uſe and Ends of ſuch Government ſtill continue.

It is moſt ſure, that the pureſt Primitive and beſt Churches flouriſhed under Epiſcopacy; and may ſo ſtill, if Ignorance, Superſtition, Avarice, Revenge, and other diſorderly and diſloyal Paſsions had not ſo blown up ſome mens minds againſt it, that what they want of Reaſons or Primitive Paterns, they ſupply with Violence and Oppreſsion; wherein ſome mens zeal for Biſhops Lands, Houſes and Revenues, hath ſet them on work to eat up Epiſcopacy: which (however other men eſteem) to Me is no leſs ſin then Sacrilege,

or

or a Robery of God (the giver of all we have) of that portion which devout mindes have thankfully given again to him, in giving it to his Church and Prophets; through whoſe hands he graciouſly accepts even a cup of cold water, as a libation offered to himſelf.

Furthermore, as to My particular engagement above other men, by an Oath agreeable to my Judgement, I am ſolemnly obliged to preſerve that Government and the Rights of the Church.

Were I convinced of the Unlawfulneſs of the Function, as Anti-chriſtian, (which ſome men boldly, but weakly, calumniate) I could ſoon with Judgement break that Oath, which erroneouſly was taken by Me.

But being daily by the beſt diſquiſition of Truth more confirmed in the Reaſon and Religion of that to which I am ſworn, how can any man that wiſheth not my Damnation, perſwade Me at once to ſo notorious and combined ſins of Sacrilege and Perjury? beſides the many perſonal Injuſtices I muſt doe to many worthy men, who are as legally inveſted in their Eſtates as any who ſeek to deprive them; and they have by no Law been convicted of thoſe Crimes which might forfeit their Eſtates and Livelihoods.

I have oft wondred, how men pretending to Tenderneſs of Conſcience and Reformation, can at once tell Me, that my Coronation-Oath binds Me to conſent to whatſoever they ſhall propound to Me (which they urge with ſuch Violence) though contrary to all that Rational and Religious Freedom which every man ought to preſerve, and of which they ſeem ſo tender in their own Votes; yet at the ſame time theſe men will needs perſwade Me, that I muſt and ought to diſpenſe with, and roundly break that part of my Oath which bindes Me (agreeable to the beſt light of Reaſon and Religion I have) to maintain the Government and legal Rights of the Church. 'Tis ſtrange my Oath ſhould be valid in that part, which both My ſelf and all men in their own caſe eſteem injurious and unreaſonable, as being againſt the very natural and eſſential liberty of our Souls; yet it ſhould be invalid and to be broken in another clauſe, wherein I think My ſelf juſtly obliged both to God and Man.

Yet upon this Rack chiefly have I been held ſo long, by ſome mens ambitious Covetouſneſs and Sacrilegious Cruelty, torturing (with Me) both Church and State in Civil diſſentions, till I ſhall be forced

to conſent, and declare that I do approve what (God knows) I utterly diſlike and in my Soul abhor, as many ways highly againſt Reaſon, Juſtice and Religion; and whereto if I ſhould ſhamefully and diſhonorably give my Conſent, yet ſhould I not by ſo doing ſatisfie the divided Intereſts and Opinions of thoſe Parties which contend with each other, as well as both againſt Me and Epiſcopacy.

Nor can my late condeſcending to the *Scots* in point of Church-Government be rightly objected againſt Me, as an inducement for Me to conſent to the like in my other Kingdoms: for it ſhould be conſidered, that Epiſcopacy was not ſo rooted and ſetled there as 'tis here; nor I (in that reſpect) ſo ſtrictly bound to continue it in that Kingdom as in this: for what I think in my Judgement beſt, I may not think ſo abſolutely neceſſary for all places and at all times.

If any ſhall impute my yielding to them as my Failing and Sin, I can eaſily acknowledge it; but that is no argument to doe ſo again, or much worſe, I being now more convinced in that point: nor indeed hath my yielding to them been ſo happy and ſucceſsful as to incourage Me to grant the like to others.

Did I ſee any thing more of Chriſt, as to Meekneſs, Juſtice, Order, Charity and Loyalty, in thoſe that pretend to other modes of Government, I might ſuſpect my Judgement to be biaſſed or fore-ſtalled with ſome Prejudice and wontedneſs of Opinion: but I have hitherto ſo much cauſe to ſuſpect the contrary in the Maners of many of thoſe men, that I cannot from them gain the leaſt reputation for their new ways of Government.

Nor can I find that in any Reformed Churches (whoſe paterns are ſo cried up and obtruded upon the Churches under my Dominion) either Learning or Religion, works of Piety or Charity, have ſo flouriſhed beyond what they have done in My Kingdoms, (by Gods bleſsing) which might make me believe either Presbytery or Independency have a more benign influence upon the Church and mens hearts and lives, then Epiſcopacy in its right conſtitution.

The Abuſes of which deſerve to be extirpated as much as the Uſe retained; for I think it far better to hold to Primitive and Uniform Antiquity, then to comply with divided Novelty.

A right Epiſcopacy would at once ſatisfie all juſt deſires and intereſts of good Biſhops, humble Presbyters, and ſober People; ſo as

Church

Church affairs ſhould be managed neither with Tyranny, Parity, nor Popularity; neither Biſhops ejected, nor Presbyters deſpiſed, nor People oppreſſed.

And in this Integrity both of my Judgement and Conſcience I hope God will preſerve Me.

For Thou, O Lord, knoweſt my Uprightneſs and Tenderneſs. As Thou haſt ſet Me to be a Defender of the Faith, *and a Protector of thy Church; ſo ſuffer Me not by any violence to be over-born againſt my Conſcience.*

Ariſe, O Lord, maintain thine own Cauſe; let not thy Church be deformed as to that Government which, derived from thy Apoſtles, hath been retained in pureſt and Primitive times, till the Revenues of the Church became the object of ſecular Envy; which ſeeks to rob it of all the incouragements of Learning and Religion.

Make Me, as the good Samaritan, *compaſſionate and helpful to thy afflicted Church; which ſome men have wounded and robbed, others paſs by without regard either to pity or relieve.*

As my Power is from Thee, ſo give Me grace to uſe it for Thee.

And though I am not ſuffered to be Maſter of my other Rights as a KING; *yet preſerve Me in that liberty of Reaſon, love of Religion, and thy Churches welfare, which are fixed in my Conſcience as a Chriſtian.*

Preſerve from Sacrilegious invaſions thoſe temporal Bleſſings which thy Providence hath beſtowed on thy Church for thy glory.

Forgive their Sins and Errors who have deſerved thy juſt permiſſion thus to let in the wild Boar and ſubtile Foxes, to waſt and deform thy Vineyard, which thy right hand hath planted, and the dew of Heaven ſo long watered to a happy and flouriſhing eſtate.

O let Me not bear the infamous brand to all poſterity, of being the firſt Chriſtian KING *in this Kingdom who ſhould conſent to the oppreſſion of thy Church and the Fathers of it; whoſe Errors I would rather, with* Conſtantine, *cover with ſilence and reform with meekneſs, then expoſe their Perſons and Sacred Functions to vulgar contempt.*

Thou, O Lord, ſeeſt how much I have ſuffered with and for thy Church; make no long tarrying, O my God, to deliver both Me and It from unreaſonable men, whoſe counſels have brought forth and continue ſuch violent Confuſions, by a precipitant deſtroying the ancient boundaries of thy Churches Peace, thereby letting in all maner of Errors, Schiſms and Diſorders.

O thou

O thou God of Order and of Truth, in thy good time abate the Malice, aſſwage the Rage, and confound all the miſchievous Devices of Thine, Mine, and thy Churches Enemies.

That I, and all that love thy Church, may ſing praiſes to Thee, and ever magnifie thy Salvation, even before the Sons of men.

XVIII.

Upon Uxbridge *Treaty, and other Offers made by the* KING.

I Look upon the way of Treaties, as a retiring from fighting like Beaſts, to arguing like Men, whoſe ſtrength ſhould be more in their Underſtandings then in their Lims.

And though I could ſeldome get opportunities to Treat, yet I never wanted either deſire or diſpoſition to it; having greater confidence of my Reaſon, then my Sword: I was ſo wholly reſolved to yield to the firſt, that I thought neither My ſelf nor others ſhould need to uſe the ſecond, if once we rightly underſtood each other.

Nor did I ever think it a Diminution of Me, to prevent them with expreſſes of my Deſires, and even Importunities to Treat: It being an office not only of Humanity, rather to uſe Reaſon then Force; but alſo of Chriſtianity, to *ſeek peace and enſue it.*

As I was very unwillingly compelled to defend My ſelf with Arms, ſo I very willingly embraced any thing tending to Peace.

The events of all War by the Sword being very dubious, and of a Civil War uncomfortable; the End hardly recompencing, and late repairing the miſchief of the Means.

Nor did any ſucceſs I had ever enhaunce with Me the price of Peace, as earneſtly deſired by Me as any man, though I was like to pay dearer for it then any man: All that I ſought to reſerve was mine Honor and my Conſcience; the one I could not part with as a KING, the other as a Chriſtian.

The Treaty at *Uxbridge* gave the faireſt hopes of an happy Compoſure; had others applied themſelves to it with the ſame Moderation as I did, I am confident the War had then ended.

I was willing to condeſcend as far as Reaſon, Honor and Conſcience would give Me leave: nor were the remaining Differences ſo eſſential to my Peoples Happineſs, or of ſuch conſequence as in the leaſt kinde to have hindred my Subjects either Security or Proſperity; for they better enjoyed both many years before ever thoſe demands were made; ſome of which to deny I think the greateſt Juſtice to My ſelf, and Favor to my Subjects.

I ſee Jealouſies are not ſo eaſily allayed as they are raiſed: Some men are more afraid to retreat from violent Engagements then to engage; what is wanting in Equity, muſt be made up in Pertinacy. Such as had little to enjoy in Peace, or to loſe in War, ſtudied to render the very name of *Peace* odious and ſuſpected.

In Church affaires, where I had leaſt liberty of Prudence, having ſo many ſtrict ties of Conſcience upon Me, yet I was willing to condeſcend ſo far to the ſetling of them as might have given fair ſatisfaction to all men whom Faction, Covetouſneſs, or Superſtition had not engaged more then any true Zeal, Charity, or love of Reformation.

I was content to yield to all that might ſeem to advance true Piety: I only ſought to continue what was neceſsary in point of Order, Maintenance and Authority, to the Churches Government; and what I am perſwaded (as I have elſewhere ſet down my thoughts more fully) is moſt agreeable to the true Principles of all Government, raiſed to its full ſtature and perfection, as alſo to the primitive Apoſtolical Patern, and the practice of the Univerſal Church conform thereto.

From which wholly to recede, without any probable reaſon urged or anſwered, only to ſatisfie ſome mens wills and phantaſies (which yet agree not among themſelves in any point, but that of extirpating Epiſcopacy, and fighting againſt Me) muſt needs argue ſuch a ſoftneſs and infirmity of Minde in Me, as will rather part with Gods Truth then Mans Peace; and rather loſe the Churches Honor, then croſs ſome mens Factious humors.

God knows, and time will diſcover, who were moſt to blame for the unſucceſsfulneſs of that Treaty, and who muſt bear the guilt of after-calamities. I believe, I am very excuſable both before God and all unpaſsionate men, who have ſeriouſly weighed thoſe Tranſactions, wherein I endeavored no leſs the reſtauration of Peace to my

People;

People, then the preſervation of my own Crowns to my Poſterity.

Some men have that height, as to interpret all fair Condeſcendings as Arguments of Feebleneſs, and glory moſt in an unflexible ſtiffneſs, when they ſee others moſt ſupple and inclinable to them.

A grand Maxime with them was, always to ask ſomething which in reaſon and Honor muſt be denied, that they might have ſome colour to refuſe all that was in other things granted; ſetting Peace at as high a rate as the worſt effects of War; endeavoring firſt to make Me deſtroy My ſelf by diſhonorable Conceſsions, that ſo they might have the leſs to doe.

This was all which that Treaty or any other produced, to let the world ſee how little I would deny, or they grant, in order to the Publick Peace.

That it gave occaſion to ſome mens further reſtiveneſs, is imputable to their own depraved tempers, not to any Conceſsions or Negations of Mine: I have always the content of what I offered, and they the regret and blame for what they refuſed.

The higheſt tide of Succeſs ſet Me not above a Treaty, nor the loweſt ebbe below a Fight: though I never thought it any ſign of true Valor to be prodigal of mens lives, rather then to be drawn to produce our own Reaſons, or ſubſcribe to other mens.

That which made Me for the moſt part preſage the unſucceſsfulneſs of any Treaty was, ſome mens unwillingneſs to Treat: which implied ſome things were to be gained by the Sword, whoſe unreaſonableneſs they were loath to have fairly ſcanned, being more proper to be acted by Souldiers then by Counſellors.

I pray God forgive them that were guilty of that Treaties breaking, and give them grace to make their advantages gotten by the Sword, a better opportunity to uſe ſuch Moderation as was then wanting; that ſo, though Peace were for our ſins juſtly deferred, yet at laſt it may be happily obtain'd: What we could not get by our Treaties, we may gain by our Prayers.

O Thou that art the God of Reaſon and of Peace, who diſdaineſt not to Treat with Sinners, preventing them with offers of Atonement, and beſeeching them to be reconciled with thy ſelf, who wanteſt not Power or Juſtice to deſtroy them, yet aboundeſt in Mercy to ſave; ſoften our hearts by the blood of

our

our Redeemer, and perſwade us to accept of Peace with Thy ſelf, and both to procure and preſerve Peace among our ſelves, as Men and Chriſtians. How oft have I intreated for Peace, but when I ſpeak thereof, they make them ready to War?

Condemn us not to our Paſſions, which are deſtructive both of our ſelves and of others.

Clear up our Underſtandings to ſee thy Truth, both in Reaſon, as Men, and in Religion, as Chriſtians: and encline all our hearts to hold the Unity of the Spirit in the bond of Peace.

Take from us that Enmity which is now in our hearts againſt Thee: and give us that Charity which ſhould be among our ſelves.

Remove the evils of War we have deſerved; and beſtow upon us that Peace which onely Chriſt our great Peace-maker can merit.

XIX.

Upon the various Events of the War; Victories and Defeats.

THE various Succeſſes of this unhappy War have at leaſt afforded Me variety of good Meditations. Sometimes God was pleaſed to try Me with Victory, by worſting my Enemies, that I might know how with Moderation and thanks to own and uſe his Power, who is onely the true *Lord of Hoſts*, able when he pleaſes to repreſs the Confidence of thoſe that fought againſt Me with ſo great advantages for Power and Number.

From ſmall beginnings on My part he let me ſee, that I was not wholly forſaken by my Peoples Love or his Protection.

Other times God was pleaſed to exerciſe my Patience, and teach Me not to truſt in the arm of Fleſh, but in the living God.

My Sins ſometimes prevailed againſt the Juſtice of my Cauſe: and thoſe that were with Me wanted not matter and occaſion for his juſt Chaſtiſement both of them and Me. Nor were my Enemies leſs puniſhed by that Proſperity, which hardened them to continue

that Injuſtice by open Hoſtility, which was begun by moſt riotous and unparliamentary Tumults.

There is no doubt but perſonal and private Sins may oft-times over-balance the Juſtice of publick engagements; nor doth God account every gallant man (in the worlds eſteem) a fit inſtrument to aſſert in the way of War a righteous Cauſe. The more men are prone to arrogate to their own Skill, Valour and Strength, the leſs doth God ordinarily work by them for his own Glory.

I am ſure the Event or Succeſs can never ſtate the Juſtice of any Cauſe, nor the peace of mens Conſciences, nor the eternal fate of their Souls.

Thoſe with Me had (I think) clearly and undoubtedly for their Juſtification the Word of God and the Laws of the Land, together with their own Oathes; all requiring Obedience to my juſt Commands; but to none other under Heaven without Me, or againſt Me, in the point of raiſing Arms.

Thoſe on the other ſide are forced to flie to the ſhifts of ſome pretended Fears, and wild fundamentals of State (as they call them) which actually overthrow the preſent Fabrick both of Church and State; being ſuch imaginary Reaſons for ſelf-defence as are moſt impertinent for thoſe men to alledge, who being my Subjects, were manifeſtly the firſt aſſaulters of Me and the Laws, firſt by unſuppreſſed Tumults, after by liſted Forces. The ſame Allegations they uſe, will fit any Faction that hath but power and Confidence enough to ſecond with the Sword all their demands againſt the preſent Laws and Governors; which can never be ſuch as ſome Side or other will not finde fault with, ſo as to urge what they call a Reformation of them to a Rebellion againſt them.

Some paraſitick Preachers have dared to call thoſe Martyrs who died fighting againſt Me, the Laws, their Oathes, and the Religion eſtabliſhed: But ſober Chriſtians know, that glorious Title can with truth be applied onely to thoſe who ſincerely preferred God's Truth and their Duty in all theſe particulars before their Lives and all that was dear to them in this world; who having no advantagious deſigns by any Innovation, were religiouſly ſenſible of thoſe ties to God, the Church, and My ſelf, which lay upon

upon their Souls, both for Obedience and juſt Aſsiſtance.

God could, and I doubt not but he did, through his Mercy, crown many of them with Eternal life whoſe lives were loſt in ſo juſt a Cauſe; the deſtruction of their Bodies being ſanctified as a means to ſave their Souls.

Their Wounds and temporal Ruine ſerving as a gracious opportunity for their eternal Health and Happineſs, while the evident approach of death did, through Gods Grace, effectually diſpoſe their hearts to ſuch Humility, Faith and Repentance, which, together with the Rectitude of their preſent Engagement, would fully prepare them for a better Life then that which their Enemies brutiſh and diſloyal Fierceneſs could deprive them of, or without Repentance hope to enjoy.

They have often indeed had the better againſt My ſide in the Field, but never, I believe, at the Bar of Gods Tribunal, or their own Conſciences; where they are more afraid to encounter thoſe many pregnant Reaſons, both from Law, Allegiance and all true Chriſtian grounds, which conflict with, and accuſe them in their own thoughts, then they oft were in a deſperate bravery to fight againſt thoſe Forces which ſometimes God gave Me.

Whoſe condition conquered and dying I make no queſtion but is infinitely more to be choſen by a ſober man (that duly values his Duty, his Soul and Eternity beyond the enjoyments of this preſent Life) then the moſt triumphant glory wherein their and Mine Enemies ſupervive; who can hardly avoid to be daily tormented by that horrid guilt wherewith their ſuſpitious or now-convicted Conſciences do purſue them; eſpecially ſince they and all the world have ſeen how falſe and un-intended thoſe pretenſions were which they firſt ſet forth as the onely plauſible (though not juſtifiable) grounds of raiſing a War, and continuing it thus long againſt Me and the Laws eſtabliſhed, in whoſe ſafety and preſervation all honeſt men think the welfare of their Country doth conſiſt.

For and with all which it is far more honorable and comfortable to ſuffer, then to proſper in their ruine and ſubverſion.

I have often prayed, that all on My ſide might joyn true Piety with the ſenſe of their Loyalty, and be as faithful to God and their own Souls as they were to Me: That the defects of

the one might not blaſt the endeavours of the other.

Yet I cannot think that any ſhews or truth of Piety on the other ſide were ſufficient to diſpenſe with, or expiate the defects of their Duty and Loyalty to Me, which have ſo pregnant convictions on mens Conſciences, that even profaner men are moved by the ſenſe of them to venture their lives for Me.

I never had any Victory which was without my Sorrow, becauſe it was on mine own Subjects, who, like *Abſolom*, died many of them in their ſin: And yet I never ſuffered any Defeat which made Me deſpair of Gods Mercy and Defence.

I never deſired ſuch Victories as might ſerve to conquer, but onely reſtore the Laws and Liberties of my People; which I ſaw were extremely oppreſſed, together with My Rights, by thoſe men who were impatient of any juſt reſtraint.

When Providence gave Me or denied Me Victory, my deſire was neither to boaſt of my Power, nor to charge God fooliſhly; who I believed at laſt would make all things to work together for My good.

I wiſhed no greater advantages by the War, then to bring my Enemies to Moderation, and my Friends to Peace.

I was afraid of the temptation of an abſolute Conqueſt, and never prayed more for Victory over others then over My ſelf. When the firſt was denied, the ſecond was granted Me, which God ſaw beſt for Me.

The different events were but the methods of Divine Juſtice, by contrary winds to winnow us: That by puniſhing our Sins he might purge them from us; and by deferring Peace, he might prepare us more to prize and better to uſe ſo great a Bleſsing.

My often Meſſages for Peace ſhewed that I delighted not in War: as my former Conceſsions ſufficiently teſtified how willingly I would have prevented it; and my total unpreparedneſs for it, how little I intended it.

The conſcience of my Innocency forbade Me to fear a War; but the love of my Kingdoms commanded Me (if poſsible) to avoid it.

I am guilty in this War of nothing but this, That I gave ſuch advantages to ſome men by confirming their Power, which they knew

knew not to uſe with that modeſty and gratitude which became their Loyalty and my Confidence.

Had I yielded leſs, I had been oppoſed leſs; had I denied more, I had been more obeyed.

'Tis now too late to review the Occaſions of the War; I wiſh only a happy Concluſion of ſo unhappy Beginnings. The inevitable fate of our Sins was (no doubt) ſuch, as would no longer ſuffer the Divine Juſtice to be quiet: we having conquered his Patience, are condemned by mutual conquerings to deſtroy one another; for the moſt proſperous Succeſſes on either ſide impair the welfare of the whole.

Thoſe Victories are ſtill miſerable that leave our Sins un-ſubdued, fluſhing our Pride, and animating to continue Injuries.

Peace it ſelf is not deſirable, till Repentance have prepared us for it.

When we fight more againſt our ſelves and leſs againſt God, we ſhall ceaſe fighting one againſt another. I pray God theſe may all meet in our hearts, and ſo diſpoſe us to an happy concluſion of theſe Civil Wars, that I may know better to obey God, and govern my People, and they may learn better to obey both God and Me.

Nor do I deſire any man ſhould be further ſubject to Me, then all of us may be ſubject to God.

O my God, make Me content to be overcome, when Thou wilt have it ſo.

Teach Me the nobleſt Victory over My ſelf and my Enemies by Patience; which was Chriſts Conqueſt, and may well become a Chriſtian King.

Between both thy hands, the right ſometimes ſupporting, and the left afflicting, faſhion us to that frame of Piety Thou likeſt beſt.

Forgive the Pride that attends our proſperous, and the Repinings which follow our diſaſtrous events; when going forth in our own ſtrength, Thou withdraweſt thine, and goeſt not forth with our Armies.

Be Thou all, when we are ſomething, and when we are nothing; that Thou mayeſt have the Glory, when we are in a victorious or inglorious condition.

Thou, O Lord, knoweſt how hard it is for Me to ſuffer ſo much evil from my Subjects, to whom I intend nothing but good; and I cannot but

ſuffer in thoſe Evils which they compel Me to inflict upon them, puniſhing My ſelf in their Puniſhments.

Since therefore both in conquering and being conquered I am ſtill a Sufferer; I beſeech Thee to give Me a double portion of thy Spirit, and that meaſure of Grace which only can be ſufficient for Me.

As I am moſt afflicted, ſo make Me moſt reformed; that I may be not only happy to ſee an end of theſe Civil Diſtractions, but a chief inſtrument to reſtore and eſtabliſh a firm and bleſſed Peace to my Kingdoms.

Stir up in all parties pious ambitions to overcome each other with Reaſon, Moderation, and ſuch Self-denial as becomes thoſe who conſider, that our mutual Diviſions are our common Diſtractions, and the Union of all is every good mans chiefeſt Intereſt.

If, O Lord, as for the ſins of our Peace Thou haſt brought upon us the miſeries of War, ſo for the ſins of War Thou ſhouldſt ſee fit ſtill to deny us the bleſſing of Peace, and ſo keep us in a circulation of Miſeries; yet give Me thy Servant, and all Loyal (though afflicted) Subjects, to enjoy that Peace which the world can neither give to us nor take from us.

Impute not to Me the Blood of my Subjects, which with infinite unwillingneſs and grief hath been ſhed by Me in my juſt and neceſſary Defence; but waſh Me with that precious Blood which hath been ſhed for Me by my great Peace-maker, Jeſus Chriſt: who will, I truſt, redeem Me ſhortly out of all my Troubles; for I know the triumphing of the Wicked is but ſhort, and the joy of Hypocrites is but for a moment.

XX.

Upon the Reformations of the Times.

NO Glory is more to be envied then that of due Reforming either Church or State, when Deformities are ſuch that the Perturbation and Novelty are not like to exceed the benefit of Reforming.

Although God ſhould not honour Me ſo far as to make Me an inſtrument of ſo good a work, yet I ſhould be glad to ſee it done.

As I was well pleaſed with this Parliaments firſt intentions, to reform what the indulgence of Times and corruption of Maners might have depraved; ſo I am ſorry to ſee, after the freedome of Parliament was by factious Tumults oppreſſed, how little regard was had to the good Laws eſtabliſhed and the Religion ſetled, which ought to be the firſt Rule and Standard of Reforming: with how much Partiality and popular Compliance the Paſsions and Opinions of men have been gratified, to the detriment of the Publick, and the infinite Scandal of the Reformed Religion.

What diſſolutions of all Order and Government in the Church; what Novelties of Schiſms and corrupt Opinions; what Undecencies and Confuſions in Sacred Adminiſtrations; what Sacrilegious invaſions upon the Rights and Revenues of the Church; what Contempt and Oppreſsions of the Clergy; what injurious Diminutions and Perſecutings of Me, have followed (as ſhowres do warm gleams) the talk of Reformation, all ſober men are Witneſſes, and with My ſelf ſad Spectators hitherto.

The great miſcarriage, I think, is, that Popular clamors and fury have been allowed the reputation of Zeal and the publick ſenſe; ſo that the ſtudy to pleaſe ſome Parties hath indeed injured all.

Freedom, Moderation and Impartiality, are ſure the beſt tempers of Reforming Counſels and endeavors: What is acted by Factions cannot but offend more then it pleaſeth.

I have offered to put all differences in Church affairs and Religion to the free conſultation of a Synod or Convocation rightly choſen; the reſults of whoſe Counſels as they would have included the Votes of all, ſo its like they would have given moſt ſatisfaction to all.

The Aſſembly of Divines, whom the Two Houſes have applied (in an unwonted way) to adviſe of Church Affairs, I diſlike not further then that they are not legally convened and choſen, nor act in the name of all the Clergy of *England*; nor with freedom and impartiality can doe any thing, being limited and confined, if not over-awed, to doe and declare what they doe.

For I cannot think ſo many men, cried up for Learning and Piety, who formerly allowed the Liturgy and Government of the Church of *England* as to the main, would have ſo ſuddenly agreed quite to aboliſh both of them, (the laſt of which they knew to be of Apoſto-

lical inſtitution at leaſt, as of Primitive and Univerſal practice) if they had been left to the liberty of their own ſuffrages; and if the influence of contrary Factions had not by ſecret encroachments of hopes and fears prevailed upon them, to comply with ſo great and dangerous Innovations in the Church, without any regard to their own former Judgement and Practice, or to the common Intereſt and Honor of all the Clergy, and in them of Order, Learning and Religion; againſt examples of all Ancient Churches, the Laws in force, and My Conſent, which is never to be gained againſt ſo pregnant light as in that point ſhines on my Underſtanding.

For I conceive that where the Scripture is not ſo clear and punctual in Precepts, there the conſtant and univerſal Practice of the Church, in things not contrary to Reaſon, Faith, good Maners, or any poſitive Command, is the beſt Rule that Chriſtians can follow.

I was willing to grant or reſtore to Presbytery what with Reaſon or Diſcretion it can pretend to, in a conjuncture with Epiſcopacy: but for that wholly to invade the Power, and by the Sword to arrogate and quite abrogate the Authority of that Ancient Order, I think neither juſt as to Epiſcopacy, nor ſafe for Presbytery, nor yet any way convenient for this Church or State.

A due Reformation had eaſily followed moderate Counſels, and ſuch (I believe) as would have given more content even to the moſt of thoſe Divines who have been led on with much Gravity and Formality to carry on other mens deſigns: which no doubt many of them by this time diſcover, though they dare not but ſmother their fruſtrations and diſcontents.

The ſpecious and popular titles of Chriſts Government, Throne, Scepter and Kingdom (which certainly is not divided, nor hath two faces, as their Parties now have at leaſt) as alſo the noiſe of a through Reformation, may as eaſily be fixed on new models, as fair colours may be put to ill-favoured figures.

The breaking of Church-Windows, which time had ſufficiently defaced; pulling down of Croſſes, which were but Civil, not Religious marks; defacing of the Monuments and Inſcriptions of the Dead, which ſerved but to put Poſterity in mind to thank God for that clearer light wherein they live; the leaving of all Miniſters to their liberties and private abilities in the Publick Service of God,

where

where no Chriſtian can tell to what he may ſay *Amen*, nor what adventure he may make of ſeeming, at leaſt, to conſent to the Errors, Blaſphemies and ridiculous Undecencies, which bold and ignorant men liſt to vent in their Prayers, Preaching, and other Offices; the ſetting forth alſo of old Catechiſms and Confeſsions of Faith new dreſt, importing as much as if there had been no ſound or clear Doctrine of Faith in this Church, before ſome four or five years conſultation had matured their thoughts touching their firſt Principles of Religion:

All theſe and the like are the effects of popular, ſpecious, and deceitful Reformations (that they might not ſeem to have nothing to doe) and may give ſome ſhort flaſhes of content to the Vulgar (who are taken with Novelties, as Children with Babies, very much, but not very long:) but all this amounts not to, nor can in Juſtice merit the glory of the Churches through Reformation; ſince they leave all things more deformed, diſorderly and diſcontented then when they began, in point of Piety, Morality, Charity, and good Order.

Nor can they eaſily recompence or remedy the Inconveniences and Miſchiefs which they have purchaſed ſo dearly, and which have and ever will neceſſarily enſue, till due Remedies be applied.

I wiſh they would at laſt make it their Unanimous work to doe Gods work, and not their own: Had Religion been firſt conſidered (as it merited) much trouble might have been prevented.

But ſome men thought that the Government of this Church and State, fixed by ſo many Laws and long Cuſtomes, would not run into their new moulds, till they had firſt melted it in the fire of a Civil War; by the advantages of which they reſolved, if they prevailed, to make My ſelf and all my Subjects fall down and worſhip the Images they ſhould form and ſet up. If there had been as much of Chriſts Spirit for Meekneſs, Wiſdom and Charity, in mens hearts, as there was of his Name uſed in the pretenſions to reform all to Chriſts Rule, it would certainly have obtained more of Gods Bleſſing, and produced more of Chriſts Glory, the Churches good, the Honor of Religion, and the Unity of Chriſtians.

Publick Reformers had need firſt act in private, and practiſe that on their own hearts which they purpoſe to try on others; for Deformities

mities within will ſoon betray the Pretenders of publick Reformation to ſuch private Deſigns as muſt needs hinder the publick good.

I am ſure the right methods of Reforming the Church cannot conſiſt with that of perturbing the Civil State, nor can Religion be juſtly advanced by depreſsing Loyalty, which is one of the chiefeſt Ingredients and Ornaments of true Religion; for next to *Fear God*, is, *Honor the King*.

I doubt not but Chriſts Kingdom may be ſet up without pulling down Mine; nor will any men in impartial times appear good Chriſtians, that approve not themſelves good Subjects.

Chriſt's Government will confirm Mine, not overthrow it; ſince as I own Mine from Him, ſo I deſire to rule for his Glory and his Churches good.

Had ſome men truly intended Chriſt's Government, or knew what it meant in their hearts, they could never have been ſo ill governed in their words and actions both againſt Me and one another.

As good Ends cannot juſtifie evil Means, ſo nor will evil Beginnings ever bring forth good Concluſions; unleſs God, by a miracle of Mercy, create Light out of Darkneſs, Order out of our Confuſions, and Peace out of our Paſsions.

Thou, O Lord, who onely canſt give us beauty for aſhes and Truth for Hypocriſie, ſuffer us not to be miſerably deluded with Phariſaical waſhings, inſtead of Chriſtian Reformings.

Our greateſt Deformities are within: make us the ſevereſt Cenſurers and firſt Reformers of our own Souls:

That we may in clearneſs of Judgement and Uprightneſs of heart be a means to reform what is indeed amiſs in Church and State.

Create in us clean hearts, O Lord, and renew right ſpirits within us; that we may doe all by thy directions, to thy Glory, and with thy Bleſsing.

Pity the Deformities which ſome raſh and cruel Reformers have brought upon this Church and State; quench the fires which Factions have kindled under the pretence of Reforming.

As Thou haſt ſhewed the world by their Diviſions and Confuſions what is the pravity of ſome mens Intentions, and weakneſs of their Judgements; ſo bring us at laſt more refined out of theſe fires, by the methods of Chriſtian and charitable Reformations;

Reformations; wherein nothing of Ambition, Revenge, Covetousnes or Sacrilege may have any influence upon their counsells whom thy Providence in just and lawful ways shall entrust with so great, good, and now most necessary a work. That I and my People may be so blest with inward Piety, as may best teach us how to use the Blessing of outward Peace.

XXI.

Upon his MAJESTIES *Letters taken and divulged.*

THe taking of my Letters was an opportunity, which as the malice of mine Enemies could hardly have expected, so they knew not how with honor and civility to use it. Nor do I think, with sober and worthy mindes, any thing in them could tend so much to my Reproach, as the odious divulging of them did to the infamy of the Divulgers: The greatest experiments of Vertue and Nobleness being discovered in the greatest advantages against an Enemy; and the greatest Obligations being those which are put upon us by them from whom we could least have expected them.

And such I should have esteemed the concealing of my Papers: The freedom and secrecie of which commands a Civility from all men not wholly barbarous; nor is there any thing more inhumane then to expose them to publick view.

Yet since Providence will have it so, I am content so much of my Heart (which I study to approve to Gods Omniscience) should be discovered to the world, without any of those dresses or popular captations which some men use in their Speeches and Expresses. I wish my Subjects had yet a clearer sight into my most retired Thoughts:

Where they might discover how they are divided between the Love and Care I have, not more to preserve My own Rights, then to procure their Peace and Happiness; and that extreme Grief to see them both deceived and destroyed.

Nor can any mens Malice be gratified further by my Letters, then

then to ſee my Conſtancy to my Wife, the Laws, and Religion. Bees will gather Honey where the Spider ſucks Poiſon.

That I endeavor to avoid the preſſures of my Enemies by all fair and juſt correſpondencies, no man can blame who loves Me or the Common-wealth; ſince my Subjects can hardly be happy if I be miſerable, or enjoy their Peace and Liberties while I am oppreſſed.

The world may ſee how ſome mens deſign, like *Abſolom*'s, is by enormous actions to widen differences, and exaſperate all Sides to ſuch diſtances, as may make all Reconciliation deſperate.

Yet I thank God I can not only with Patience bear this as other Indignities, but with Charity forgive them.

The Integrity of my Intentions is not jealous of any injury my Expreſsions can doe them: for although the confidence of Privacy may admit greater freedom in writing ſuch Letters which may be liable to envious exceptions; yet the Innocency of my chief Purpoſes cannot be ſo ſtained or miſ-interpreted by them, as not to let all men ſee, that I wiſh nothing more then an happy compoſure of Differences with Juſtice and Honor, not more to My own then my Peoples content, who have any ſparks of Love or Loyalty left in them: who by thoſe my Letters may be convinced, that I can both minde and act My own and my Kingdoms Affairs, ſo as becomes a Prince; which mine Enemies have always been very loth ſhould be believed of Me, as if I were wholly confined to the Dictates and Directions of others, whom they pleaſe to brand with the name of Evill Counſellors.

Its probable ſome men will now look upon Me as My own Counſellor, and having none elſe to quarrel with, under that notion they will hereafter confine their anger to My ſelf: Although I know they are very unwilling I ſhould enjoy the liberty of My own Thoughts, or follow the light of My own Conſcience, which they labour to bring into an abſolute captivity to themſelves; not allowing Me to think their Counſels to be other then good for Me, which have ſo long maintained a War againſt Me.

The Victory they obtained that day when my Letters became their prize, had been enough to have ſatiated the moſt ambitious thirſt of Popular glory among the Vulgar, with whom Proſperity gains the greateſt eſteem and applauſe, as Adverſity expoſeth to their

greateſt

greateſt ſlighting and diſreſpect : As if good fortune were always the ſhadow of Vertue and Juſtice, and did not oftner attend Vitious and Injurious actions as to this world.

But I ſee no Secular advantages ſeem ſufficient to that Cauſe which began with Tumults, and depends chiefly upon the reputation with the Vulgar.

They think no Victories ſo effectuall to their deſigns as thoſe that moſt rout and waſte my Credit with my People ; in whoſe hearts they ſeek by all means to ſmother and extinguiſh all ſparks of Love, Reſpect & Loyalty to Me, that they may never kindle again, ſo as to recover Mine, the Laws and the Kingdoms Liberties, which ſome men ſeek to overthrow. The taking away of my Credit is but a neceſsary preparation to the taking away of my Life and my Kingdoms: firſt I muſt ſeem neither fit to Live, nor worthy to Reign ; by exquiſite methods of Cunning and Cruelty I muſt be compelled firſt to follow the Funerals of my Honor, and then be deſtroyed. But I know God's un-erring and impartial Juſtice can and will over-rule the moſt perverſe wills and deſigns of men ; He is able, and (I hope) will turn even the worſt of mine Enemies thoughts and actions to My good.

Nor do I think that by the ſurprize of my Letters I have loſt any more then ſo many Papers : How much they have loſt of that reputation for Civility and Humanity, (which ought to be paid to all men, and moſt becomes ſuch as pretend to Religion) beſides that of Reſpect and Honor which they owe to their *King*, preſent and after-times will judge. And I cannot think that their own Conſciences are ſo ſtupid, as not to inflict upon them ſome ſecret impreſsions of that Shame and Diſhonor which attends all unworthy actions, have they never ſo much of publick flattery and popular countenance.

I am ſure they can never expect the Divine approbation of ſuch indecent actions, if they do but remember how God bleſt the modeſt reſpect & filial tenderneſs which *Noah*'s Sons bare to their Father; nor did his open infirmity juſtifie *Cham*'s impudency, or exempt him from that Curſe of being *Servant of Servants* : which Curſe muſt needs be on them who ſeek by diſhonorable actions to pleaſe the Vulgar, and confirm by ignoble acts their dependance upon the People.

Nor can their Malicious intentions be ever either excuſable or proſperous, who thought by this means to expoſe Me to the higheſt Reproach and Contempt of my People; forgetting that duty of Modeſt concealment which they owed to the Father of their Country, in caſe they had diſcovered any real Uncomelineſs, which, I thank God, they did not; who can, and, I believe, hath made Me more reſpected in the hearts of many, (as he did *David*) to whom they thought, by publiſhing my private Letters, to have rendred me as *a vile Perſon*, not fit to be truſted, or conſidered under any notion of Majeſty.

But Thou, O Lord, whoſe wiſe and all-diſpoſing Providence ordereth the greateſt contingencies of humane affairs, make Me to ſee the conſtancy of thy Mercies to Me in the greateſt advantages Thou ſeemeſt to give the Malice of my Enemies againſt Me.

As Thou didſt blaſt the counſel of Achitophel, *turning it to* David's *good and his own ruine; ſo canſt Thou defeat their deſign, who intended by publiſhing my private Letters nothing elſe but to render Me more odious and contemptible to my People.*

I muſt firſt appeal to thy Omniſcience, who canſt witneſs with my Integrity, how unjuſt and falſe thoſe ſcandalous Miſconſtructions are, which my Enemies endeavor by thoſe Papers of Mine to repreſent to the world.

Make the evil they imagined and diſpleaſure they intended thereby againſt Me, ſo to return on their own heads, that they may be aſhamed, and covered with their own Confuſion as with a cloak.

Thou ſeeſt how mine Enemies uſe all means to cloud mine Honor, to pervert my purpoſes, and to ſlander the footſteps of thine Anointed.

But give Me an heart content to be diſhonored for thy ſake and thy Churches good.

Fix in Me a purpoſe to honour Thee, and then I know Thou wilt honour Me, either by reſtoring to Me the enjoyment of that Power and Majeſty which Thou haſt ſuffered ſome men to ſeek to deprive Me of; or by beſtowing on Me that crown of Chriſtian Patience, which knows how to ſerve Thee in honor or diſhonor, in good report or evil.

Thou, O Lord, art the fountain of Goodneſs and Honor, Thou art clothed with excellent Majeſty; make Me to partake of thy Excellency for Wiſdom, Juſtice and Mercy, and I ſhall not want that degree of Honor and

Majeſty

Majeſty which becomes the Place in which Thou haſt ſet Me, who art the lifter up of my head, and my Salvation.

Lord, by thy Grace lead Me to thy Glory, which is both true and eternal.

XXII.

Upon his MAJESTIES *leaving* Oxford, *and going to the* SCOTS.

ALthough God hath given Me Three Kingdoms, yet in theſe He hath not now left Me any place where I may with Safety and Honor reſt my Head; ſhewing Me that Himſelf is the ſafeſt Refuge, and the ſtrongeſt Tower of Defence, in which I may put my Truſt.

In theſe Extremities I look not to man ſo much as to God: He will have it thus; that I may wholly caſt My ſelf and my now diſtreſſed Affairs upon his Mercy, who hath both the hearts and hands of all men in his diſpoſe.

What Providence denies to Force, it may grant to Prudence: Neceſsity is now my Counſellor, and commands Me to ſtudy my Safety by a diſguiſed withdrawing from my chiefeſt Strength, and adventuring upon their Loyalty who firſt began my Troubles. Haply God may make them a means honorably to compoſe them.

This my Confidence of them may diſarm and overcome them: My rendring my Perſon to them may engage their Affections to Me, who have oft profeſſed, *They fought not againſt Me, but for Me.*

I muſt now reſolve the riddle of their Loyalty, and give them opportunity to let the world ſee they mean not what they doe, but what they ſay.

Yet muſt God be my chiefeſt Guard, and my Conſcience both my Counſellor and my Comforter. Though I put my Body into their hands, yet I ſhall reſerve my Soul to God and My ſelf; nor ſhall any Neceſsities compel Me to deſert mine Honor, or ſwerve from my Judgement.

What they ſought to take by Force, ſhall now be given them in

ſuch a way of unuſual Confidence of them, as may make them aſhamed not to be really ſuch as they ought, and profeſſed to be.

God ſees it not enough to deprive Me of all Military power to defend My ſelf; but to put Me upon uſing their power, who ſeem to fight againſt Me, yet ought in duty to defend Me.

So various are all humane affairs, and ſo neceſsitous may the ſtate of Princes be, that their greateſt Danger may be in their ſuppoſed Safety, and their Safety in their ſuppoſed Danger.

I muſt now leave thoſe that have adhered to Me, and apply to thoſe that have oppoſed Me: this method of Peace may be more proſperous then that of War, both to ſtop the effuſion of blood, and to cloſe thoſe wounds already made. And in it I am no leſs ſolicitous for my Friends ſafety then Mine own; chuſing to venture My ſelf upon further hazards, rather then expoſe their reſolute Loyalty to all extremities.

It is ſome skill in play to know when a game is loſt: better fairly to give over, then to conteſt in vain.

I muſt now ſtudy to re-inforce my Judgement and fortifie my Mind with Reaſon and Religion; that I may not ſeem to offer up my Souls Liberty, or make my Conſcience their Captive, who ought at firſt to have uſed Arguments, not Arms, to have perſwaded my Conſent to their new demands.

I thank God, no Succeſs darkens or diſguiſes Truth to Me; and I ſhall no leſs conform my words to my inward dictates now, then if they had been, as the words of a KING ought to be among Loyal Subjects, *full of power.*

Reaſon is the Divineſt power: I ſhall never think My ſelf weakned, while I may make full and free uſe of that. No eclipſe of outward fortune ſhall rob me of that light: what God hath denied of outward Strength, his Grace, I hope, will ſupply with inward Reſolutions; not moroſely to deny what is fit to be granted, but not to grant any thing which Reaſon and Religion bids me deny.

I ſhall never think My ſelf leſs then My ſelf, while I am able thus to preſerve the Integrity of my Conſcience, the onely Jewel now left Me which is worth keeping.

O Thou Soveraign of our Souls, the onely Commander of our Conſciences; though

though I know not what to doe, yet mine eyes are toward Thee: To the protection of thy Mercy I ſtill commend My ſelf.

As Thou haſt preſerved Me in the day of Battel, ſo Thou canſt ſtill ſhew Me thy ſtrength in my weakneſs.

Be Thou unto Me in my darkeſt night a pillar of Fire, to enlighten and direct Me; in the day of my hotteſt Affliction be alſo a pillar of Cloud, to overſhadow and protect Me; be to Me both a Sun and a Shield.

Thou knoweſt that it is not any perverſeneſs of Will, but juſt perſwaſions of Honor, Reaſon and Religion, which have made Me thus far to hazard my Perſon, Peace and Safety, againſt thoſe that by Force have ſought to wreſt them from Me.

Suffer not my juſt Reſolutions to abate with my outward Forces; let a good Conſcience always accompany Me in my greateſt Solitude and Deſertions.

Suffer Me not to betray the powers of Reaſon, and that Fortreſs of my Soul which I am intruſted to keep for Thee.

Lead Me in the paths of thy Righteouſneſs, and ſhew Me thy Salvation.

Make my ways to pleaſe Thee, and then Thou wilt make mine Enemies to be at peace with Me.

XXIII.

Upon the SCOTS *delivering the* KING *to the* Engliſh, *and His Captivity at* Holdenby.

YET may I juſtifie thoſe *Scots* to all the world in this, that they have not deceived Me, for I never truſted to them further then to men: If I am ſold by them, I am only ſorry they ſhould doe it; and that My price ſhould be ſo much above my Saviours.

Theſe are but further Eſſays which God will have Me make of mans Uncertainty, the more to fix Me on Himſelf, who never faileth them that truſt in him. Though the Reeds of *Egypt* break under the hand of him that leans on them; yet the Rock of *Iſrael* will be an everlaſting ſtay and defence.

God's Providence commands Me to retire from all to himſelf,

that in him I may enjoy My ſelf, whom I loſe while I let out my hopes to others.

The Solitude and Captivity to which I am now reduced gives Me leiſure enough to ſtudy the Worlds Vanity and Inconſtancy.

God ſees it fit to deprive Me of Wife, Children, Army, Friends and Freedom, that I may be wholly His, who alone is all.

I care not much to be reckoned among the Unfortunate, if I be not in the black liſt of Irreligious and Sacrilegious Princes.

No Reſtraint ſhall enſnare my Soul in ſin, nor gain that of Me which may make my Enemies more inſolent, my Friends aſhamed, or my Name accurſed.

They have no great cauſe to triumph that they have got my Perſon into their power, ſince my Soul is ſtill My own: nor ſhall they ever gain my Conſent againſt my Conſcience.

What they call Obſtinacy, I know God accounts honeſt Conſtancy, from which Reaſon and Religion, as well as Honor, forbid Me to recede.

'Tis evident now, that it was not Evil Counſellors with Me, but a good Conſcience in Me, which hath been fought againſt; nor did they ever intend to bring Me to my Parliament, till they had brought my Mind to their obedience.

Should I grant what ſome men deſire, I ſhould be ſuch as they wiſh Me; not more a King, and far leſs both Man and Chriſtian.

What Tumults and Armies could not obtain, neither ſhall Reſtraint; which though it have as little of Safety to a Prince, yet it hath not more of Danger.

The Fear of men ſhall never be my Snare, nor ſhall the love of any Liberty entangle my Soul: Better others betray Me then My ſelf, and that the price of my Liberty ſhould be my Conſcience. The greateſt Injuries my Enemies ſeek to inflict upon Me cannot be without My own Conſent.

While I can deny with Reaſon, I ſhall defeat the greateſt impreſſions of their Malice, who neither know how to uſe worthily what I have already granted, nor what to require more of Me but this, that I would ſeem willing to help them to deſtroy My ſelf and Mine.

Although they ſhould deſtroy Me, yet they ſhall have no cauſe to deſpiſe Me.

Neither

Neither Liberty nor Life are ſo dear to Me as the Peace of my Conſcience, the Honor of my Crowns, and the welfare of my People; which my Word may injure more then any War can doe, while I gratifie a few to oppreſs all.

The Laws will, by God's bleſsing, revive, with the Love and Loyalty of my Subjects, if I bury them not by my Conſent, and cover them in that grave of diſhonor and injuſtice which ſome mens Violence hath digged for them.

If my Captivity or Death muſt be the price of their Redemption, I grudge not to pay it.

No condition can make a King miſerable, which carries not with it his Souls, his Peoples, and Poſterities Thraldom.

After-times may ſee what the Blindneſs of this Age will not; and God may at length ſhew my Subjects, that I choſe rather to ſuffer for them then with them. Haply I might redeem My ſelf to ſome ſhew of Liberty, if I would conſent to enſlave them. I had rather hazard the Ruine of one King, then to confirm many Tyrants over them; from whom I pray God deliver them, whatever becomes of Me, whoſe Solitude hath not left Me alone.

For Thou, O God, infinitely good and great, art with Me, whoſe preſence is better then Life, and whoſe Service is perfect Freedom.

Own Me for thy Servant, and I ſhall never have cauſe to complain for want of that Liberty which becomes a Man, a Chriſtian, and a King.

Bleſs Me ſtill with Reaſon as a Man, with Religion as a Chriſtian, and with Conſtancy in Juſtice as a King.

Though Thou ſuffereſt Me to be ſtript of all outward Ornaments, yet preſerve Me ever in thoſe enjoyments wherein I may enjoy Thy ſelf, and which cannot be taken from Me againſt my will.

Let no fire of Affliction boyl over my Paſſion to any Impatience or ſordid Fears.

There be many ſay of Me, there is no help for Me: do Thou lift up the light of thy Countenance upon Me, and I ſhall never want Safety, Liberty, nor Majeſty.

Give Me that meaſure of Patience and Conſtancy which my condition now requires.

My ſtrength is ſcattered, my expectation from men defeated, my Perſon reſtraited: O be not Thou far from Me, leſt my Enemies prevail too much againſt Me.

I am become a wonder and a ſcorn to many: O be Thou my Helper and Defender.

Shew ſome token upon Me for good, that they that hate Me may be aſhamed, becauſe Thou, Lord, haſt holpen and comforted Me. Eſtabliſh Me with thy free Spirit, that I may doe and ſuffer thy will, as Thou wouldſt have Me.

Be merciful to Me, O Lord, for my Soul truſteth in Thee: yea and in the ſhadow of thy wings will I make my refuge, until theſe Calamities be over-paſt.

Ariſe to deliver Me, make no long tarrying, O my God. Though Thou killeſt Me, yet will I truſt in thy Mercy and my Saviours Merit.

I know that my Redeemer liveth: though Thou leadeſt Me through the vale and ſhadow of Death, yet ſhall I fear none ill.

XXIV.

Upon their denying his MAJESTY *the attendance of His Chaplains.*

WHen Providence was pleaſed to deprive Me of all other civil Comforts and ſecular Attendants, I thought the abſence of them all might beſt be ſupplied by the attendance of ſome of my Chaplains; whom for their Function I reverence, and for their Fidelity I have cauſe to love. By their Learning, Piety and Prayers, I hoped to be either better enabled to ſuſtain the want of all other enjoyments, or better fitted for the recovery and uſe of them in God's good time: ſo reaping by their Pious help a ſpiritual harveſt of Grace, amidſt the thorns and after the plowings of temporal Croſſes.

The truth is, I never needed or deſired more the ſervice and aſſiſtance of men judiciouſly Pious and ſoberly Devout.

The Solitude they have confined Me unto adds the Wilderneſs to my Temptations: For the company they obtrude upon Me is more ſad then any Solitude can be.

If I had asked my Revenues, my Power of the *Militia*, or any one of my Kingdoms, it had been no wonder to have been denied in thoſe things, where the evil Policy of men forbids all juſt reſtitution, leſt they

they ſhould confeſs an injurious Uſurpation: But to deny Me the Ghoſtly comfort of my Chaplains, ſeems a greater Rigor and Barbarity then is ever uſed by Chriſtians to the meaneſt Priſoners and greateſt Malefactors; whom though the Juſtice of the Law deprives of worldly comforts, yet the Mercy of Religion allows them the benefit of their Clergy, as not aiming at once to deſtroy their Bodies and to damn their Souls.

But My Agony muſt not be relieved with the preſence of any one good Angel; for ſuch I account a Learned, Godly, and diſcreet Divine: and ſuch I would have all mine to be.

They that envy my being a King, are loth I ſhould be a Chriſtian; while they ſeek to deprive Me of all things elſe, they are afraid I ſhould ſave my Soul.

Other ſenſe Charity it ſelf can hardly pick out of thoſe many harſh Repulſes I received, as to that Requeſt ſo often made for the attendance of ſome of my Chaplains.

I have ſometime thought, the Unchriſtianneſs of thoſe denials might ariſe from a diſpleaſure ſome men had to ſee Me prefer My own Divines before their Miniſters: whom though I reſpect for that worth and piety which may be in them; yet I cannot think them ſo proper for My preſent Comforters or Phyſicians, who have (ſome of them at leaſt) had ſo great an influence in occaſioning theſe Calamities, and inflicting theſe Wounds upon Me.

Nor are the ſobereſt of them ſo apt for that Devotional compliance and juncture of hearts, which I deſire to bear in thoſe holy Offices to be performed with Me and for Me; ſince their Judgements ſtanding at a diſtance from Me, or in jealouſie of Me, or in oppoſition againſt Me, their Spirits cannot ſo harmoniouſly accord with Mine, or Mine with theirs, either in Prayer or other holy Duties, as is meet and moſt comfortable; whoſe golden Rule and bond of Perfection conſiſts in that of mutual Love and Charity.

Some Remedies are worſe then the Diſeaſe, and ſome Comforters more miſerable then Miſery it ſelf: when, like *Job*'s Friends, they ſeek not to fortifie ones minde with Patience, but perſwade a man, by betraying his own Innocency, to deſpair of God's Mercy; and by juſtifying their Injuries, to ſtrengthen the hands and harden the hearts of Inſolent Enemies.

I am

I am ſo much a friend to all Church-men that have any thing in them beſeeming that Sacred Function, that I have hazarded My own Intereſt chiefly upon Conſcience and Conſtancy to maintain their Rights: whom the more I looked upon as Orphans, and under the Sacrilegious eyes of many cruel and rapacious Reformers; the more I thought it my duty to appear as a Father and a Patron for them and the Church. Although I am very unhandſomely requited by ſome of them, who may live to repent no leſs for My Sufferings then their own ungrateful Errors, and that injurious Contempt and Meanneſs which they have brought upon their Calling and Perſons.

I pity all of them, I deſpiſe none: onely I thought I might have leave to make choice of ſome for my ſpecial Attendants, who were beſt approved in My Judgement, and moſt ſutable to My Affection. For I held it better to ſeem undevout, and to hear no mens Prayers, then to be forced, or ſeem to comply with thoſe Petitions to which the Heart cannot conſent, nor the Tongue ſay *Amen*, without contradicting a mans own Underſtanding, or belying his own Soul.

In Devotions I love neither Profane Boldneſs, nor Pious Nonſenſe; but ſuch an humble and judicious Gravity, as ſhews the Speaker to be at once conſiderate of God's Majeſty, the Churches Honor, and his own Vileneſs; both knowing what things God allows him to ask, and in what maner it becomes a Sinner to ſupplicate the Divine Mercy for himſelf and others.

I am equally ſcandalized with all Prayers that ſound either imperiouſly, or rudely, or paſsionately; as either wanting Humility to God, or Charity to men, or Reſpect to the Duty.

I confeſs I am better pleaſed, as with ſtudied and premeditated Sermons, ſo with ſuch publick Forms of Prayer as are fitted to the Churches and every Chriſtians daily and common neceſsities: becauſe I am by them better aſſured what I may joyn my Heart unto, then I can be of any mans Extemporary ſufficiency; which as I do not wholly exclude from publick occaſions, ſo I allow its juſt liberty and uſe in private and devout retirements, where neither the ſolemnity of the Duty, nor the modeſt regard to others, do require ſo great exactneſs as to the outward maner of performance. Though the light of Underſtanding and the fervency of Affection, I hold the main

main and moſt neceſſary requiſites both in conſtant and occaſional, ſolitary and ſocial Devotions.

So that I muſt needs ſeem to all equal mindes, with as much Reaſon to prefer the ſervice of My own Chaplains before that of their Miniſters, as I do the Liturgy before their Directory.

In the one I have been alwaies educated and exerciſed; in the other I am not yet Catechiſed nor acquainted: And if I were, yet ſhould I not by that, as by any certain Rule and Canon of Devotion, be able to follow or finde out the indirect extravagancies of moſt of thoſe men who highly cry up that as a piece of rare compoſure and uſe, which is already as much deſpiſed and diſuſed by many of them, as the Common-prayer ſometimes was by thoſe men, a great part of whoſe piety hung upon that popular pin of railing againſt and contemning the Government and Liturgy of this Church. But I had rather be condemned to the woe of *Væ ſoli*, then to that of *Væ vobis, Hypocritæ*, by ſeeming to pray what I do not approve.

It may be, I am eſteemed by my Deniers ſufficient of My ſelf to diſcharge my Duty to God as a Prieſt, though not to Men as a Prince.

Indeed I think both Offices, Regal and Sacerdotal, might well become the ſame Perſon; as anciently they were under one name, and the united rights of primogeniture: Nor could I follow better precedents, if I were able, then thoſe two eminent Kings, *David* and *Solomon*; not more famous for their Scepters and Crowns, then one was for devout Pſalms and Prayers, the other for his divine Parables and Preaching: whence the one merited and aſſumed the name of a Prophet, the other of a Preacher. Titles indeed of greater honor, where rightly placed, then any of thoſe the Roman Emperors affected from the Nations they ſubdued; it being infinitely more glorious to convert Souls to Gods Church by the Word, then to conquer men to a ſubjection by the Sword.

Yet ſince the order of Gods Wiſdom and Providence hath, for the moſt part, alwaies diſtinguiſhed the gifts and offices of Kings and Prieſts, of Princes and Preachers, both in the Jewiſh and Chriſtian Churches; I am ſorry to finde My ſelf reduced to the neceſsity of being both, or enjoying neither.

For ſuch as ſeek to deprive Me of my Kingly Power & Soveraignty, would

would no leſs enforce Me to live many months without all Prayers, Sacraments and Sermons, unleſs I become My own Chaplain.

As I owe the Clergy the protection of a Chriſtian KING, ſo I deſire to enjoy from them the benefit of their Gifts and Prayers; which I look upon as more prevalent then My own or other mens, by how much they flow from Mindes more enlightned and Affections leſs diſtracted then thoſe which are encumbred with Secular affairs: beſides, I think a greater Bleſsing and acceptableneſs attends thoſe Duties, which are rightly performed, as proper to and within the limits of that calling to which God and the Church have ſpecially deſigned and conſecrated ſome men. And however, as to that Spiritual Government by which the Devout Soul is ſubject to Chriſt, and through his Merits daily offers it ſelf & its ſervices to God, every private believer is a King and a Prieſt, inveſted with the honor of a Royal Prieſthood; yet as to Eccleſiaſtical order and the outward Polity of the Church, I think confuſion in Religion will as certainly follow every mans turning Prieſt or Preacher, as it will in the State where every one affects to rule as King.

I was always bred to more modeſt and, I think, more Pious Principles: The conſciouſneſs to my Spiritual defects makes Me more prize and deſire thoſe Pious aſsiſtances which holy and good Miniſters, either Biſhops or Presbyters, may afford Me; eſpecially in theſe Extremities to which God hath been pleaſed to ſuffer ſome of my Subjects to reduce Me, ſo as to leave them nothing more but my Life to take from Me; and to leave Me nothing to deſire, which I thought might leſs provoke their Jealouſie and offence to deny Me then this, of having ſome means afforded Me for my Souls comfort and ſupport.

To which end I made choice of men, as no way (that I know) ſcandalous, ſo every way eminent for their Learning and Piety, no leſs then for their Loyalty: nor can I imagine any exceptions to be made againſt them but only this, That they may ſeem too able, and too well-affected toward Me and my Service.

But this is not the firſt ſervice (as I count it the beſt) in which they have forced Me to ſerve My ſelf: though I muſt confeſs, I bear with more grief & impatience the want of my Chaplains then of any other my Servants, and next (if not beyond in ſome things) to the being

being ſequeſtred from my Wife and Children; ſince from theſe indeed more of humane and temporary Affections, but from thoſe more of Heavenly and Eternal Improvements may be expected.

My comfort is, that in the enforced (not neglected) want of ordinary means, God is wont to afford extraordinary ſupplies of his Gifts and Graces.

If his Spirit will teach Me, and help my infirmities in Prayer, Reading and Meditation, (as I hope he will) I ſhall need no other either Orator or Inſtructor.

To Thee therefore, O My God, do I direct my now ſolitary Prayers: What I want of others help, ſupply with the more immediate aſſiſtances of thy Spirit, which alone can both enlighten my darkneſs, and quicken my dulneſs.

O thou Sun of Righteouſneſs, thou Sacred Fountain of Heavenly Light and Heat, at once clear and warm my Heart, both by inſtructing of Me, and interceding for Me. In Thee is all Fulneſs, from Thee is all Sufficiency, by Thee is all Acceptance. Thou art company enough, and comfort enough: Thou art my King, be alſo my Prophet and my Prieſt. Rule Me, teach Me, pray in Me, for Me, and be Thou ever with Me.

The ſingle wreſtlings of Jacob *prevailed with Thee in that Sacred Duell, when he had none to ſecond him but Thy ſelf, who didſt aſſiſt him with power to overcome Thee, and by a welcome violence to wreſt a Bleſſing from Thee.*

O look on Me thy Servant in infinite Mercy, whom Thou didſt once bleſs with the joint and ſociated Devotions of others, whoſe fervency might inflame the coldneſs of my Affections towards Thee; when we went to or met in thy Houſe with the Voice of joy and gladneſs, worſhipping Thee in the unity of Spirits and with the bond of Peace.

O forgive the neglect and not improving of thoſe happy Opportunities.

It is now thy pleaſure that I ſhould be as a Pelican in the wilderneſs, as a Sparrow on the houſe top, and as a Coal ſcattered from all thoſe pious glowings and devout reflections which might beſt kindle, preſerve and encreaſe the holy fire of thy Graces on the Altar of my Heart, whence the ſacrifice of Prayers and incenſe of Praiſes might be duly offered up to Thee.

Yet, O Thou that breakeſt not the bruiſed Reed, nor quencheſt the ſmoaking Flax, do not deſpiſe the weakneſs of my Prayers, nor the ſmotherings of my Soul in this uncomfortable loneneſs, to which I am conſtrained

by ſome mens uncharitable denialls of thoſe helps which I much want, and no leſs deſire.

O let the hardneſs of Their Hearts occaſion the ſoftnings of Mine to Thee and for them. Let their Hatred kindle My Love, let their unreaſonable denials of my Religious deſires the more excite my Prayers to Thee. Let their inexorable deafneſs encline thine ear to Me, who art a God eaſie to be entreated: thine Ear is not heavy, that it cannot, nor thy Heart hard, that it will not hear; nor thy Hand ſhortned, that it cannot help Me thy deſolate Suppliant.

Thou permitteſt men to deprive Me of thoſe outward means which Thou haſt appointed in thy Church; but they cannot debar Me from the communion of that inward Grace which Thou alone breatheſt into humble hearts.

O make Me ſuch, and Thou wilt teach Me, Thou wilt hear Me, Thou wilt help Me: the broken and contrite heart, I know, Thou wilt not deſpiſe.

Thou, O Lord, canſt at once make Me thy Temple, thy Prieſt, thy Sacrifice, and thine Altar; while from an humble Heart I (alone) daily offer up in holy Meditations, fervent Prayers, and unfeigned Tears, My ſelf to Thee, who prepareſt Me for Thee, dwelleſt in Me, and accepteſt of Me.

Thou, O Lord, didſt cauſe by ſecret ſupplies and miraculous infuſions, that the handful of Meal in the veſſel ſhould not ſpend, nor the little Oyl in the cruiſe fail the Widow, during the time of drought and dearth.

O look on my Soul, which, as a Widow, is now deſolate and forſaken: let not thoſe ſaving Truths I have formerly learned now fail my memory; nor the ſweet effuſions of thy Spirit, which I have ſometime felt, now be wanting to my Heart in this Famine of ordinary and wholſome food, for the refreſhing of my Soul.

Which yet I had rather chuſe, then to feed from thoſe hands who mingle my bread with aſhes, and my wine with gall, rather tormenting then teaching Me; whoſe mouths are proner to bitter Reproaches of Me, then to hearty Prayers for Me.

Thou knoweſt, O Lord of Truth, how oft they wreſt thy Holy Scriptures to my deſtruction, (which are cleare for their Subjection, and My Preſervation:) O let it not be to their Damnation.

Thou knoweſt how ſome men (under colour of long Prayers) have ſought to devour the houſes of their Brethren, their King, and their God.

O let not thoſe mens Balms break my head, nor their Cordialls oppreſs my heart: I will evermore pray againſt their Wickedneſs.

From

From the poiſon under their tongues, from the ſnares of their lips, from the fire and the ſwords of their words, ever deliver Me, O Lord, and all thoſe Loyal and Religious hearts who deſire and delight in the proſperity of my Soul, and who ſeek by their Prayers to relieve this Sadneſs and Solitude of thy Servant, O my King, and my God.

XXV.

Penitential Meditations and Vows in the KINGS Solitude at *Holdenby*.

GIve ear to my words, O Lord, conſider my Meditation, and hearken to the voice of my cry, my King and my God; for unto Thee will I pray.

I ſaid in mine haſte, I am caſt out of the ſight of thine eyes; nevertheleſs Thou heareſt the voice of my ſupplication, when I cry unto Thee.

If Thou, Lord, ſhouldſt be extream to mark what is done amiſs, who can abide it? But there is Mercy with Thee, that Thou mayeſt be feared; therefore ſhall ſinners fly unto Thee.

I acknowledge my Sins before Thee, which have the aggravation of my Condition; the eminency of my Place adding weight to my Offences.

Forgive, I beſeech Thee, my perſonal and my peoples Sins, which are ſo far Mine, as I have not improved The power thou gaveſt Me to thy Glory and my Subjects good. Thou haſt now brought Me from the glory and freedome of a King, to be a Priſoner to my own Subjects: juſtly, O Lord, as to thy over-ruling hand, becauſe in many things I have rebelled againſt Thee.

Though Thou haſt reſtrained my Perſon, yet enlarge my Heart to Thee, and thy Grace towards Me.

I come far ſhort of David's *Piety; yet ſince I may equal* David's *Afflictions, give Me alſo the Comforts and the ſure Mercies of* David.

Let the penitent ſenſe I have of my Sins be an evidence to Me that Thou haſt pardoned them.

Let not the Evils which I and my Kingdoms have ſuffered ſeem little unto Thee, though Thou haſt not puniſhed us according to our Sins.

Turn Thee (O Lord) unto Me; have mercy upon Me, for I am deſolate and afflicted.

The ſorrows of my Heart are enlarged; O bring Thou Me out of my Troubles.

Haſt Thou forgotten to be gracious, and ſhut up thy loving kindneſs in diſpleaſure?

O remember thy Compaſſions of old, and thy loving kindneſſes which have been for many generations.

I had utterly fainted, if I had not believed to ſee thy Goodneſs in the land of the living.

Let not the ſins of our Proſperity deprive us of the benefit of thy Afflictions.

Let this fiery trial conſume the droſs which in long Peace and Plenty we had contracted.

Though Thou continueſt Miſeries, yet withdraw not thy Grace; what is wanting of Proſperity, make up in Patience and Repentance.

And if thy Anger be not yet to be turned away, but thy hand of Juſtice muſt be ſtretched out ſtill; let it, I beſeech Thee, be againſt Me and my Fathers houſe: as for theſe Sheep what have they done?

Let my Sufferings ſatiate the malice of Mine and thy Churches Enemies.

But let their Cruelty never exceed the meaſure of My Charity.

Baniſh from Me all thoughts of Revenge, that I may not loſe the reward, nor Thou the glory of my Patience.

As Thou giveſt Me a heart to forgive them, ſo I beſeech Thee do Thou forgive what they have done againſt Thee and Me.

And now, O Lord, as Thou haſt given Me an heart to pray unto Thee, ſo hear and accept this Vow which I make before Thee.

If Thou wilt in mercy remember Me and my Kingdoms, in continuing the light of thy Goſpel, and ſetling thy true Religion among us;

In reſtoring to us the benefit of the Laws, and the due execution of Juſtice;

In ſuppreſſing the many Schiſms in Church, and Factions in State:

If Thou wilt reſtore Me and Mine to the ancient Rights and Glory of my Predeceſſors:

If Thou wilt turn the hearts of my People to Thy ſelf in Piety, to Me in Loyalty, and to one another in Charity:

If Thou wilt quench the flames and withdraw the fewel of theſe Civil Wars.

If Thou wilt bleſs us with the freedom of publick Counſels, and deliver the Honor of Parliaments from the inſolency of the Vulgar:

If Thou wilt keep Me from the great offence of enacting any thing againſt my Conſcience; and eſpecially from conſenting to Sacrilegious Rapines and ſpoilings of thy Church:

If

If Thou wilt reſtore Me to a capacity to glorifie Thee, in doing good both to the Church and State ;

Then ſhall my Soul praiſe Thee, and magnifie thy Name before my People :

Then ſhall thy Glory be dearer to Me then my Crowns, and the advancement of true Religion both in purity and power be my chiefeſt care :

Then will I rule my people with Juſtice , and my Kingdoms with Equity.

To thy more immediate hand ſhall I ever owe, as the rightful Succeſſion, ſo the merciful Reſtauration of my Kingdoms, and the glory of them.

If Thou wilt bring Me again with Peace, Safety and Honor, to my chiefeſt City and my Parliament :

If Thou wilt again put the Sword of Juſtice into my hand, to puniſh and protect :

Then will I make all the world to ſee, and my very Enemies to enjoy, the benefit of this Vow and Reſolution of Chriſtian Charity which I now make unto Thee, O Lord.

As I do freely pardon, for Chriſts ſake, thoſe that have offended Me in any kinde ; ſo my hand ſhall never be againſt any man, to revenge what is paſt, in regard of any particular injury done to Me.

We have been mutually puniſhed in our unnatural Diviſions ; for thy ſake, O Lord, and for the love of my Redeemer, have I purpoſed this in my heart, That I will uſe all means in the ways of Amneſtie and Indemnity, which may moſt fully remove all Fears, and bury all Jealouſies in forgetfulneſs.

Let thy Mercies be toward Me and Mine, as my reſolutions of Truth and Peace are toward my People.

Hear my Prayer, O Lord, which goeth not out of feigned lips.

Bleſſed be God, who hath not turned away my Prayer, nor taken his Mercy from Me.

O my Soul, commit thy way to the Lord ; truſt in him, and he ſhall bring it to paſs.

But if Thou wilt not reſtore Me and Mine, what am I that I ſhould charge Thee fooliſhly ?

Thou, O Lord, haſt given, and thou haſt taken ; Bleſſed be thy Name.

May my People and thy Church be happy, if not by Me, yet without Me.

XXVI.

Upon the Armies Surprizal of the KING *at* Holdenby, *and the enſuing Diſtractions in the Two Houſes, the Army, and the City.*

WHat part God will have Me now to act or ſuffer in this new and ſtrange ſcene of affairs I am not much ſolicitous: ſome little practice will ſerve that man who only ſeeks to repreſent a part of Honeſty and Honor.

This ſurprize of Me tells the world, that a KING cannot be ſo low but he is conſiderable, adding weight to that Party where he appears.

This motion, like others of the Times, ſeems eccentrick and irregular, yet not well to be reſiſted or quieted: Better ſwim down ſuch a ſtream, then in vain to ſtrive againſt it.

Theſe are but the ſtruglings of thoſe Twins which lately one Wombe encloſed, the yonger ſtriving to prevail againſt the elder; what the Presbyterians have hunted after, the Independents now ſeek to catch for themſelves.

So impoſsible is it for lines to be drawn from the Center, and not to divide from each other ſo much the wider, by how much they go farther from the point of union.

That the Builders of *Babel* ſhould from Diviſion fall to Confuſion is no wonder; but for thoſe that pretend to build *Jeruſalem* to divide their tongues and hands, is but an ill *omen*, and ſounds too like the fury of thoſe Zealots, whoſe inteſtine bitterneſs and diviſions were the greateſt occaſion of the laſt fatal deſtruction of that City.

Well may I change my Keepers and Priſon, but not my captive Condition; only with this hope of bettering, that thoſe who are ſo much profeſſed Patrons for the Peoples Liberties, cannot be utterly againſt the Liberty of their KING: What they demand for their own Conſciences, they cannot in reaſon deny to Mine.

In

In this they ſeem more ingenuous then the Presbyterian Rigor, who ſometimes complaining of exacting their conformity to Laws, are become the greateſt Exactors of other mens ſubmiſsion to their novel injunctions before they are ſtamped with the Authority of Laws, which they cannot well have without My Conſent.

'Tis a great argument that the Independents think themſelves manumitted from their Rivals ſervice, in that they carry on a buſineſs of ſuch conſequence as the aſſuming my Perſon into the Armies cuſtody, without any Commiſsion but that of their own Will and Power. Such as will thus adventure on a KING, muſt not be thought over-modeſt or timorous to carry on any deſign they have a minde to.

Their next motion menaces and ſcares both the Two Houſes and the City: which ſoon after acting over again that former part of tumultuary motions, (never queſtioned, puniſhed, or repented) muſt now ſuffer for both, and ſee their former Sin in the glaſs of the preſent Terrors and Diſtractions.

No man is ſo blinde as not to ſee herein the hand of Divine Juſtice: they that by Tumults firſt occaſioned the raiſing of Armies, muſt now be chaſtened by their own Army for new Tumults.

So hardly can men be content with one ſin, but adde ſin to ſin, till the latter puniſh the former. Such as were content to ſee Me and many Members of both Houſes driven away by the firſt unſuppreſſed Tumults, are now forced to flie to an Army, or defend themſelves againſt them.

But who can unfold the riddle of ſome mens Juſtice? The Members of both Houſes who at firſt withdrew (as My ſelf was forced to doe) from the rudeneſs of the Tumults, were counted Deſertors, and outed of their Places in Parliament: ſuch as ſtayed then, and enjoyed the benefit of the Tumults, were aſſerted for the only Parliament-men. Now the Fliers from and Forſakers of their Places carry the Parliamentary power along with them, complain highly againſt the Tumults, and vindicate themſelves by an Army: ſuch as remained and kept their ſtations, are looked upon as Abettors of tumultuary inſolencies, and betrayers of the freedom and honor of Parliament.

Thus is Power above all Rule, Order and Law; where men

look more to preſent Advantages then their Conſciences, and the unchangeable rules of Juſtice: while they are Judges of others, they are forced to condemn themſelves.

Now the plea againſt Tumults holds good, the Authors and Abettors of them are guilty of prodigious Inſolencies; whenas before they were counted as Friends and neceſsary Aſsiſtants.

I ſee Vengeance purſues and overtakes (as the Mice and Rats are ſaid to have done a Biſhop in *Germany*) them that thought to have eſcaped, and fortified themſelves moſt impregnably againſt it both by their Multitude and Compliance.

Whom the Laws cannot, God will puniſh by their own Crimes and hands.

I cannot but obſerve this Divine Juſtice, yet with ſorrow and pity; for I always wiſhed ſo well to Parliament and City, that I was ſorry to ſee them doe or ſuffer any thing unworthy ſuch great and conſiderable Bodies in this Kingdom.

I was glad to ſee them onely ſcared and humbled, not broken by that ſhaking: I never had ſo ill a thought of thoſe Cities as to deſpair of their Loyalty to Me; which Miſtakes might eclipſe, but I never believed Malice had quite put out.

I pray God the Storm be yet wholly paſſed over them; upon whom I look, as Chriſt did ſometime over *Jeruſalem*, as objects of my Prayers and Tears, with compaſsionate Grief, foreſeeing thoſe ſeverer ſcatterings which will certainly befall ſuch as wantonly refuſe to be gathered to their Duty: fatal blindneſs frequently attending & puniſhing wilfulneſs, ſo that men ſhall not be able at laſt to prevent their Sorrows, who would not timely repent of their Sins; nor ſhall they be ſuffered to enjoy the Comforts, who ſecurely neglect the Counſels belonging to their Peace. They will finde that Brethren in iniquity are not far from becoming inſolent Enemies; there being nothing harder then to keep ill men long in one minde.

Nor is it poſsible to gain a fair period for thoſe motions which go rather in a round and circle of Fancy, then in a right line of Reaſon tending to the Law, the onely Center of publick conſiſtency; whither I pray God at laſt bring all ſides.

Which will eaſily be done, when we ſhall fully ſee how much more happy we are to be ſubject to the known Laws, then to the

various

various Wills of any men, ſeem they never ſo plauſible at firſt.

Vulgar compliance with any illegal and extravagant ways, like violent motions in Nature, ſoon grows weary of it ſelf, and ends in a refractory ſullenneſs: Peoples rebounds are oft in their faces who firſt put them upon thoſe violent ſtrokes.

For the Army (which is ſo far excuſable as they act according to Souldiers Principles and Intereſts, demanding Pay and Indemnity) I think it neceſſary, in order to the Publick Peace, that they ſhould be ſatisfied as far as is juſt; no man being more prone to conſider them then My ſelf: though they have fought againſt Me, yet I cannot but ſo far eſteem that Valor and Gallantry they have ſometime ſhewed, as to wiſh I may never want ſuch men to maintain My ſelf, my Laws, and my Kingdoms, in ſuch a Peace as wherein they may enjoy their ſhare and proportion as much as any men.

But Thou, O Lord, who art perfect Unity in a Sacred Trinity, in Mercy behold thoſe whom thy Juſtice hath divided.

Deliver Me from the ſtrivings of my People, and make Me to ſee how much they need my Prayers and Pity, who agreed to fight againſt Me, and yet are now ready to fight againſt one another, to the continuance of my Kingdoms Diſtractions.

Diſcover to all ſides the ways of Peace from which they have ſwerved: which conſiſts not in the divided Wills of Parties, but in the joynt and due obſervation of the Laws.

Make Me willing to go whither Thou wilt lead Me by thy Providence; and be Thou ever with Me, that I may ſee thy Conſtancy in the worlds variety and Changes.

Make Me even ſuch as Thou wouldſt have Me, that I may at laſt enjoy that Safety and Tranquillity which Thou alone canſt give Me.

Divert, I pray Thee, O Lord, thy heavy Wrath juſtly hanging over thoſe populous Cities, whoſe Plenty is prone to adde fewel to their Luxury, their Wealth to make them wanton, their Multitudes tempting them to Security, and their Security expoſing them to unexpected Miſeries.

Give them eyes to ſee, hearts to conſider, wills to embrace, and courage to act thoſe things which belong to thy Glory and the publick Peace; leſt their Calamity come upon them as an armed man.

Teach them, that they cannot want Enemies who abound in Sin; nor ſhall they

they be long un-disarmed and un-destroyed, who with a high hand persisting to fight against Thee and the clear convictions of their own Consciences, fight more against themselves then ever they did against Me.

Their Sins exposing them to thy Justice, their Riches to others Injuries, their Number to Tumults, and their Tumults to Confusion.

Though they have with much forwardness helped to destroy Me, yet let not My Fall be their Ruine.

Let Me not so much consider either what they have done or I have suffered, (chiefly at first by them) as to forget to imitate my crucified Redeemer, to plead their Ignorance for their Pardon; and in my dying extremities to pray to Thee, O Father, to forgive them, for they knew not what they did.

The tears they have denied Me in my saddest condition, give them grace to bestow upon themselves; who the less they weep for Me, the more cause they have to weep for themselves.

O let not my Blood be upon them and their Children, whom the Fraud and Faction of some, not the Malice of all, have excited to crucifie Me.

But Thou, O Lord, canst and wilt (as Thou didst my Redeemer) both exalt and perfect Me by my Sufferings, which have more in them of thy Mercy, then of mans Cruelty or thy own Justice.

XXVII.

To the PRINCE *of* Wales.

SON, if these Papers, with some others, wherein I have set down the private reflections of my Conscience, and my most impartial thoughts touching the chief passages which have been most remarkable or disputed in my late Troubles, come to Your hands, to whom they are chiefly design'd, they may be so far useful to You, as to state your Judgement aright in what hath passed; whereof a Pious is the best use can be made: and they may also give You some directions, how to remedy the present Distempers, and prevent (if God will) the like for time to come.

It is some kinde of deceiving and lessening the injury of my long Restraint, when I finde my leisure and Solitude have produced some-

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thing worthy of My ſelf and uſeful to You; that neither You nor any other may hereafter meaſure my Cauſe by the Succeſs, nor my Judgement of things by my Misfortunes: which I count the greater by far, becauſe they have ſo far lighted upon You, and ſome others, whom I have moſt cauſe to love as well as My ſelf, and of whoſe unmerited Sufferings I have a greater ſenſe then of Mine own.

But this advantage of Wiſdome You have above moſt Princes, that You have begun, and now ſpent ſome years of Diſcretion in the experience of Troubles and exerciſe of Patience; wherein Piety, and all Vertues, both Moral and Political, are commonly better planted to a thriving, as Trees ſet in Winter, then in the warmth and ſerenity of times, or amidſt thoſe Delights which uſually attend Princes Courts in times of Peace and Plenty; which are prone either to root up all Plants of true Vertue and Honor, or to be contented onely with ſome Leaves and withering Formalities of them, without any real Fruits, ſuch as tend to the Publick good, for which Princes ſhould always remember they are born, and by Providence deſigned.

The evidence of which different Education the holy Writ affords us in the contemplation of *David* and *Rehoboam*: the one prepared by many Afflictions for a flouriſhing Kingdom; the other ſoftned by the unparallel'd proſperity of *Solomon*'s Court, and ſo corrupted, to the great diminution both for Peace, Honor and Kingdom, by thoſe Flatteries which are as unſeparable from proſperous Princes as Flies are from Fruit in Summer, whom Adverſity, like cold weather, drives away.

I had rather You ſhould be *Charls le Bon* then *le Grand*, Good then Great; I hope God hath deſigned You to be both, having ſo early put You into that exerciſe of his Graces and Gifts beſtowed upon You, which may beſt weed out all vitious inclinations, and diſpoſe You to thoſe Princely Endowments and Employments which will moſt gain the love and intend the welfare of thoſe over whom God ſhall place You.

With God I would have You begin and end, who is King of Kings, the Soveraign Diſpoſer of the Kingdoms of the world, who pulleth down one and ſetteth up another.

The beſt Government and higheſt Soveraignty You can attain to

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is, to be ſubject to Him, that the Scepter of his Word and Spirit may rule in your Heart.

The true Glory of Princes conſiſts in advancing God's Glory, in the maintenance of true Religion and the Churches good; alſo in the diſpenſation of Civil Power with Juſtice and Honor to the publick Peace.

Piety will make You proſperous; at leaſt it will keep You from being miſerable: nor is he much a loſer that loſeth all, yet ſaveth his own Soul at laſt.

To which center of true Happineſs, God (I truſt) hath and will graciouſly direct all theſe black lines of Affliction which he hath been pleaſed to draw on Me, and by which he hath (I hope) drawn Me nearer to Himſelf. You have already taſted of that Cup whereof I have liberally drank, which I look upon as God's Phyſick, having that in Healthfulneſs which it wants in Pleaſure.

Above all, I would have You, as I hope You are already, well grounded and ſetled in your Religion: the beſt Profeſsion of which I have ever eſteemed that of *the Church of England*, in which You have been educated: Yet I would have your own Judgement and Reaſon now ſeal to that ſacred Bond which Education hath written, that it may be judiciouſly your own Religion, and not other mens Cuſtom or Tradition, which You profeſs.

In this I charge You to perſevere, as coming neareſt to God's Word for Doctrine, and to the Primitive examples for Government, with ſome little Amendment, which I have other-where expreſſed, and often offered, though in vain. Your fixation in matters of Religion will not be more neceſſary for your Souls then your Kingdoms Peace, when God ſhall bring You to them.

For I have obſerved, that the Devil of Rebellion doth commonly turn himſelf into an Angel of Reformation, and the old Serpent can pretend new Lights. When ſome mens Conſciences accuſe them for Sedition and Faction, they ſtop its mouth with the name and noiſe of Religion; when Piety pleads for Peace and Patience, they cry out Zeal.

So that unleſs in this point You be well ſetled, You ſhall never want temptations to deſtroy You and Yours, under pretenſions of Reforming matters of Religion; for that ſeems, even to

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worſt men, as the beſt and moſt auſpicious beginning of their worſt Deſigns.

Where beſides the Novelty, which is taking enough with the Vulgar, every one hath an affectation, by ſeeming forward to an outward Reformation of Religion, to be thought Zealous; hoping to cover thoſe Irreligious deformities whereto they are conſcious, by a ſeverity of cenſuring other mens opinions or actions.

Take heed of abetting any Factions, or applying to any publick Diſcriminations in matters of Religion, contrary to what is in your Judgement, and the Church well ſetled. Your partial adhering, as Head, to any one ſide, gains You not ſo great advantages in ſome mens hearts (who are prone to be of their Kings Religion) as it loſeth You in others, who think themſelves and their profeſsion firſt deſpiſed, then perſecuted by You. Take ſuch a courſe as may either with Calmneſs and Charity quite remove the ſeeming differences and offences by impartiality; or ſo order affairs in point of Power, that You ſhall not need to fear or flatter any Faction. For if ever You ſtand in need of them, or muſt ſtand to their courteſie, You are undone: The Serpent will devour the Dove. You may never expect leſs of Loyalty, Juſtice, or Humanity, then from thoſe who engage into Religious Rebellion: Their Intereſt is always made God's; under the colours of Piety ambitious Policies march, not only with greateſt ſecurity, but applauſe, as to the populacy: You may hear from them *Jacob*'s voice, but You ſhall feel they have *Eſau*'s hands.

Nothing ſeemed leſs conſiderable then the Presbyterian Faction in *England* for many years, ſo compliant they were to publick Order: nor indeed was their Party great either in Church or State, as to mens Judgements. But as ſoon as Diſcontents drave men into Sidings, as ill Humors fall to the diſaffected part, which cauſes Inflammations, ſo did all at firſt who affected any Novelties adhere to that Side, as the moſt remarkable and ſpecious note of difference (then) in point of Religion.

All the leſſer Factions at firſt were officious Servants to Presbytery, their great Maſter: till Time and Military ſucceſs diſcovering to each their peculiar Advantages, invited them to part ſtakes, and leaving the joynt ſtock of Uniform Religion, pretended each to drive for

their Party the trade of Profits and Preferments, to the breaking and undoing not onely of the Church and State, but even of Presbytery it ſelf, which ſeemed and hoped at firſt to have ingroſſed all.

Let nothing ſeem little or deſpicable to You in matters which concern Religion and the Churches Peace; ſo as to neglect a ſpeedy reforming and effectual ſuppreſsing Errors and Schiſms, which ſeem at firſt but as a hand-breath, yet by Seditious Spirits, as by ſtrong winds, are ſoon made to cover and darken the whole Heaven.

When You have done Juſtice to God, Your own Soul, & his Church, in the profeſsion and preſervation both of Truth and Unity in Religion; the next main hinge on which your Proſperity will depend & move is that of Civil Juſtice, wherein the ſetled Laws of theſe Kingdoms, to which You are rightly Heir, are the moſt excellent Rules You can govern by: which by an admirable temperament, give very much to Subjects Induſtry, Liberty & Happineſs, & yet reſerve enough to the Majeſty & Prerogative of any King, who owns his People as Subjects, not as Slaves: whoſe Subjection, as it preſerves their Property, Peace & Safety, ſo it will never diminiſh Your Rights, nor their ingenuous Liberties, which conſiſt in the enjoyment of the fruits of their Induſtry, & the benefit of thoſe Laws to which themſelves have conſented.

Never charge your head with ſuch a Crown as ſhall by its heavineſs oppreſs the whole Body; the weakneſs of whoſe parts cannot return any thing of ſtrength, honor or ſafety to the Head, but a neceſſary debilitation and Ruine.

Your Prerogative is beſt ſhewed and exerciſed in remitting, rather then exacting the rigor of the Laws; there being nothing worſe then Legal Tyranny.

In theſe two points, the preſervation of eſtabliſhed Religion and Laws, I may (without vanity) turn the reproach of my Sufferings, as to the worlds cenſure, into the honor of a kinde of Martyrdom, as to the teſtimony of My own Conſcience; the Troublers of my Kingdoms having nothing elſe to object againſt Me but this, That I prefer Religion & Laws eſtabliſht before thoſe Alterations they propounded.

And ſo indeed I do and ever ſhall, till I am convinced by better Arguments then what hitherto have been chiefly uſed towards Me, Tumults, Armies, and Priſons.

I cannot yet learn that Leſſon, nor I hope ever will You, That

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it is safe for a King to gratifie any Faction with the Perturbation of the Laws, in which is wrap'd up the publick Interest and the good of the Community.

How God will deale with Me as to the removal of these Pressures and Indignities, which his Justice by the very unjust hands of some of my Subjects hath been pleased to lay upon Me, I cannot tell: nor am I much solicitous what Wrong I suffer from men, while I retain in my Soul what I believe is right before God.

I have offered all for Reformation and Safety that in Reason, Honor and Conscience I can; reserving only what I cannot consent unto without an irreparable injury to my own Soul, the Church, and my People, and to You also, as the next and undoubted Heir of my Kingdoms.

To which if the Divine Providence, to whom no Difficulties are insuperable, shall in his due time after My decease bring You, as I hope he will, my Counsel and Charge to You is, that You seriously consider the former real or objected Miscarriages which might occasion My Troubles, that You may avoid them.

Never repose so much upon any mans single Counsel, Fidelity, and Discretion, in managing affairs of the first magnitude, (that is, matters of Religion and Justice) as to create in Your self or others a diffidence of Your own Judgement, which is likely to be always more constant and impartial to the interests of your Crown and Kingdom then any mans.

Next, beware of exasperating any Factions by the crosness and asperity of some mens Passions, Humors, or private Opinions, imployed by You, grounded onely upon the differences in lesser matters, which are but the skirts and suburbs of Religion.

Wherein a charitable Connivence and Christian Toleration often disipates their strength whom rougher opposition fortifies, and puts the despised and oppressed Party into such Combinations, as may most enable them to get a full revenge on those they count their Persecutors; who are commonly assisted by that Vulgar commiseration which attends all that are said to suffer under the notion of Religion.

Provided the Differences amount not to an insolent opposition

of Laws and Government, or Religion eſtabliſhed, as to the eſſentials of them: Such motions and minings are intolerable.

Always keep up ſolid Piety, and thoſe Fundamental Truths which mend both hearts and lives of men, with impartial Favor and Juſtice.

Take heed that outward circumſtances and formalities of Religion devour not all or the beſt incouragements of Learning, Induſtry and Piety; but with an equall eye and impartial hand diſtribute favors and rewards to all men, as You finde them for their real Goodneſs, both in Abilities and Fidelity, worthy and capable of them.

This will be ſure to gain You the hearts of the beſt, and the moſt too; who, though they be not good themſelves, yet are glad to ſee the ſeverer ways of Vertue at any time ſweetned by temporall rewards.

I have, You ſee, conflicted with different and oppoſite Factions; (for ſo I muſt needs call and count all thoſe that act not in any conformity to the Laws eſtabliſhed in Church and State:) No ſooner have they by force ſubdued what they counted their Common Enemy, (that is, all thoſe that adhered to the Laws and to Me) and are ſecured from that fear, but they are divided to ſo high a rivalty, as ſets them more at defiance againſt each other then againſt their firſt Antagoniſts.

Time will diſsipate all Factions, when once the rough horns of private mens covetous and ambitious deſigns ſhall diſcover themſelves, which were at firſt wrap'd up and hidden under the ſoft and ſmooth pretenſions of Religion, Reformation, and Liberty. As the Wolfe is not leſs cruell, ſo he will be more juſtly hated, when he ſhall appear no better then a Wolfe under Sheeps cloathing.

But as for the ſeduced Train of the Vulgar, who in their ſimplicity follow thoſe diſguiſes, My charge and counſel to You is, That as You need no palliations for any deſigns, (as other men) ſo that You ſtudy really to exceed (in true and conſtant demonſtrations of Goodneſs, Piety and Vertue, towards the People) even all thoſe men that make the greateſt noiſe and oſtentations of Religion: ſo You ſhall neither fear any detection, (as they do who have but the face and mask of Goodneſs;) nor ſhall You fruſtrate

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the juſt expectations of your People, who cannot in reaſon promiſe themſelves ſo much good from any Subjects Novelties, as from the vertuous Conſtancy of their King.

When theſe mountains of congealed Factions ſhall by the Sunſhine of Gods Mercy and the ſplendor of Your Vertues be thawed and diſsipated, and the abuſed Vulgar ſhall have learned, that none are greater Oppreſſors of their Eſtates, Liberties and Conſciences, then thoſe men that entitle themſelves the Patrons and Vindicators of them, onely to uſurp power over them; let then no Paſsion betray You to any ſtudy of Revenge upon thoſe whoſe own Sin and Folly will ſufficiently puniſh them in due time.

But as ſoon as the forked arrow of factious Emulations is drawn out, uſe all Princely arts and Clemency to heal the Wounds; that the ſmart of the Cure may not equal the anguiſh of the Hurt.

I have offered Acts of Indemnity and Oblivion to ſo great a latitude, as may include all that can but ſuſpect themſelves to be any way obnoxious to the Laws; and which might ſerve to exclude all future Jealouſies and Inſecurities.

I would have You always propenſe to the ſame way; whenever it ſhall be deſired and accepted, let it be granted, not only as an Act of State-policy and Neceſsity, but of Chriſtian Charity and Choice.

It is all I have now left Me, a power to forgive thoſe that have deprived Me of all; and I thank God I have a heart to doe it, and joy as much in this Grace which God hath given Me, as in all my former enjoyments; for this is a greater argument of God's love to Me then any Proſperity can be.

Be confident (as I am) that the moſt of all ſides who have done amiſs, have done ſo not out of Malice, but Miſ-information, or Miſapprehenſion of things.

None will be more loyal and faithful to Me and You then thoſe Subjects, who ſenſible of their Errors and our Injuries, will feel in their own Souls moſt vehement motives to Repentance, and earneſt deſires to make ſome reparations for their former defects.

As Your quality ſets You beyond any Duel with any Subject; ſo the Nobleneſs of your Mind muſt raiſe You above the meditating any Revenge, or executing your Anger upon the many.

The more conſcious You ſhall be to Your own Merits upon your

People, the more prone You will be to expect all Love and Loyalty from them, and to inflict no Punishment upon them for former Miscarriages: You will have more inward complacency in Pardoning one then in Punishing a thousand.

This I write to You, not despairing of God's Mercy and my Subjects affections towards You; both which I hope You will study to deserve, yet we cannot merit of God but by his own Mercy.

If God shall see fit to restore Me, and You after Me, to those enjoyments which the Laws have assigned to Us, and no Subjects without an high degree of Guilt and Sin can devest Us of; then may I have better opportunity, when I shall be so happy to see You in Peace, to let You more fully understand the things that belong to God's Glory, Your own Honor, and the Kingdoms Peace.

But if You never see my face again, and God will have Me buried in such a barbarous Imprisonment and Obscurity, (which the perfecting some mens Designs requires) wherein few hearts that love Me are permitted to exchange a word or a look with Me; I do require and entreat You as your Father and your KING, that You never suffer your heart to receive the least check against or disaffection from the true Religion established in the Church of *England*.

I tell You, I have tried it, and after much search and many disputes, have concluded it to be the best in the world; not onely in the Community, as Christian, but also in the special notion, as Reformed; keeping the middle way, between the pomp of Superstitious Tyranny, and the meanness of Fantastick Anarchy.

Not but that (the draught being excellent as to the main, both for Doctrine and Government, in the Church of *England*) some lines, as in very good Figures, may haply need some sweetning or polishing; which might here have easily been done by a safe and gentle hand, if some mens Precipitancy had not violently demanded such rude Alterations as would have quite destroyed all the Beauty and Proportions of the whole.

The scandal of the late Troubles, which some may object and urge to You against the Protestant Religion established in *England*, is easily answered to them or Your own thoughts in this, That scarce any one who hath been a Beginner, or an active Prosecutor of this late War against the Church, the Laws and Me, either was

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or is a true Lover, Embracer, or Practiſer of the Proteſtant Religion eſtabliſhed in *England*: which neither gives ſuch Rules, nor ever before ſet ſuch Examples.

'Tis true, ſome heretofore had the boldneſs to preſent threatning Petitions to their Princes and Parliaments, which others of the ſame Faction (but of worſe Spirits) have now put in execution. But let not counterfeit and diſorderly Zeale abate your value and eſteem of true Piety: both of them are to be *known by their fruits*. The ſweetneſs of the Vine and Fig-tree is not to be deſpiſed, though the Brambles and Thorns ſhould pretend to bear Figs and Grapes, thereby to rule over the Trees.

Nor would I have you to entertain any averſation or diſlike of Parliaments; which in their right conſtitution, with Freedom and Honor, will never injure or diminiſh your Greatneſs; but will rather be as interchangings of Love, Loyalty and Confidence between a Prince and his People.

Nor would the events of this Black Parliament have been other then ſuch (however much biaſſed by Factions in the Elections) if it had been preſerved from the Inſolencies of Popular dictates and Tumultuary impreſsions: The ſad effects of which will, no doubt, make all Parliaments after this more cautious to preſerve that Freedom and Honor which belongs to ſuch Aſſemblies (when once they have fully ſhaken off this yoke of Vulgar encroachment,) ſince the Publick Intereſt conſiſts in the mutual and common good both of Prince and People.

Nothing can be more happy for all, then in fair, grave and honorable ways to contribute their Counſells in common, enacting all things by publick conſent, without Tyranny or Tumults. We muſt not ſtarve our ſelves, becauſe ſome men have ſurfeited of wholeſome food.

And if neither I nor You be ever reſtored to Our rights, but God in his ſevereſt Juſtice will puniſh my Subjects with continuance in their Sin, and ſuffer them to be deluded with the proſperity of their Wickedneſs; I hope God will give Me and You that grace, which will teach and enable Us to want as well as to wear a Crown, which is not worth taking up or enjoying upon ſordid, diſhonorable and irreligious terms.

Keep You to true Principles of Piety, Vertue and Honor, You ſhall never want a Kingdom.

A Principal point of your Honor will conſiſt in your conferring all Reſpect, Love and Protection on Your Mother, My Wife; who hath many ways deſerved well of Me, and chiefly in this, that (having been a means to bleſs Me with ſo many hopeful Children, all which, with their Mother, I recommend to your Love and Care) She hath been content, with incomparable Magnanimity and Patience, to ſuffer both for and with Me and You.

My Prayer to God Almighty is, (whatever becomes of Me, who am, I thank God, wrapt up and fortified in My own Innocency and his Grace) that he would be pleaſed to make You an Anchor, or Harbor rather, to theſe toſſed and weather-beaten Kingdoms; a Repairer, by your Wiſedom, Juſtice, Piety and Valor, of what the Folly and Wickedneſs of ſome men have ſo far ruined, as to leave nothing intire in Church or State, to the Crown, the Nobility, the Clergy or the Commons, either as to Laws, Liberties, Eſtates, Order, Honor, Conſcience, or Lives.

When they have deſtroyed Me (for I know not how far God may permit the Malice and Cruelty of my Enemies to proceed, and ſuch apprehenſions ſome mens words and actions have already given Me) as I doubt not but my Blood will cry aloud for Vengeance to Heaven; ſo I beſeech God not to pour out his Wrath upon the generality of the People, who have either deſerted Me, or ingaged againſt Me, through the artifice and hypocriſie of their Leaders, whoſe inward Horror will be their firſt Tormentor, nor will they eſcape exemplary Judgements.

For thoſe that loved Me, I pray God they may have no miſs of Me when I am gone; ſo much I wiſh and hope that all good Subjects may be ſatisfied with the Bleſsings of your Preſence and Vertues.

For thoſe that repent of any defects in their Duty toward Me, as I freely forgive them in the word of a Chriſtian King; ſo I believe You will finde them truly zealous to repay with intereſt that Loyalty and Love to You which was due to Me.

In ſumme, what Good I intended, do You perform, when God ſhall give You Power. Much Good I have offered, more I purpoſed

purpoſed to Church and State, if Times had been capable of it.

The deception will ſoon vaniſh, and the Vizards will fall off apace: This mask of Religion on the face of Rebellion (for ſo it now plainly appears, ſince my Reſtraint and cruel Uſage, that they fought not for Me, as was pretended) will not long ſerve to hide ſome mens Deformities.

Happy times, I hope, attend You, wherein your Subjects (by their Miſeries) will have learned, *That Religion to their God and Loyalty to their King cannot be parted without both their Sin and their Infelicity.*

I pray God bleſs You, and eſtabliſh your Kingdoms in Righteouſneſs, your Soul in true Religion, and your Honor in the Love of God and your People.

And if God will have Diſloyalty perfected by My Deſtruction, let my Memory ever with my Name live in You, as of your Father that loves You, and once a KING of Three flouriſhing Kingdomes; whom God thought fit to honor not onely with the Scepter and Government of them, but alſo with the ſuffering many Indignities and an untimely Death for them, while I ſtudied to preſerve the rights of the Church, the power of the Laws, the honor of my Crown, the Privilege of Parliaments, the Liberties of my People, and My own Conſcience; which, I thank God, is dearer to Me then a thouſand Kingdoms.

I know God can, I hope he yet will reſtore Me to my Rights: I cannot deſpair either of his Mercy, or of my Peoples Love and Pity.

At worſt, I truſt I ſhall but go before You to a better Kingdom, which God hath prepared for Me, and Me for it, through my Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, to whoſe Mercies I commend You and all Mine.

Farewel, till We meet, if not on Earth, yet in Heaven.

XXVIII.

Meditations upon Death, after the Votes of Non-Addreſſes, and his MAJESTIES cloſer Impriſonment in Carisbrook Caſtle.

AS I have leiſure enough, ſo I have cauſe more then enough to meditate upon, and prepare for my Death; for I know there are but few ſteps between the Priſons and Graves of Princes.

It is God's indulgence which gives Me the ſpace, but Mans Cruelty that gives Me the ſad occaſions for theſe thoughts.

For, beſides the common burthen of Mortality, which lies upon Me as a Man, I now bear the heavy load of other mens Ambitions, Fears, Jealouſies, and cruel Paſsions, whoſe Envy or Enmity againſt Me makes their own lives ſeem deadly to them, while I enjoy any part of Mine.

I thank God, my Proſperity made Me not wholly a ſtranger to the contemplations of Mortality: Thoſe are never unſeaſonable, ſince this is alwaies uncertain: Death being an Eclipſe which oft happeneth as well in clear as cloudy days.

But my now long and ſharp Adverſity hath ſo reconciled in Me thoſe natural Antipathies between Life and Death which are in all men, that, I thank God, the common terrors of it are diſpelled, and the ſpecial horror of it as to My particular much allayed: for although my Death at preſent may juſtly be repreſented to Me with all thoſe terrible aggravations which the policy of Cruel and Implacable enemies can put upon it (affairs being drawn to the very dregs of Malice;) yet, I bleſs God, I can look upon all thoſe ſtings as unpoiſonous, though ſharp, ſince my Redeemer hath either pulled them out, or given Me the Antidote of his Death againſt them; which as to the Immaturity, Unjuſtice, Shame, Scorn and Cruelty of it, exceeded whatever I can fear.

Indeed, I never did find ſo much the Life of Religion, the Feaſt

of

of a good Conſcience, and the brazen wall of a judicious Integrity and Conſtancy, as ſince I came to theſe cloſer conflicts with the thoughts of Death.

I am not ſo old as to be weary of Life; nor (I hope) ſo bad as to be either afraid to dye, or aſhamed to live: true, I am ſo afflicted, as might make Me ſometime even deſire to dye; if I did not conſider, that it is the greateſt glory of a Chriſtians life to *dye daily*, in conquering, by a lively Faith and patient Hopes of a better life, thoſe partial and quotidian deaths which kill us (as it were) by piecemeals, and make us overlive our own fates; while we are deprived of Health, Honor, Liberty, Power, Credit, Safety or Eſtate, and thoſe other Comforts of deareſt relations, which are as the Life of our lives.

Though, as a KING, I think My ſelf to live in nothing temporal ſo much as in the Love and good will of my People; for which as I have ſuffered many deaths, ſo I hope I am not in that point as yet wholly dead: notwithſtanding my Enemies have uſed all the poiſon of Falſity and violence of Hoſtility to deſtroy, firſt the Love and Loyalty which is in my Subjects, and then all that content of Life in Me which from theſe I chiefly enjoyed.

Indeed, they have left Me but little of Life, and onely the husk and ſhel (as it were) which their further Malice and Cruelty can take from Me; having bereaved Me of all thoſe worldly Comforts for which Life it ſelf ſeems deſirable to men.

But, O my Soul, think not that Life too long or tedious wherein God gives Thee any opportunities, if not to doe, yet to ſuffer with ſuch Chriſtian Patience and Magnanimity in a good Cauſe, as are the greateſt Honor of our Lives, and the beſt improvement of our Deaths.

I know that in point of true Chriſtian Valor it argues Puſillanimity to deſire to dye out of wearineſs of life, and a want of that heroick greatneſs of ſpirit which becomes a Chriſtian, in the patient and generous ſuſtaining thoſe Afflictions which as ſhadows neceſſarily attend us while we are in this Body, and which are leſſened or enlarged as the Sun of our Proſperity moves higher or lower; whoſe total abſence is beſt recompenced with the dew of Heaven.

The aſſaults of Affliction may be terrible, like *Sampſon's* Lion, but

but they yield much ſweetneſs to thoſe that dare to encounter and overcome them; who know how to overlive the witherings of their Gourds without diſcontent or peeviſhneſs, while they may yet converſe with God.

That I muſt dye as a Man is certain: that I may dye a King by the hands of my own Subjects, a violent, ſudden and barbarous death, in the ſtrength of my years, in the midſt of my Kingdoms, my Friends and loving Subjects being helpleſs Spectators, my Enemies inſolent Revilers and Triumphers over Me, living, dying, and dead, is ſo probable in humane reaſon, that God hath taught Me not to hope otherwiſe as to mans Cruelty; however I deſpair not of God's infinite Mercy.

I know my Life is the object of the Devils and Wicked mens Malice; but yet under God's ſole cuſtody and diſpoſal: whom I do not think to flatter for longer Life, by ſeeming prepared to die; but I humbly deſire to depend upon him, and to ſubmit to his will both in life and death, in what order ſoever he is pleaſed to lay them out to Me.

I confeſs it is not eaſie for Me to contend with thoſe many horrors of Death wherewith God ſuffers Me to be tempted; which are equally horrid either in the ſuddenneſs of a barbarous Aſſaſsination, or in thoſe greater formalities whereby my Enemies (being more ſolemnly cruel) will, it may be, ſeek to adde (as thoſe did who crucified Chriſt) the Mockery of Juſtice to the Cruelty of Malice. That I may be deſtroyed, as with greater Pomp and artifice, ſo with leſs Pity, it will be but a neceſſary policy, to make my Death appear as an act of Juſtice done by Subjects upon their Soveraign; who know that no Law of God or Man inveſts them with any power of Judicature without Me, much leſs againſt Me; and who, being ſworn and bound by all that is Sacred before God and Man to endeavor my Preſervation, muſt pretend Juſtice to cover their Perjury.

It is, indeed, a ſad fate for any man to have his Enemies to be his Accuſers, Parties and Judges; but moſt deſperate, when this is acted by the inſolence of Subjects againſt their Soveraign; wherein thoſe who have had the chiefeſt hand and are moſt guilty of contriving the publick Troubles, muſt by ſhedding My Blood ſeem to waſh their own hands of that innocent blood whereof they are now moſt evi-

dently

dently guilty before God and man, and, I believe, in their own Conſciences too; while they carried on unreaſonable demands, firſt by Tumults, after by Armies. Nothing makes mean ſpirits more cowardly-cruel in managing their uſurped power againſt their lawful Superiors then this, the *Guilt of their unjuſt Uſurpation*; notwithſtanding thoſe ſpecious and popular pretenſions of Juſtice againſt Delinquents, applied onely to diſguiſe at firſt the monſtrouſneſs of their deſigns, who deſpaired, indeed, of poſſeſsing the power and profits of the Vineyard, till the Heir, whoſe right it is, be caſt out and ſlain.

With them my greateſt Fault muſt be, that I would not either deſtroy My ſelf, with the Church and State, by my Word, or not ſuffer them to doe it unreſiſted by the Sword; whoſe covetous Ambition no Conceſsions of Mine could ever yet either ſatisfie or abate.

Nor is it likely they will ever think that Kingdom of Brambles, which ſome men ſeek to erect (at once, weak, ſharp, and fruitleſs either to God or man) is like to thrive, till watered with the Royal Blood of thoſe whoſe right the Kingdom is.

Well, God's will be done; I doubt not but my Innocency will finde him both my Protector and my Advocate, who is my onely Judge, whom I own as King of Kings; not onely for the eminency of his Power and Majeſty above them, but alſo for that ſingular Care and Protection which he hath over them; who knows them to be expoſed to as many Dangers (being the greateſt Patrons of Law, Juſtice, Order, and Religion on Earth) as there be either Men or Devils which love Confuſion.

Nor will he ſuffer thoſe men long to proſper in their *Babel*, who build it with the Bones, and cement it with the Blood of their KINGS.

I am confident they will finde Avengers of my Death among themſelves: the Injuries I have ſuſtained from them, ſhall be firſt puniſhed by them, who agreed in nothing ſo much as in oppoſing Me.

Their impatience to bear the loud cry of my Blood, ſhall make them think no way better to expiate it then by ſhedding theirs who with them moſt thirſted after Mine.

The ſad Confuſions following my Deſtruction are already preſaged and confirmed to Me by thoſe I have lived to ſee ſince my Trou-

bles, in which God alone (who onely could) hath many ways pleaded my Cauſe; not ſuffering them to go unpuniſhed whoſe Confederacy in Sin was their onely Security; who have cauſe to fear that God will both further divide, and by mutuall Vengeance afterward deſtroy them.

My greateſt conqueſt of Death is from the Power and Love of Chriſt, who hath ſwallow'd up Death in the Victory of his Reſurrection and the glory of his Aſcenſion.

My next Comfort is, that he gives Me not onely the honor to imitate his Example *in ſuffering for Righteouſneſs ſake*, (though obſcured by the fouleſt charges of Tyranny and Injuſtice) but alſo that Charity, which is the nobleſt Revenge upon and Victory over my Deſtroyers; by which, I thank God, I can both forgive them, and pray for them, that God would not impute my Blood to them, further then to convince them what need they have of Chriſts Blood to waſh their Souls from the guilt of ſhedding Mine.

At preſent, the Will of my Enemies ſeems to be their onely rule, their Power the meaſure, and their Succeſs the exactor of what they pleaſe to call Juſtice; while they flatter themſelves with the fancy of their own Safety by My Danger, and the ſecurity of their Lives and Deſigns by My Death: forgetting, that as the greateſt temptations to Sin are wrapped up in ſeeming Proſperities, ſo the ſevereſt Vengeances of God are then moſt accompliſhed when men are ſuffered to compleat their wicked purpoſes.

I bleſs God, I pray not ſo much that this bitter cup of a Violent Death may paſs from Me, as that of his Wrath may paſs from all thoſe whoſe hands by deſerting Me are ſprinkled, or by acting and conſenting to my Death are embrued with my Blood.

The will of God hath confined and concluded Mine; I ſhall have the pleaſure of dying, without any pleaſure of deſired Vengeance.

This I think becomes a Chriſtian toward his Enemies, and a King toward his Subjects.

They cannot deprive Me of more then I am content to loſe, when God ſees fit by their hands to take it from Me; whoſe Mercy, I believe, will more then infinitely recompence whatever by mans Injuſtice he is pleaſed to deprive me of.

The

The glory attending my Death will far ſurpaſs all I could enjoy or conceive in Life.

I ſhall not want the heavy and envied Crowns of this world, when my God hath mercifully crowned and conſummated his Graces with Glory, and exchanged the ſhadows of my Earthly Kingdoms among men, for the ſubſtance of that Heavenly Kingdom with Himſelf.

For the cenſures of the world, I know the ſharp and neceſſary Tyranny of my Deſtroyers will ſufficiently confute the Calumnies of Tyranny againſt Me: I am perſwaded I am happy in the judicious Love of the ableſt and beſt of my Subjects, who do not onely pity and pray for Me, but would be content even to die with Me or for Me.

Theſe know how to excuſe my Failings as a man, and yet to retain and pay their Duty to Me as their KING; there being no Religious neceſsity binding any Subjects, by pretending to puniſh, infinitely to exceed the faults and errors of their Princes, eſpecially there where more then ſufficient Satisfaction hath been made to the publick; the enjoyment of which private Ambitions have hitherto fruſtrated.

Others, I believe, of ſofter tempers, and leſs advantaged by my Ruine, do already feel ſharp Convictions, and ſome remorſe in their Conſciences; where they cannot but ſee the proportions of their evil dealings againſt Me in the meaſure of God's retaliations upon them, who cannot hope long to enjoy their own thumbs and toes, having under pretence of paring others nails been ſo cruel as to cut off their chiefeſt ſtrength.

The puniſhment of the more inſolent and obſtinate may be like that of *Korah* and his Complices (at once mutining againſt both Prince and Prieſt) in ſuch a method of Divine Juſtice as is not ordinary; the Earth of the loweſt and meaneſt People opening upon them, and ſwallowing them up in a juſt diſdain of their ill-gotten and worſe-uſed Authority, upon whoſe ſupport and ſtrength they chiefly depended for their building and eſtabliſhing their Deſigns againſt Me, the Church, and State.

My chiefeſt comfort in Death conſiſts in my Peace which, I truſt, is made with God; before whoſe exact Tribunal I ſhall not fear to

appear as to the Cauſe ſo long diſputed by the Sword between Me and my cauſleſs Enemies: where I doubt not but his Righteous Judgement will confute their Fallacy, who from worldly Succeſs (rather like Sophiſters then ſound Chriſtians) draw thoſe popular Concluſions for God's Approbation of their actions; whoſe wiſe Providence (we know) oft permits many events which his revealed Word (the onely clear, ſafe and fixed Rule of good Actions and good Conſciences) in no ſort approves.

I am confident, the Juſtice of my Cauſe and Clearneſs of my Conſcience before God and toward my People will carry Me as much above them in God's deciſion, as their Succeſſes have lifted them above Me in the Vulgar opinion: who conſider not that many times thoſe undertakings of men are lifted up to Heaven in the proſperity and applauſe of the world, whoſe riſe is from Hell as to the Injuriouſneſs and Oppreſsion of the Deſign. The proſperous winds which oft fill the ſails of Pirats, do not juſtifie their Piracy and Rapine.

I look upon it with infinite more content and quiet of Soul, to have been worſted in my enforced Conteſtation for and Vindication of the Laws of the Land, the Freedom and Honor of Parliaments, the Rights of my Crown, the juſt Liberty of my Subjects, and the true Chriſtian Religion in its Doctrine, Government and due Encouragements, then if I had with the greateſt advantages of Succeſs over-born them all; as ſome men have now evidently done, what-ever Deſigns they at firſt pretended.

The Prayers and Patience of my Friends and loving Subjects will contribute much to the ſweetning of this bitter Cup, which I doubt not but I ſhall more cheerfully take, and drink as from God's hand, (if it muſt be ſo) then they can give it to Me whoſe hands are unjuſtly and barbarouſly lifted up againſt Me.

And as to the laſt event I may ſeem to owe more to my Enemies then my Friends; while thoſe will put a period to the Sins and Sorrows attending this miſerable Life, wherewith theſe deſire I might ſtill contend.

I ſhall be more then Conqueror through Chriſt enabling Me, for whom I have hitherto ſuffered, as he is the Author of Truth, Order and Peace; for all which I have been forced to contend againſt Error, Faction and Confuſion.

If

If I muſt ſuffer a Violent Death, with my Saviour, it is but Mortality crowned with Martyrdom: where the debt of Death which I owe for Sin to Nature, ſhall be raiſed as a gift of Faith and Patience offered to God.

Which I humbly beſeech him mercifully to accept: and although Death be the wages of My own Sin as from God, and the effect of others Sins as men, both againſt God and Me; yet as I hope My own Sins are ſo remitted that they ſhall be no ingredients to imbitter the cup of my Death, ſo I deſire God to pardon their Sins who are moſt guilty of my Deſtruction.

The Trophees of my Charity will be more glorious and durable over them, then their ill-managed Victories over Me.

Though their Sin be proſperous, yet they had need to be penitent, that they may be pardoned. Both which I pray God they may obtain; that my Temporal Death unjuſtly inflicted by them may not be revenged by God's juſt inflicting Eternal Death upon them: for I look upon the Temporal Deſtruction of the greateſt King as far leſs deprecable then the Eternal Damnation of the meaneſt Subject.

Nor do I wiſh other then the ſafe bringing of the Ship to ſhore, when they have caſt Me over-board: though it be very ſtrange, that Mariners can find no other means to appeaſe the Storm themſelves have raiſed, but by drowning their Pilot.

I thank God, my Enemies Cruelty cannot prevent my Preparation; whoſe Malice in this I ſhall defeat, that they ſhall not have the ſatisfaction to have deſtroyed my Soul with my Body: of whoſe Salvation while ſome of them have themſelves ſeemed and taught others to deſpair, they have onely diſcovered this, that they do not much deſire it.

Whoſe uncharitable and cruel Reſtraints, denying Me even the aſſiſtance of any of my Chaplains, hath rather enlarged then any way obſtructed my acceſs to the Throne of Heaven.

Where Thou dwelleſt, O King of Kings, who filleſt Heaven and Earth, who art the fountain of Eternal Life, in whom is no ſhadow of Death.

Thou, O God, art both the juſt Inflicter of Death upon us, and the merciful Saviour of us in it and from it.

THE
PAPERS
WHICH PASSED BETWIXT
HIS SACRED MAJESTIE
AND
Mr *ALEXANDER HENDERSON*
CONCERNING THE CHANGE
OF CHURCH-GOVERNMENT,
AT *NEWCASTLE*,
MDCXLVI.

MDCLXI.

I.

His MAJESTIES First Paper.

For Mr Alexander Henderſon.

Mr *Henderſon,*

I Know very well what a great diſadvantage it is for Me, to maintain an Argument of Divinity with ſo able and learned a man as your ſelf, it being your, not My profeſſion; which really was the cauſe that made Me deſire to hear ſome learned man argue my Opinion with you, of whoſe Abilities I might be confident, that I ſhould not be led into an Errour, for want of having all which could be ſaid layed open unto Me. For indeed my humour is ſuch, that I am ſtill partial for that ſide which I imagine ſuffers for the weakneſs of thoſe that maintain it; alwaies thinking that equal Champions would caſt the balance on the other part. Yet ſince that you (thinking that it will ſave time) deſire to goe another way, I ſhall not conteſt with you in it, but treating you as my Phyſician, give you leave to take your own way of cure: onely I thought fit to warn you, leſt if you (not I) ſhould be miſtaken in this, you would be fain (in a manner) to begin anew.

Then know, that from my Infancy I was bleſt with the King my Fathers love, which, I thank God, was an invaluable Happineſs to me all his daies: and among all his cares for my Education, his chief was, to ſettle Me right in Religion; in the true Knowledge of which He made Himſelf ſo eminent to all the World, that I am ſure none can call in queſtion the brightneſs of his Fame in that particular, without ſhewing their own ignorant baſe Malice. He it was who laid in Me the grounds of Chriſtianity, which to this day I have been conſtant in. So that whether the Worthineſs of my Inſtructor be conſidered, or the not few years that I have been ſetled in my Principles; it ought to be no ſtrange thing, if it be found no eaſie work to make Me alter them: and the rather, that hitherto I have (according to Saint Paul's *rule* Rom. 14. 22.) *been happy in* Not condemning my ſelf in that thing which I allow. *Thus having ſhewed you How, it remains to tell you What I believe, in relation to theſe preſent miſerable Diſtractions.*

No

No one thing made Me more reverence the Reformation of my Mother, the Church of England, *then that it was done (according to the* Apoſtles *defence,* Acts 24. 18.) neither with multitude nor with tumult, *but legally and orderly, and by thoſe whom I conceive to have the Reforming power; which, with many other inducements, made Me alwaies confident that the work was very perfect as to Eſſentials; of which number* Church-Government *being undoubtedly one, I put no queſtion, but that would have been likewiſe altered if there had been cauſe. Which opinion of Mine was ſoon turned into more then a confidence, when I perceived that in this particular (as I muſt ſay of all the reſt) we retained nothing, but according as it was deduced from the Apoſtles to be the conſtant univerſal cuſtome of the Primitive Church; and that it was of ſuch conſequence, as by the alteration of it we ſhould deprive our ſelves of a lawfull Prieſthood; and then, how the Sacraments can be duly adminiſtred, is eaſie to judge. Theſe are the principall Reaſons which make Me believe that Biſhops are neceſſary for a Church, and, I think, ſufficient for Me (if I had no more) not to give my conſent for their expulſion out of* England. *But I have another obligation, that to My particular is a no leſs tie of Conſcience, which is, my* Coronation Oath. *Now if (as* S. Paul *ſaith,* Rom. 14. 23.) He that doubteth is damned if he eat, *what can I expect, if I ſhould not onely give way knowingly to my Peoples ſinning, but likewiſe be perjured My ſelf?*

Now conſider, ought I not to keep My ſelf from preſumptuous ſins? *and you know who ſaies,* What doth it profit a man though he ſhould gain the whole World, and loſe his own Soul? *Wherefore my conſtant maintenance of* Epiſcopacy *in* England (*where there was never any other Government ſince Chriſtianity was in this Kingdom*) *methinks, ſhould be rather commended then wondred at; my Conſcience directing Me to maintain the Laws of the Land: which being onely my endeavours at this time, I deſire to know of you,* what warrant there is in the Word of God, for Subjects to endeavour to force their Kings Conſcience, or to make him alter Laws againſt his will. *If this be not My preſent caſe, I ſhall be glad to be miſtaken; or if my Judgement in Religion hath been miſled all this time, I ſhall be willing to be better directed: till when you muſt excuſe Me, to be conſtant to the Grounds which the* King my Father *taught Me.*

Newcaſtle, May 29. 1646. C. R.

II.

Mr. Alexander Henderſon's Firſt Paper.

For His MAJESTIE.

SIR,

IT is your Majeſties Royall Goodneſs, and not my merit, that hath made Your Majeſty to conceive any opinion of my Abilities; which (were they worthy of the ſmalleſt teſtimony from Your Majeſty) ought in all duty to be improved for Your Majeſties ſatisfaction. And this I intended in my coming here at this time, by a free, yet modeſt, expreſsion of the true motives and inducements which drew my mind to the diſlike of Epiſcopall Government, wherein I was bred in my younger years in the Univerſity. Like as I did apprehend that it was not Your Majeſties purpoſe to have the Queſtion diſputed by Divines on both ſides; which I would never (to the wronging of the Cauſe) have undertaken alone, and which ſeldom or never hath proved an effectuall way for finding of Truth, or moving the minds of men to relinquiſh their former Tenents, *Dum res tranſit à judicio in affectum*; witneſs the Polemicks between the Papiſts and us, and among our ſelves about the matter now in hand, theſe many yeares paſt.

1. SIR, when I conſider Your Majeſties Education under the hand of ſuch a Father, the length of time wherein Your Majeſty hath been ſetled in Your Principles of Church-Government, the Arguments which have continually in private and publick, eſpecially of late at *Oxford*, filled Your Majeſties eares for the Divine Right thereof, Your Coronation Oath, and divers State-reaſons which Your Majeſty doth not mention; I do not wonder, nor think it any ſtrange thing, that Your Majeſty hath not at firſt given place to a contrary impreſsion. I remember that the famous *Joannes Picus Mirandula* proveth by irrefragable Reaſons (which no rationall man will contradict) *That no man hath ſo much power over*

his own Underſtanding, as to make himſelf believe what he will, or to think that to be true which his Reaſon telleth him is falſe; much leſs is it poſsible for any man to have his Reaſon commanded by the will or at the pleaſure of another.

2. It is a true ſaying of the School-men, *Voluntas imperat intellectui quoad exercitium, non quoad ſpecificationem*; Mine own will or the will of another may command me to think upon a matter, but no will or command can conſtrain me to determine otherwiſe then my Reaſon teacheth me. Yet, Sir, I hope Your Majeſty will acknowledge (for Your Paper profeſſeth no leſs) that according to the ſaying of *Ambroſe*, *Non eſt pudor ad meliora tranſire*, It is neither ſin nor ſhame to change to the better. *Symmachus* in one of his Epiſtles (I think to the Emperours *Theodoſius* and *Valentinian*) alleageth all thoſe motives from Education, from Preſcription of time, from worldly Proſperity, and the flouriſhing condition of the Roman Empire, and from the Laws of the Land, to perſwade them to conſtancy in the ancient Pagan profeſsion of the *Romans*, againſt the imbracing of the Chriſtian Faith. The like reaſons were uſed by the Jewes for *Moſes* againſt *Chriſt*; and may be uſed both for Popery and for the Papacy it ſelf againſt the Reformation of Religion and Church-Government; and therefore can have no more ſtrength againſt the Change now then they had in former times.

3. But Your Majeſty may perhaps ſay, That this is *petitio principii*, and nothing elſe but the begging of the Queſtion: and I confeſs it were ſo, if there can be no Reaſons brought for a Reformation or Change. Your Majeſty reverences the Reformation of the Church of *England*, as being done legally and orderly, and by thoſe who had the Reforming Power; and I do not deny but it were to be wiſh'd that Religion, where there is need, were alwaies Reformed in that manner, and by ſuch power, and that it were not committed to the Prelats, who have greateſt need to be reformed themſelves, nor left to the multitude, whom God ſtirreth up when Princes are negligent. Thus did *Jacob* reforme his own Family, *Moſes* deſtroyed the golden Calfe, the good Kings of *Judah* reformed the Church in their time: but that ſuch Reformation hath been perfect, I cannot admit. *Aſa* took away Idolatry,

latry, but his Reformation was not perfect; for *Jehoſaphat* removed the High places, yet was not his Reformation perfect; for it was *Hezekiah* that brake the Braſen Serpent, and *Joſiah* deſtroyed the Idol-Temples, who therefore beareth this Elogie, *That like unto him there was no King before him.* It is too well known that the Reformation of K. *Henry* the VIII. was moſt imperfect in the Eſſentials of Doctrine, Worſhip and Government: And although it proceeded by ſome degrees afterward, yet the Government was never reformed; the Head was changed, *Dominus, non Dominium*, and the whole lims of the Antichriſtian Hierarchy retained, upon what ſnares and temptations of Avarice and Ambition, the great Enchanters of the Clergy, I need not expreſs. It was a hard ſaying of *Romanorum Malleus, Groſthed* of *Lincolne*, That Reformation was not to be expected *niſi in ore gladii cruentandi.* Yet this I may ſay, that the *Laodicean* lukewarmneſs of Reformation here hath been matter of continued complaints to many of the Godly in this Kingdom; occaſion of more Schiſme and Separation then ever was heard of in any other Church, and of unſpeakable grief and ſorrow to other Churches, which God did bleſs with greater purity of Reformation. The glory of this great work we hope is reſerved for Your Majeſty, that to Your comfort and everlaſting Fame the praiſe of godly *Joſiah* may be made Yours; which yet will be no diſpraiſe to Your Royal Father, or *Edward* the VI. or any other Religious Princes before You; none of them having ſo fair an opportunity as is now by the ſupreme Providence put into Your Royal hands. My ſoul trembleth to think and to foreſee what may be the event, if this opportunity be neglected. I will neither uſe the words of *Mordecai, Eſth.* 4. 14. nor what *Savonarola* told another *Charles*, becauſe I hope better things from Your Majeſty.

4. To the Argument brought by your Majeſty (which I believe none of Your Doctors, had they been all about You, could more briefly, and yet ſo fully and ſtrongly, have expreſſed) [*That nothing was retained in this Church but according as it was deduced from the Apoſtles to the conſtant univerſal practice of the Primitive Church; and that it was of ſuch conſequence, as by the alteration of it we ſhould deprive our ſelves of the lawfulneſs of Prieſthood*; (I think Your Majeſty means a lawful Miniſtry) *and then how the Sacraments can be adminiſtred is*

easie to judge] I humbly offer these considerations. First, what was not in the times of the Apostles, cannot be deduced from them. We say in *Scotland*, *It cannot be brought But, that is not the Ben*: But (not to insist now on a Liturgy, and things of that kind) there was no such Hierarchy, no such difference betwixt a Bishop and a Presbyter in the times of the Apostles, and therefore it cannot thence be deduced; for I conceive it to be as clear as if it were written with a Sun-beam, that Presbyter and Bishop are to the Apostles one and the same thing, no majority, no inequality or difference of office, power, or degree betwixt the one and the other, but a mere identity in all. 2. That the Apostles intending to set down the Offices and Officers of the Church, and speaking so often of them, and of their gifts and duties, and that not upon occasion, but of set purpose, do neither express nor imply any such Pastor or Bishop as hath power over other Pastors; although it be true, that they have distinctly and particularly expresst the Office, Gifts and Duties of the meanest Officers, such as Deacons. 3. That in the Ministery of the New Testament there is a comely, beautiful, and Divine order and subordination; one kind of Ministers both ordinary and extraordinary being placed in degree and dignity before another, as the Apostles first, the Evangelists, Pastors, Doctors, &c. in their own ranks: but we cannot find in Offices of the same kind, that one hath majority of power or priority of degree before another; no Apostle above other Apostles, (unless in moral respects) no Evangelist above other Evangelists, or Deacon above other Deacons; why then a Pastor above other Pastors? In all other sorts of Ministers ordinary and extraordinary a Parity in their own kind, only in the office of Pastor an inequality. 4. That the whole power and all the parts of the Ministry, which are commonly called *The power of Order and Jurisdiction*, are by the Apostles declared to be common to the Presbyter and Bishop: and that, *Mat.* 15. 16,17. the gradation in matter of Discipline or Church censures is from one to two or more; and *if he shall neglect them, tell it to the Church*: he saith not, tell it to the Bishop; there is no place left to a retrogradation from more to one, were he never so eminent. If these considerations do not satisfie, Your Majesty may have more, or the same further cleared.

5. Secondly, I do humbly desire Your Majesty to take notice of the

the fallacy of that Argument, from the Practice of the Primitive Church and the univerſal Conſent of the Fathers. It is the Argument of the Papiſts for ſuch Traditions as no Orthodox Divine will admit. The Law and Teſtimony muſt be the Rule. We can have no certain knowledge of the Practice univerſal of the Church for many years; *Euſebius* the Prime Hiſtorian confeſſeth ſo much: the learned *Joſephus Scaliger* teſtifieth, that from the end of the *Acts* of the *Apoſtles* untill a good time after, no certainty can be had from Eccleſiaſtical Authors about Church matters. It is true, *Diotrephes* ſought the preeminence in the Apoſtles times, and the Myſtery of iniquity did then begin to work; and no doubt in after times ſome puffed up with Ambition, and others overtaken with Weakneſs, endeavoured alteration of Church-Government: but that all the Learned and Godly of thoſe times conſented to ſuch a Change as is talked of afterwards, will never be proved.

6. Thirdly, I will never think that Your Majeſty will deny the lawfulneſs of a Miniſtery and the due adminiſtration of the Sacraments in the Reformed Churches which have no Dioceſan Biſhops, ſith it is not only manifeſt by Scripture, but a great many of the ſtrongeſt Champions for Epiſcopacy do confeſs, that Presbyters may ordain other Presbyters; and that Baptiſme adminiſtred by a private Perſon, wanting a publick Calling, or by a Midwife and by a Presbyter, although not ordained by a Biſhop, are not one and the ſame thing.

7. Concerning the other Argument taken from Your Majeſties Coronation Oath, I confeſs that both in the taking and keeping of an Oath (ſo ſacred a thing is it, and ſo high a point of Religion) much tenderneſs is required: and far be it from us, who deſire to obſerve our own Solemn Oath, to preſs Your Majeſty with the violation of Yours. Yet, Sir, I will crave Your leave, in all humbleneſs and ſincerity to lay before Your Majeſties eyes this one thing, (which perhaps might require a larger diſcourſe) That although no humane authority can diſpenſe with an Oath, *Quia Religio juramenti pertinet ad forum Divinum*; yet in ſome caſes it cannot be denied but the obligation of an Oath ceaſeth: As when we ſwear homage and obedience to our Lord and Superiour, who afterwards ceaſeth to be our Lord and Superiour; for then the formal cauſe of the Oath is taken away,

and therefore the Obligation, *Sublatâ Causâ tollitur Effectus, Sublato Relato tollitur Correlatum*: or when any Oath hath a special reference to the benefit of those to whom I make the promise, if we have their desire or consent, the obligation ceaseth; because all such Oaths from the nature of the thing do include a condition. When the Parliaments of both Kingdoms have covenanted for the abolishing or altering of a Law, Your Majesties Oath doth not bind You or Your Conscience to the observing of it; otherwise no Laws could be altered by the Legislative Power. This I conceive hath been the ground of removing Episcopal Government in *Scotland*, and of removing the Bishops out of the Parliament of *England*. And I assure my self that Your Majesty did not intend at the taking of Your Oath, that although both Houses of Parliament should find an alteration necessary, although (which God Almighty avert) you should lose Your self and Your Posterity and Crown, that You would never consent to the abolishing of such a Law. If Your Majesty still object, *that the matter of the Oath is necessary and immutable*; that doth not belong to this, but to the former Argument.

8. I have but one word more concerning Your Piety to Your Royal Father and Teacher of Happy Memory, with which Your Majesty does conclude. Your Majesty knows that King *James* never admitted *Episcopacy* upon Divine Right; That His Majesty did swear and subscribe to the Doctrine, Worship, and Discipline of the Church of *Scotland*; That in the Preface of the latter Edition of *Basilicon Doron*, His Majesty gives an honourable testimony to those that loved better the simplicity of the Gospel, then the pomp and Ceremonies of the Church of *England*, and that He conceived the Prelates to savour of the Popish Hierarchy; and that (could His Ghost now speak to Your Majesty) He would not advise Your Majesty to run such hazards for those men who will chuse rather to pull down Your Throne with their own ruine, then that they perish alone. The Lord give Your Majesty a wise and discerning Spirit to chuse that in time which is right.

June 3. 1646.

III.

His MAJESTIES Second Paper.

For Mr. *Alex. Henderſon*:

A Reply to his Anſwer to my firſt Paper.

June 6. 1646.

Mr *Henderſon,*

IF *it had been the Honour of the Cauſe which I looked after, I would not have undertaken to put Pen to Paper, or ſingly to have maintained this Argument againſt you (whoſe Anſwer to my former Paper is ſufficient, without further proofs, to juſtifie my opinion of your Abilities:) but it being merely (as you know) for my particular ſatisfaction, I aſſure you that a Diſputation of well choſen Divines would be moſt effectuall; and, I believe, you cannot but grant, that I muſt beſt know how My ſelf may be beſt ſatisfied; for certainly My Taſte cannot be guided by another mans Palate: and indeed I will ſay, that when it comes (as it muſt) to Probations, I muſt have either Perſons or Books to clear the Allegations, or it will be impoſſible to give Me ſatisfaction. The fore-ſeeing of which made Me at firſt (for the ſaving of time) deſire that ſome of thoſe Divines which I gave you in a Liſt might be ſent for.*

2. *Concerning your ſecond Section, I were much to blame if I ſhould not ſubmit to that ſaying of S.* Ambroſe *which you mention, for I would be unwilling to be found leſs ingenuous then you ſhew your ſelf to be in the former part of it: wherefore my Reply is, that as I ſhall not be aſhamed* to change for the better, *ſo I muſt ſee that it is* better *before I* change, *otherwiſe Inconſtancy in this were both Sin and Shame; and remember (what your ſelf hath learnedly enforced) that* no mans Reaſon can be commanded by another mans Will.

3. *Your third begins, but I cannot ſay that it goes on, with that Ingenuity which the other did; for I do not underſtand how thoſe Examples*

cited out of the Old Teſtament do any way prove that the way of Reformation *which I commend hath not been the moſt perfect, or that any other is lawfull, thoſe having been all by the Regal Authority: and becauſe* Henry *the Eighths* Reformation *was not perfect, will it prove that of K.* Edward *and Q.* Elizabeth *to be unperfect? I believe a new Mood and Figure muſt be found out to forme a Syllogiſme whereby to prove that. But however you are miſtaken; for no man who truly underſtands the* Engliſh Reformation *will derive it from* Henry *the Eighth, for he onely gave the occaſion; it was his Sonne who began, and Q.* Elizabeth *that perfected it. Nor did I ever averre that the beginning of any Humane Action was perfect, no more then you can prove that* God hath ever given approbation to Multitudes to Reform the Negligence of Princes: *For, you know, there is much Difference between Permiſsion and Approbation. But all this time I find no Reaſons (according to your promiſe) for a* Reformation *or change, (I mean ſince Q.* Elizabeth's *time.) As for your* Romanorum Malleus *his ſaying, it is well you come off it with* [yet this I may ſay;] *for it ſeemes to imply, as if you neither ought nor would juſtifie that* bloudy ungodly ſaying: *and for your comparing our* Reformation *here to the* Laodicean lukewarmneſs, *proved by* Complaints, Grievings, *&c. all that doth, and but unhandſomely,* petere Principium; *nor can Generalls ſatisfie Me; for you muſt firſt prove that thoſe men had reaſon to* complain, *thoſe Churches to be* grieved, *and how we were truly the Cauſers of this Schiſme and Separation. As for thoſe words which you will not uſe, I will not anſwer.*

4. *Here indeed you truly repeat the firſt of my two main Arguments; but, by your favour, you take (as I conceive) a wrong way to convince Me: It is I muſt make good the Affirmative, for I believe a Negative cannot be proved. In ſtead of which, if you had made appear the practice of the* Presbyterian Government *in the* Primitive times, *you had done much; for I do averre that this* Government *was never practiſed before* Calvin's *time: the Affirmative of which I leave you to prove; My task being to ſhew the* lawfulneſs *and* ſucceſsion of Epiſcopacy, *and, as I believe, the* neceſsity *of it. For doing whereof I muſt have ſuch Books as I ſhall call for; which poſsibly upon peruſal may, one way or other, give Me ſatisfaction: but I cannot abſolutely promiſe it without the aſsiſtance of ſome Learned man, whom I can truſt to find out all ſuch Citations as I have uſe of: wherefore blame Me not if time be unneceſsarily loſt.*

5. *Now*

5. *Now for the* fallaciouſneſs *of my* Argument, (*to my knowledge*) *it was never My practice, nor do I confeſs to have begun now. For if the* Practice *of the* Primitive Church *and the* univerſal conſent of the Fathers *be not a convincing Argument, when the* interpretation *of* Scripture *is doubtfull, I know nothing: For if this be not, then of neceſsity the* Interpretation of private Spirits *muſt be admitted; the which contradicts Saint* Peter, 2 Pet. 1. 20. *is the Mother of all* Sects, *and will* (*if not prevented*) *bring theſe Kingdoms into confuſion. And to ſay that an Argument is ill, becauſe the* Papiſts *uſe it, or that ſuch a thing is good, becauſe it is the Cuſtome of* ſome *of the* Reformed Churches; *cannot weigh with Me, untill you prove theſe to be* infallible, *or that to maintain* no Truth. *And how* Diotrephes *Ambition* (*who directly oppoſed the Apoſtle* S. John) *can be an Argument againſt* Epiſcopacy, *I do not underſtand.*

6. *When I am made a Judge over the* Reformed Churches, *then, and not before, will I cenſure their* Actions; *as you muſt prove, before I confeſs it, that* Presbyters without a Biſhop may lawfully ordain other Presbyters. *And as for the Adminiſtration of* Baptiſme, *as I think none will ſay that a Woman can lawfully or duely adminiſter it, though when done it be valid; ſo none ought to do it but a lawfull Presbyter, whom you cannot deny but to be abſolutely neceſsary for the Sacrament of the* Euchariſt.

7. *You make a learned ſuccinct diſcourſe of* Oaths *in generall, and their ſeverall* Obligations, *to which I fully agree; intending in the particular now in queſtion to be guided by your own Rule, which is* [when any Oath hath a ſpeciall reference to the Benefit of thoſe to whom I make the Promiſe, if we have their deſire or conſent, the Obligation ceaſeth.] *Now it muſt be known,* to whom *this Oath hath reference, and to* whoſe benefit. *The Anſwer is clear, Onely to the* Church of England, *as by the Record will be plainly made appear. And you much miſtake in alleaging that the two* Houſes of Parliament (*eſpecially as they are now conſtituted*) *can have this* Diſobligatory power; *for* (*beſides that they are not named in it*) *I am confident to make it clearly appear to you, that this Church never did ſubmit nor was ſubordinate to them, and that it was onely the* King *and* Clergy *who made the* Reformation, *the* Parliament *merely ſerving to help to give the* Civil Sanction. *All this being proved* (*of which I make no queſtion*) *it muſt neceſsarily follow, that it is onely the* Church of England (*in whoſe favour I took this Oath*) *that can releaſe*

Me

Me from it: wherefore when the Church of England (*being lawfully assembled*) *shall declare that I am free, then, and not before, I shall esteem My self so.*

8. *To your last, concerning the* King My Father, *of Happy and Famous Memory both for his Piety and Learning, I must tell you, that I had the Happiness to know Him much better then you; wherefore I desire you not to be too confident in the knowledge of His Opinions: for I dare say, should his Ghost now speak, He would tell you, that* a bloody Reformation was never lawful, as not warranted by God's Word, *and that* Preces & lacrymæ sunt Arma Ecclesiæ.

9. *To conclude, having replied to all your Paper, I cannot but observe to you, that you have given Me no Answer to my last* Quære. *It may be you are* (*as* Chaucer *sayes*) *like the People of* England, What they not like, they never understand: *but in earnest, that question is so pertinent to the Purpose in hand, that it will much serve for My satisfaction, and besides, it may be usefull for other things.*

Newcastle, June 6. 1646.

C. R.

Mr Alex-

IV.

Mr Alexander Henderſon's Second Paper.

For His MAJESTIE.

SIR,

THE ſmaller the encouragements be in relation to the ſucceſs, (which how ſmall they are Your Majeſty well knows) the more apparent and, I hope, the more acceptable will my obedience be, in that which in all humility I now go about at Your Majeſties command: yet while I conſider that the way of man is not in himſelf, nor is it in man that walketh to direct his own ſteps; and when I remember how many ſupplications, with ſtrong crying and tears, have been openly and in ſecret offered up in Your Majeſties behalf unto God that heareth prayer, I have no reaſon to deſpair of a bleſſed ſucceſs.

1. I have been averſe from a diſputation of Divines, 1. For ſaving of time; which the preſent exigence and extremity of affairs make more then ordinarily pretious. While *Archimedes* at *Syracuſe* was drawing his figures and circlings in the ſand, *Marcellus* interrupted his Demonſtration. 2. Becauſe the common reſult of Diſputes of this kind, anſwerable to the prejudicate opinions of the Parties, is rather Victory then Verity; while *tanquam tentativi Dialectici*, they ſtudy more to overcome their adverſe Party, then to be overcome of Truth, although this be the moſt glorious Victory. 3. When I was commanded to come hither, no ſuch thing was propoſed to me nor expected by me: I never judged ſo meanly of the Cauſe, nor ſo highly of my ſelf, as to venture it upon ſuch weakneſs. Much more might be ſpoken to this purpoſe, but I forbear.

2. I will not further trouble Your Majeſty with that which is contained in the ſecond Section, hoping that Your Majeſty will no more inſiſt upon *Education*, *Preſcription of time*, &c. which are ſufficient to prevent Admiration, but (which Your Majeſty acknowledges) muſt

muſt give place to Reaſon, and are no ſure ground of reſolution of our Faith in any point to be believed: although it be true that the moſt part of men make theſe and the like to be the ground and rule of their Faith; an Evidence that their Faith is not a Divine Faith, but an humane Credulity.

3. Concerning *Reformation of Religion* in the third Section; I had need have a Preface to ſo thorny a Theam as your Majeſty hath brought me upon. 1. For the *Reforming power*; it is conceived, when a General Defection, like a Deluge, hath covered the whole face of the Church, ſo that ſcarcely the tops of the Mountains do appear, a General Council is neceſſary: but becauſe that can hardly be obtained, ſeveral Kingdoms (which we ſee was done at the time of the Reformation) are to Reform themſelves, and that by the Authority of their Prince and Magiſtrates: if the Prince or ſupreme Magiſtrate be unwilling, then may the inferior Magiſtrate and the People, being before rightly informed in the grounds of Religion, lawfully Reform within their own ſphere; and if the light ſhine upon all, or the major part, they may, after all other means aſſayed, make a publick Reformation. This before this time I never wrote or ſpoke; yet the Maintainers of this Doctrine conceive that they are able to make it good. But, Sir, were I worthy to give advice to Your Majeſty, or to the Kings and ſupreme Powers on Earth, my humble Opinion would be, that they ſhould draw the Minds, Tongues and Pens of the Learned, to diſpute about other matter then the Power or Prerogative of Kings and Princes; and in this kind Your Majeſty hath ſuffered and loſt more then will eaſily be reſtored to Your ſelf or Your Poſterity for a long time. It is not denied but the prime Reforming power is in Kings and Princes; *quibus deficientibus*, it comes to the inferior Magiſtrate; *quibus deficientibus*, it deſcendeth to the Body of the People; ſuppoſing that there is a neceſsity of Reformation, and that by no means it can be obtained of their Superiors. It is true that ſuch a Reformation is more imperfect in reſpect of the Inſtruments and manner of Procedure; yet for the moſt part more pure and perfect in relation to the effect and product. And for this end did I cite the Examples of old of Reformation by Regall Authority; of which none was perfect, in the ſecond way of perfection, except that of *Joſiah*. Concerning the ſaying of *Groſt-*

hed,

hed, whom the Cardinals at *Rome* confeſt to be a more Godly man then any of themſelves, it was his Complaint and Prediction of what was likely to enſue, not his deſire or election, if Reformation could have been obtained in the ordinary way. I might bring two unpartial Witneſſes, *Juel* and *Bilſon*, both famous Engliſh Biſhops, to prove that the Tumults and Troubles raiſed in *Scotland* at the time of Reformation, were to be imputed to the Papiſts oppoſing of the Reformation both of Doctrine and Diſcipline as an Heretical Innovation; and not to be aſcribed to the Nobility or People, who under God were the Inſtruments of it, intending and ſeeking nothing but the purging out of Errour, and ſetling of the Truth. 2. Concerning the Reformation of the Church of *England*, I conceive, whether it was begun or not in K. *Henry* the Eighth's time, it was not finiſhed by Q. *Elizabeth*: the Father ſtirred the Humors of the diſeaſed Church; but neither the Son nor the Daughter (although we have great reaſon to bleſs God for both) did purge them out perfectly: This Perfection is yet reſerved for Your Majeſty. Where it is ſaid, *that all this time I bring no Reaſons for a further Change*; the fourth Section of my laſt Paper hath many hints of *Reaſons againſt Epiſcopal Government*, with an offer of more, or clearing of thoſe; which Your Majeſty hath not thought fit to take notice of. And Learned men have obſerved many Defects in that Reformation; As, That the Government of the *Church of England* (for about this is the Queſtion now) is not builded upon the foundation of *Chriſt* and the *Apoſtles*; which they at leaſt cannot deny, who profeſs *Church-Government* to be *mutable* and *ambulatory*; and ſuch were the greater part of *Arch-biſhops* and *Biſhops* in *England*, contenting themſelves with the *Conſtitutions* of the *Church*, and the *authority* and *munificence* of *Princes*, till of late that ſome few have pleaded it to be *Jure Divino*: That the *Engliſh Reformation* hath not perfectly purged out the *Roman* Leven; which is one of the reaſons that have given ground to the comparing of this Church to the Church of *Laodicea*, as being neither hot nor cold, neither *Popiſh* nor *Reformed*, but of a lukewarm temper betwixt the two: That it hath depraved the Diſcipline of the Church, by conforming of it to the Civil Policy: That it hath added many Church Offices, higher and lower, unto thoſe inſtituted by the Son of God; which is as unlawful, as to take away Offices warranted by the Divine Inſtitution: and other the like, which have

moved ſome to apply this ſaying to the Church of *England*, *Multi ad perfectionem pervenirent, niſi jam ſe perveniſſe crederent.*

4. In my Anſwer to the firſt of Your Majeſties many Arguments, I brought a Breviate of ſome Reaſons to prove that *a Biſhop and Presbyter are one and the ſame in Scripture*: from which by neceſſary Conſequence I did inferre the *negative*, Therefore, no difference in Scripture between a *Biſhop* and a *Presbyter*; the one name ſignifying *Induſtriam Curiæ Paſtoralis*, the other *Sapientiæ Maturitatem*, ſaith *Beda*. And whereas Your Majeſty averrs, *that Presbyterian Government was never practiſed before* Calvin's *time*; Your Majeſty knows the common Objection of the *Papiſts* againſt the *Reformed Churches*, Where was your Church, your Reformation, your Doctrine, before *Luther*'s time? One part of the common Anſwer is, *that it was from the beginning, and is to be found in Scripture*. The ſame I affirm of Presbyterian Government. And for the proving of this, the *Aſſembly of Divines* at *Weſtminſter* have made manifeſt, *that the Primitive Chriſtian Church at* Jeruſalem *was governed by a Presbytery*; while they ſhew, 1. That the Church of *Jeruſalem* conſiſted of more Congregations then one, from the multitude of Believers, from the many Apoſtles and other Preachers in that Church, and from the diverſity of Languages among the Believers. 2. That all theſe Congregations were under one Presbyteriall Government, becauſe they were for Government one Church, *Acts* 11. 22, 26. and becauſe that Church was governed by Elders, *Acts* 11. 30. which were Elders of that Church, and did meet together for acts of Government: And the Apoſtles themſelves, in that meeting *Acts* 15. acted not as Apoſtles, but as Elders, ſtating the Queſtion, debating it in the ordinary way of diſputation; and having by ſearch of Scripture found the will of God, they conclude, *It ſeemed good to the Holy Ghoſt and us*: which, in the judgement of the learned, may be ſpoken by any Aſſembly upon like evidence of Scripture. The like Presbyterian Government had place in the Churches of *Corinth*, *Epheſus*, *Theſſalonica*, &c. in the times of the Apoſtles; and after them, for many years, when one of the Presbytery was made *Epiſcopus Præſes*, even then, *Communi Presbyterorum Conſilio Eccleſiæ gubernabantur*, ſaith *Jerome*; and, *Epiſcopos magis conſuetudine quam Diſpoſitionis Divinæ veritate Presbyteris eſſe majores, & in commune debere Eccleſiam regere.*

5. Farre

5. Farre be it from me to think ſuch a thought, as that Your Majeſty did intend any Fallacy in Your other main Argument from Antiquity. As we are to diſtinguiſh between *Intentio operantis* & *Conditio operis*; ſo may we in this caſe conſider the difference between *Intentio Argumentantis* & *Conditio Argumenti*. And where Your Majeſty argues, That, if Your opinion be not admitted, we will be forced to give place to the *Interpretation of private ſpirits*, which is contrary to the Doctrine of the Apoſtle *Peter*, and will prove to be of dangerous conſequence; I humbly offer to be conſidered by Your Majeſty, what ſome of chief note among the *Papiſts* themſelves have taught us, That the *Interpretation* of *Scriptures*, and the *Spirits* whence they proceed, may be called *private* in a threefold ſenſe. 1. *Ratione Perſonæ*, if the Interpreter be of a private condition. 2. *Ratione Modi & Medii*, when Perſons, although not private, uſe not the publick means which are neceſſary for finding out the Truth, but follow their own Fancies. 3. *Ratione Finis*, when the Interpretation is not propoſed as Authenticall to bind others, but is intended only for our own private ſatisfaction. The firſt is not to be deſpiſed; the ſecond is to be exploded, and is condemned by the Apoſtle *Peter*; the third ought not to be cenſured: But that Interpretation which is Authenticall, and of ſupreme Authority, which every mans conſcience is bound to yield unto, is of an higher nature. And although the Generall Councill ſhould reſolve it, and the Conſent of the Fathers ſhould be had unto it, yet there muſt alwaies be place left to the judgment of Diſcretion, as *Davenant*, late Biſhop of *Salisbury*, beſide divers others, hath learnedly made appear in his Book *De Judice Controverſiarum*; where alſo the Power of Kings in matter of Religion is ſolidly and unpartially determined. Two words onely I adde. One is, that notwithſtanding all that is pretended from Antiquity, a Biſhop having ſole power of Ordination and Juriſdiction will never be found in *Prime Antiquity*. The other is, that many of the Fathers did, unwittingly, bring forth that *Antichriſt* which was conceived in the times of the Apoſtles, and therefore are incompetent Judges in the Queſtion of *Hierarchy*. And upon the other part, the Lights of the Chriſtian Church at and ſince the beginning of the Reformation, have diſcovered many ſecrets concerning the *Antichriſt* and his *Hierarchy* which were not known to

former Ages: And diverſe of the Learned in the *Roman* Church have not feared to pronounce, That whoſoever denies the true and literal ſenſe of many Texts of Scripture to have been found out in this laſt Age, is unthankfull to God, who hath ſo plentifully powred forth his Spirit upon the Children of this Generation; and ungratefull towards thoſe men who with ſo great pains, ſo happy ſucceſſe, and ſo much benefit to Gods Church, have travailed therein. This might be inſtanced in many places of Scripture. I wind together *Diotrephes* and the *Myſtery of iniquity*: the one as an old example of Church-ambition, which was alſo too palpable in the Apoſtles themſelves; and the other as a cover of Ambition, afterwards diſcovered: which two brought forth the great Myſtery of the Papacy at laſt.

6. Although Your Majeſty be not made a Judge of the Reformed Churches, yet You ſo far cenſure them and their actions, as without Biſhops, in Your Judgement, they cannot have a lawfull Miniſtery, nor a due Adminiſtration of the Sacraments. Againſt which dangerous and deſtructive Opinion I did alledge what I ſuppoſed Your Majeſty would not have denied. 1. That Presbyters without a Biſhop may ordain other Presbyters. 2. That Baptiſme adminiſtred by ſuch a Presbyter, is another thing then Baptiſme adminiſtred by a private perſon or by a Midwife. Of the firſt Your Majeſty calls for proof. I told before, that in Scripture it is manifeſt, 1 *Tim.* 4. 14. *Neglect not the Gift that is in thee, which was given thee by the Propheſie, with the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery*, ſo it is in the Engliſh Tranſlation: And the word *Presbytery*, ſo often as it is uſed in the New Teſtament, alwaies ſignifies the *Perſons*, and not the *Office*. And although the Offices of *Biſhop* and *Presbyter* were diſtinct; yet doth not the *Presbyter* derive his power of Order from the *Biſhop*. The Evangeliſts were inferiour to the Apoſtles; yet had they their power not from the Apoſtles, but from Chriſt. The ſame I affirme of the Seventy Diſciples, who had their power immediately from Chriſt, no leſs then the Apoſtles had theirs. It may upon better reaſon be averred that the *Biſhops* have their power from the Pope, then that *Presbyters* have their power from the *Prelats*. It is true, *Jerome* ſaith, *Quid facit, exceptâ ordinatione, Epiſcopus, quod non facit Presbyter?* But in the

ſame

ſame place he proves from Scripture, that *Epiſcopus* and *Presbyter* are one and the ſame; and therefore when he appropriates Ordination to the Biſhop, he ſpeaketh of the degenerated cuſtome of his time. Secondly, Concerning *Baptiſme*, a private perſon may perform the external Action and Rites both of it and of the Euchariſt; yet is neither of the two a Sacrament, or hath any efficacy, unleſs it be done by him that is lawfully called thereunto, or by a perſon made publick, and clothed with Authority by Ordination. This Errour in the matter of *Baptiſme* is begot by another Errour, of the Abſolute Neceſsity of *Baptiſme*.

7. To that which hath been ſaid concerning Your Majeſties *Oath*, I ſhall adde nothing; not being willing to enter upon the Queſtion of the ſubordination of the Church to the Civil Power, whether the King or Parliament, or both, and to either of them in their own place. Such an Headſhip as the Kings of *England* have claimed, and ſuch a Supremacy as the Two Houſes of Parliament crave, with the Appeals from the ſupreme Eccleſiaſticall Judicature to them as ſet over the Church in the ſame line of Subordination, I do utterly diſclaim upon ſuch Reaſons as give my ſelf ſatisfaction; although no man ſhall be more willing to ſubmit to Civil powers, each one in their own place, and more unwilling to make any trouble, then my ſelf. Onely concerning the application of the Generalls of an Oath to the particular caſe now in hand; under favor, I conceive not how the Clergy of the Church of *England* is, or ought to be, principally intended in Your Oath. For although they were eſteemed to be the Repreſentative Church; yet even that is for the benefit of the Church Collective, *Salus Populi* being *Suprema lex*, and to be principally intended. Your Majeſty knows it was ſo in the Church of *Scotland*, where the like alteration was made. And if nothing of this kind can be done without the conſent of the Clergy; what Reformation can be expected in *France* or *Spain*, or *Rome* it ſelf? It is not to be expected that the Pope or Prelates will conſent to their own ruine.

8. I will not preſume upon any ſecret knowledge of the Opinions held by the King Your Majeſties Father of famous Memory, they being much better known to Your Majeſty: I did onely produce what was profeſt by Him before the world. And although

Prayers and Tears be the Arms of the Church; yet it is neither acceptable to God, nor conducible for Kings and Princes, to *force the Church to put on theſe Armes*. Nor could I ever hear a reaſon, why a neceſsary Defenſive War againſt unjuſt Violence is unlawfull, although it be joyned with Offence and invaſion which is intended for Defence, but ſo that Arms are layed down when the offenſive War ceaſeth: by which it doth appear, that the War on the other ſide was, in the nature thereof, Defenſive.

9. Concerning the forcing of Conſcience, which I pretermitted in my other Paper, I am forced now, but without forcing of my conſcience, to ſpeak of it. Our Conſcience may be ſaid to be forced either by our ſelves, or by others. By our ſelves, 1. When we ſtop the ear of our Conſcience, and will not hearken, or give place to information, reſolving obſtinately, *Ne ſi perſuaſeris, perſuadebis*; which is no leſs then a reſiſting of the Holy Ghoſt, and the hardning of our hearts. 2. Or when we ſtop the mouth and ſuppreſs the clamours of our Conſcience; reſolving rather to ſuffer the worm to gnaw, and the fire to burn inwardly, then to make profeſsion of that we are convinced to be Truth. 3. Or when we ſear our Conſcience as with an hot Iron, that it becometh ſenſleſs, which is the puniſhment of the former: unto which is oppoſed the truly tender Conſcience, ſuch as *Joſiah* had, 2 *King*. 22. 19. Again, our Conſcience is ſaid to be forced by others, 1. when they obtrude upon us what is in it ſelf evil and unlawfull; which if we admit againſt our own Conſcience, we ſin two ways: one is, *by doing that which is in it ſelf evil and unlawfull*; the other is, *by doing it againſt a dictate of Conſcience*, which is a contempt of God, whoſe Vicegerent it is. 2. Or when others urge us to doe that which is in it ſelf good, or may lawfully be done, but through error of Conſcience we judge it to be evil and unlawful: in this caſe, if we doe not that which is preſt upon us, we ſin, becauſe the thing is good and lawful; and if we doe it, we ſin, becauſe we doe againſt our Conſcience, which in this caſe bindeth, but obligeth not. And yet there is a way to eſcape out of this labyrinth, it being repugnant to the equity of the will of God to lay a neceſsity of ſinning upon any man: The only way is, *to lay aſide ſuch a Conſcience*, it being a part of the Old man, which we are commanded to *put off*; otherwiſe, we being ſufficiently informed, and yet cleaving to our old Error, we

rather

rather doe violence to our Conſcience our ſelves, then ſuffer violence from others. The application, for Anſwering the *Quære*, I leave to Your Majeſty.

Newcaſtle, June 17. 1646.

V.

His MAJESTIES Third Paper.

For Mr *Alexander Henderſon:*

In Reply to his ſecond Paper.
June 22. 1646.

1. *IT were arrogance, beſides loſs of time, in Me to vie* Preambles *with you; for it is* Truth *I ſeek, and neither* Praiſe *nor* Victory: *wherefore I ſhall onely inſiſt upon thoſe things which are merely neceſſary to my own ſatisfaction; in order to which I deſired the* aſsiſtance *of ſome* Divines; *whereupon I will inſiſt no further, ſave onely to wiſh that you may not (as I have known many men doe)* loſe *time by being miſtaken in the way to* ſave *it, wherein I have onely ſought to diſburthen My ſelf, but to lay no blame upon you, and ſo I leave it.*

2. *Nor will I ſay more of the ſecond then this, that I am glad you have ſo well approved of what I have ſaid concerning my* Education *and* Reaſon; *but then remember, that* another Mans will *is at leaſt as weak a ground to build My Faith upon as my former* Education.

3. *In this there are two points; firſt, concerning the* Reforming power, *then, anent the* Engliſh Reformation. *For the firſt, I confeſs you now ſpeak clearly, which before you did but darkly mention, wherein I ſhall mainly differ with you, untill you ſhall ſhew Me better Reaſon. Yet thus farre I will goe along with you, that when a* General Council *cannot be had, ſeveral* Kingdomes *may* Reforme *themſelves, (which is learnedly and fully proved by the late*

Archbiſhop *of* Canterbury *in his diſputation againſt* Fiſher :) *but that the* inferior Magiſtrates *or* People (*take it which way you will*) *have this* power, *I utterly deny*; *for which, by your favour, you have yet made no ſufficient proof to My judgement. Indeed, if you could have brought, or can bring authority of Scripture for this Opinion, I would, and will yet, with all reverence ſubmit*: *but as for your* Examples out of the Old Teſtament, *in My mind they rather make for then againſt Me, all thoſe* Reformations *being made by* Kings: *and it is a good* probable (*though I will not ſay* convincing) Argument, *that if God would have approved of a* Popular reforming way, *there were* Kings *of* Judah *and* Iſrael *ſufficiently negligent and ill to have made ſuch examples by*; *but on the contrary, the* 16. *Chap. of* Numbers *ſhews clearly how God* diſapproves *of ſuch courſes. But I forget this Aſſertion is to be proved by you*; *yet I may put you in the way*: *wherefore let Me tell you that this* pretended power *in the* People *muſt* (*as all others*) *either be directly or elſe declaratorily by approbation given by God*; *which how ſoon you can doe, I ſubmit*; *otherwiſe you prove nothing. For the citing of private mens opinions* (*more then as they concur with the* general conſent of the Church *in their time*) *weighs little with Me, it being too well known, that* Rebels never wanted Writers to maintain their unjuſt actions: *and though I much reverence Biſhop* Juel's *memory, I never thought him* infallible. *For* Bilſon, *I remember well what opinion the* King *my* Father *had of him for thoſe Opinions, and how He ſhewed him ſome favour in hope of his* recantation, (*as His good nature made Him doe many things of that kind*;) *but whether he did or not, I cannot ſay. To conclude this point, untill you ſhall prove this* poſition *by the* Word of God, (*as I will* Regal Authority) *I ſhall think all* popular Reformation *little better then* Rebellion; *for I hold that* no Authority is lawful but that which is either directly given, or, *at leaſt*, approved by God. *Secondly, Concerning the* Engliſh Reformation, *the firſt reaſon you bring why Q.* Elizabeth *did not finiſh it is*, becauſe ſhe took not away Epiſcopacy, *the* hints of reaſon againſt which Government *you ſay* I take no notice of: *now I thought it was ſufficient notice, yea and anſwer too, when I told you*, a Negative (*as I conceived*) could not be proved, *and that it was for Me to prove the* Affirmative; *which I ſhall either doe, or yield the Argument, as ſoon as I ſhall be aſſiſted with* Books, *or ſuch* men *of My opinion, who, like you, have a Library in their brain. And ſo I muſt leave this particular, untill I be furniſhed with* means *to put it to an* iſſue; *which had been ſooner done, if I could have had my will. Indeed your ſecond well*

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proved is moſt ſufficient, which is, That the Engliſh Church-Government is not builded upon the foundation of Chriſt and the Apoſtles: *but I conceive your probation of this doubly defective. For firſt, albeit our* Archbiſhops *and* Biſhops *ſhould have profeſſed* Church-Government *to be* mutable and ambulatory, *I conceive it not ſufficient to prove your Aſſertion: and ſecondly, I am confident you cannot prove that moſt of them maintained this* walking *poſition, (for ſome particulars muſt not conclude the general) for which you muſt find much better Arguments then their being content with the* Conſtitution of the Church, *and the* Authority *and* munificence of Princes, *or you will fall extremely ſhort. As for the* retaining *of the* Roman leven, *you muſt prove it as well as ſay it, elſe you ſay little. But that the conforming of the* Church Diſcipline *to the* civil Policy *ſhould be a depraving of it, I abſolutely deny; for I aver, that without it the Church can neither flouriſh nor be happy. And for your laſt inſtance, you ſhall doe well to ſhew the prohibition of our Saviour againſt addition of more Officers in the Church then he named: and yet in one ſenſe I do not conceive that the Church of* England *hath added any; for an* Archbiſhop *is onely a diſtinction for* order *of* Government, *not a* new Officer, *and ſo of the reſt; and of this kind I believe there are diverſe now in* Scotland *which you will not condemne, as the* Moderators of Aſſemblies, *and others.*

4. *Where you find a* Biſhop *and* Presbyter *in Scripture to be one and the ſame (which I deny to be alwaies ſo) it is in the* Apoſtles time; *now I think to prove the Order of* Biſhops *ſucceeded that of the* Apoſtles, *and that the name was chiefly altered in reverence to thoſe who were immediately choſen by our* Saviour, (*albeit in their time they cauſed diverſe to be called ſo, as* Barnabas *and others*) *ſo that I believe this Argument makes little for you. As for your proof of the antiquity of* Presbyterian Government, *it is well that the* Aſſembly of Divines at Weſtminſter *can doe more then* Euſebius *could, and I ſhall believe when I ſee it: for your former Paper affirmes, that thoſe times were very dark for matter of fact, and will be ſo ſtill for Me if there be no clearer Arguments to prove it then thoſe you mention: for becauſe there were* divers Congregations in Jeruſalem; *Ergo, what? are there not* divers Pariſhes in one Dioceſe? (*your two firſt I anſwer but as one Argument*) *and becauſe the* Apoſtles met with thoſe of the inferiour Orders for Acts of Government; *what then? even ſo in theſe times do the* Deans *and* Chapters, *and many times thoſe of the* inferiour Clergy *aſſiſt the* Biſhops. *But I hope you will not pretend to ſay, that there was an equality between the*

Apoſtles

Apoſtles *and other* Presbyters, *which not being, doth (in My judgement) quite invalidate theſe Arguments. And if you can ſay no more for the Churches of* Corinth, Epheſus, Theſſalonica, *&c. then you have for* Jeruſalem, *it will gain no ground on Me. As for Saint* Jerome, *it is well known that he was no great Friend to Biſhops, as being none himſelf; yet take him altogether, and you will find that he makes a clear diſtinction between a* Biſhop *and a* Presbyter, *as your ſelf confeſſes: but the truth is, he was angry with thoſe who maintained* Deacons *to be equal to* Presbyters.

5. *I am well ſatisfied with the explanation of your meaning concerning the word* Fallacy, *though I think to have had reaſon for ſaying what I did: but by your favour, I do not conceive that you have anſwered the ſtrength of my Argument; for when you and I differ upon the* interpretation of Scripture, *and I appeal to the* practice *of the* Primitive Church, *and* the univerſal conſent of the Fathers, *to be judge between us, Methinks you ſhould either find a fitter, or ſubmit to what I offer; neither of which (to My underſtanding) you have yet done; nor have you ſhewn how, waving thoſe Judges I appeal unto, the miſchief of the interpretation by* private Spirits *can be prevented. Indeed, if I cannot prove by* Antiquity *that* Ordination *and* Jurisdiction *belong to* Biſhops, *(thereby clearly diſtinguiſhing them from other* Presbyters) *I ſhall then begin to miſdoubt many of my former Foundations; (as for Biſhop* Davenant, *he is none of thoſe to whom I have appealed, or will ſubmit unto.) But for the exception you take to* Fathers, *I take it to be* a begging of the Queſtion; *as likewiſe thoſe great diſcoveries of ſecrets, not known to former Ages, I ſhall call* new-invented fancies, *untill particularly you ſhall prove the contrary: and for your* Roman *Authours, it is no great wonder for them to ſeek ſhifts whereby to maintain* Novelties *as well as the* Puritans. *As for* Church-ambition, *it doth not at all terminate in ſeeking to be* Pope; *for I take it to be no point of humility to endeavour to be* independent of Kings, *it being poſſible that* Papacy *in a* multitude *may be as dangerous as in* one.

6. *As I am no* Judge *over the* Reformed Churches, *ſo neither do I cenſure them; for many things may be avowable upon* neceſsity, *which otherways are* unlawfull: *but know once for all, that I eſteem nothing the better becauſe it is done by ſuch a* particular Church (*though it were by the* Church of England, *which I avow moſt to reverence;*) *but I eſteem that* Church *moſt which comes neareſt to the* purity of the primitive Doctrine and Diſcipline, *as I believe this doth. Now concerning* Ordination, *I bad*

you

you prove that Presbyters *without a* Biſhop *might lawfully* ordain; *which yet I conceive you have not done: for,* 2 Tim. 1. 6. *it is evident that Saint* Paul *was at* Timothie's ordination; *and albeit that all the* Seventy *had their power immediately from* Chriſt, *yet it is as evident that our* Saviour *made a clear diſtinction between the* twelve Apoſtles *and the reſt of the* Diſciples, *which is ſet down by three of the* Evangeliſts, *whereof Saint* Mark *calls it* an Ordination, Mark 3. 15. *and Saint* Luke *ſayes,* And of them he choſe Twelve, *&c.* Luke 6. 13. *onely Saint* Matthew *doth but barely enumerate them by their name of diſtinction,* Mat. 10. 1. *I ſuppoſe out of modeſty, himſelf being one, and the other two being none, are more particular. For* the adminiſtration of Baptiſme, *giving, but not granting, what you ſay, it makes more for Me then you: but I will not engage upon new Queſtions not neceſſary for My purpoſe.*

7. *For my* Oath, *you doe well not to enter upon thoſe Queſtions you mention; and you had done as well to have omitted your inſtance: but, out of diſcretion, I deſire you to collect your Anſwer out of the laſt Section; and for your Argument, though the intention of my Oath be for the good of the* Church collective, *therefore can I be diſpenſed withall by others then the* repreſentative Body? *certainly no more then the People can diſpenſe with Me for any* Oaths *I took in their favours, without the two Houſes of Parliament. As for future Reformations, I will only tell you, that* incommodum non ſolvit Argumentum.

8. *For the* King *my* Father's *opinion, if it were not to ſpend time (as I believe) needleſly, I could prove by living and written teſtimonies all and more then I have ſaid of Him, for His perſwaſion in theſe points which I now maintain: and for your* defenſive War, *as I do acknowledge it a great ſin for any King to* oppreſs the Church, *ſo I hold it abſolutely unlawful for* Subjects (*upon any pretence whatſoever*) *to make War (though* defenſive) *againſt their* lawfull Soveraign; *againſt which no leſs proofs will make Me yield but God's Word: and let Me tell you, that upon ſuch points as theſe,* inſtances *as well as* compariſons *are* odious.

9. *Laſtly, you miſtake the* Quære *in My firſt Paper to which this pretends to anſwer; for my Queſtion was not concerning* force of Arguments (*for I never doubted the lawfulneſs of it*) *but* force of Arms, *to which, I conceive, it ſayes little or nothing, unleſs (after My example) you refer Me to the former Section: that which it doth, is merely* the asking of the queſtion, *after a fine diſcourſe of the ſeverall wayes of* perſwading *rather then*

forcing

forcing *of Conſcience. I cloſe up this Paper, deſiring you to take notice, that there is none of theſe Sections but I could have enlarged to many more lines, ſome to whole pages; yet I choſe to be thus brief, knowing you will underſtand more by a word then others by a long diſcourſe; truſting likewiſe to your ingenuity, that* Reaſon epitomized *will weigh as much with you as if it were at large.*

June 22. 1646.

C. R.

VI.

Mr Alexander Henderſon's Third Paper.

For His MAJESTIE:

Concerning the Authority of the Fathers, and Practice of the Church.

July 2. 1646.

HAving in my former Papers preſſed the ſteps of Your Majeſties Propoſitions, and finding by Your Majeſties laſt Paper Controverſies to be multiplied, (I believe) beyond Your Majeſties intentions in the beginning; as concerning The *Reforming Power*, The *Reformation of the Church of England*, The *difference betwixt a Biſhop and a Presbyter*, The *warrants of Presbyterian Government*, The *Authority of Interpreting Scripture*, The *taking and keeping of Publick Oaths*, The *forcing of Conſcience*, and many other inferior and ſubordinate Queſtions, which are Branches of thoſe main Controverſies; all which in a ſatisfactory manner to determine in few words I leave to more preſuming Spirits, who either ſee no knots of Difficulties, or can find a way rather to cut them aſunder then to unlooſe them: yet will I not uſe any Tergiverſation, nor do I decline to offer my humble Opinion with the Reaſons thereof, in their own time, concerning each of them; which in obedience to Your Majeſties command I have begun

to

to doe already. Onely, Sir, by Your Majeſties favourable permiſſion, for the greater expedition, and that the preſent velitations may be brought to ſome iſſue, I am bold to intreat that the Method may be a little altered, and I may have leave now to begin at a Principle, and that which ſhould have been *inter Præcognita*, I mean, the Rule by which we are to proceed, and to determine the preſent Controverſie of *Church-Policy*; without which we will be led into a labyrinth, and want a thred to wind us out again. In Your Majeſties Firſt Paper, the *univerſal Cuſtome of the Primitive Church* is conceived to be the Rule; in the Second Paper, Section the 5. the *Practice of the Primitive Church and the univerſal Conſent of the Fathers* is made a convincing Argument, when the *Interpretation of Scripture* is doubtful; in your Third paper, Sect. 5. *the Practice of the Primitive Church and the univerſal Conſent of Fathers* is made Judge: And I know that nothing is more ordinary in this Queſtion then to alleage *Antiquity*, *perpetual Succeſſion*, *univerſal Conſent of the Fathers*, and the *univerſal Practice* of the *Primitive Church*, according to the Rule of *Auguſtine*, *Quod univerſa tenet Eccleſia, nec à Cocinlio inſtitutum, ſed ſemper retentum eſt, non niſi authoritate Apoſtolicâ traditum rectiſſimè creditur.* There is in this Argument at the firſt view ſo much appearance of Reaſon, that it may much work upon a modeſt mind; yet being well examined and rightly weighed, it will be found to be of no great weight: for beſide that the Minor will never be made good in the behalf of a *Dioceſan Biſhop* having ſole power of Ordination and Juriſdiction, there being a multitude of Fathers who maintain that *Biſhop and Presbyter are of one and the ſame Order*; I ſhall humbly offer ſome few Conſiderations about the Major, becauſe it hath been an inlet to many dangerous Errours, and hath proved a mighty hinderance and obſtruction to Reformation of Religion.

1. I deſire it may be conſidered, that whiles ſome make two Rules for defining Controverſies, the *Word* of God and *Antiquity*, (which they will have to be received with equal veneration) or, as the Papiſts call them, *Canonical Authority* and *Catholical Tradition*; and others make *Scripture* to be the onely *Rule*, and *Antiquity* the authentick *Interpreter*; the latter of the two ſeems to me to be the greater errour: becauſe the firſt ſetteth up a *parallel* in the ſame degree with Scripture; but this would create a *Superior*, in a higher degree above Scripture. For the *interpretation* of the Fathers ſhall be the Διότι, and accounted the

very Cauſe and reaſon for which we conceive and believe ſuch a place of Scripture to have ſuch a ſenſe: and thus men ſhall have *Dominion over our Faith*, againſt 2 *Cor.* 1. 24. Our *faith ſhall ſtand in the wiſdome of man*, and not *in the power of God*, 1 *Cor.* 2. 5. and *Scripture* ſhall be of *private interpretation*; *For the Propheſie came not of old by the will of man*, 2 *Pet.* 1. 20, 22. *Niſi homini Deus placuerit, Deus non erit*; *Homo jam Deo propitius eſſe debebit*, ſaith *Tertullian*.

2. That Scripture cannot be Authentically interpreted but by Scripture, is manifeſt from Scripture. The Levites gave the ſenſe of the Law by no other means but by Scripture it ſelf, *Neh.* 8. 8. Our Saviour, for example to us, gave the true ſenſe of Scripture againſt the depravations of Satan, by comparing Scripture with Scripture, and not by alleaging any Teſtimonies out of the Rabbins, *Mat.* 4. And the Apoſtles, in their Epiſtles, uſed no other help but the diligent comparing of Propheticall writings: like as the Apoſtle *Peter* will have us to compare the clearer light of the Apoſtles with the more obſcure light of the Prophets, 2 *Pet.* 1. 19. And when we betake our ſelves to the Fathers, we have need to take heed that, with the Papiſts, we accuſe not the Scriptures of Obſcurity or Imperfection.

3. The Fathers themſelves (as they are cited by Proteſtant Writers) hold this Concluſion, That Scripture is not to be interpreted but by Scripture it ſelf. To this purpoſe, amongſt many other Teſtimonies, they bring the ſaying of *Tertullian*, *Surge, Veritas, ipſa Scripturas tuas interpretare, quam Conſuetudo non novit; nam ſi noſſet, non eſſet*: if it knew Scripture, it would be aſhamed of it ſelf, and ceaſe to be any more.

4. That ſome Errours have been received and continued for a long time in the Church. The Errour of *Free-will*, beginning at *Juſtin Martyr*, continued till the time of *Reformation*, although it was rejected by *Auguſtine*, as the *Divine Right of Epiſcopacy* was oppoſed by others. The Errour about the Viſion of God, That *the Souls of the Saints departed ſee not the face of God till the Judgement of the Great Day*, was held by univerſall Conſent. The ſame may be ſaid of the Errour of the *Millenaries*; and, which more nearly toucheth upon the preſent Queſtion, the Ancients erred groſly about the *Antichriſt* and *Myſtery of Iniquity*, which did begin to work in the days of

of the Apoſtles. Many other Inſtances might be brought to prove ſuch *univerſal practice of the Church*, as was not warranted by the Apoſtles; as in the Rites of *Baptiſme* and *Prayer*, and the forming up and drawing together of the Articles of that *Creed* that is called *Symbolum Apoſtolicum*, the obſervation of many *Feaſts* and *Faſts* both Anniverſary and weekly.

5. That it is not a matter ſo incredible or impoſsible as ſome would have it appear to be, for the Primitive Church to have made a ſudden defection from the Apoſtolical purity. The people of *Iſrael*, in the ſhort time of *Moſes* his abſence on the mount, turned aſide quickly, and fell into horrible Idolatry, *Exod.* 32. Soon after the death of *Joſuah*, and the Elders that had ſeen the great works which the Lord had done for *Iſrael*, there aroſe another Generation after them, which did evil in the ſight of the Lord, *Judg.* 2. Soon after the building of the Temple, and ſetling of Religion by *David* and *Solomon*, the worſhip of God was defiled with Idolatry: when *Reboboam* had eſtabliſhed the Kingdome, he forſook the Law of the Lord, and all *Iſrael* with him, 2 *Chron.* 12. 1. And the Apoſtle ſaies to the Galatians, *Gal.* 1. 6. *I marvel that you are ſo ſoon removed unto another Goſpel.* Why then ſhall we think it ſtrange, that in the matter of Diſcipline there ſhould be a ſudden defection, eſpecially it being begun in the time of the Apoſtles? I know it is a common Opinion, but I believe there be no ſtrong reaſons for it, that the Church which was neareſt the times of the Apoſtles was the moſt pure and perfect Church.

6. That it is impoſsible to come to the knowledge of the univerſal Conſent and Practice of the Primitive Church: for many of the Fathers wrote nothing at all, many of their writings are periſhed, (it may be that both of theſe have diſſented from the reſt) many of the Writings which we have under their names are ſuppoſititious and counterfeit, eſpecially about Epiſcopacy, which was the foundation of Papal Primacy. The Rule of *Auguſtine* afore-mentioned doth too much favour Traditions, and is not to be admitted without cautions and exceptions.

Many the like Conſiderations may be added; but theſe may be ſufficient to prove, that the unanimous Conſent of the Fathers and the univerſal Practice of the Primitive Church is no ſure ground of

Authentical interpretation of Scripture. I remember of a grave Divine in *Scotland*, much honoured by K. *James* of Happy memory, who did often profeſs that he did learn more of one Page of *John Calvin* then of a whole Treatiſe of *Auguſtine*. Nor can there be any good reaſon, (many there be againſt it) why the Ancients ſhould be ſo far preferred to the Modern Doctors of the Reformed Churches, and the one in a manner Deified, and the other vilified. It is but a poor Reaſon that ſome give, *Fama miratrix ſenioris ævi*, and is abundantly anſwered by the Apologiſt for Divine Providence. If Your Majeſty be ſtill unſatisfied concerning the Rule, I know not to what purpoſe I ſhould proceed, or trouble Your Majeſty any more.

Newcaſtle, July 2. 1646.

VII.

His MAJESTIES Fourth Paper.

For Mr *Alexander Henderſon.*

July 3. 1646.

I *Shall very willingly follow the* method *you have begun in your third Paper; but I do not conceive that my laſt Paper multiplies more Controverſies then my firſt gave occaſion for; having been ſo far from augmenting the Heads of our Diſputation, that I have omitted the anſwering many things in both your Papers, expreſly to avoid raiſing of new and needleſs* Queſtions; *deſiring to have only ſo many debated as are ſimply neceſſary to ſhew, whether or not* I may with a ſafe conſcience give way to the alteration of Church-Government in England. *And indeed I like very well, to begin with the* ſetling of the Rule, *by which we are to proceed, and determine the preſent* Controverſie: *to which purpoſe (as I conceive) My third Paper ſhewes you an excellent way; for there I offer you a* Judge *between us, or deſire you to* find out a better, *which, to My judgement, you have not yet done, (though*

you

you have ſought to invalidate Mine:) for, if you underſtand to have offered the Scripture, *though no man ſhall pay more reverence, nor ſubmit more humbly to it, then My ſelf; yet we muſt find ſome Rule to judge betwixt us, when you and I differ upon the* interpretation *of the ſelf-ſame Text, or it can never determine our Queſtions. As for example, I ſay you miſapply that of* 2 Cor. 1. 14. *to* Me (*let others anſwer for themſelves*) *for I know not how I make* other men to have dominion over My Faith, *when I make them only* ſerve *to* approve my Reaſon. *Nor do I conceive how* 1 Cor. 2. 5. *can be applied to this purpoſe: for there Saint* Paul *only ſhews the difference between* Divine *and* Humane Eloquence, *making no mention of any kind of* interpretation *throughout the whole Chapter, as indeed Saint* Peter *does,* 2 Pet. 1. 20. *which I conceive makes for* Me: *for, ſince that no* Propheſie of Scripture is of any private interpretation, *Firſt, I inferre, that* Scripture *is to be* Interpreted, *for elſe the* Apoſtle *would have omitted the word* Private; *Secondly, that at leaſt the conſent of many learned Divines is neceſſary, and ſo,* à fortiori, *that of the* Catholick Church *ought to be an* authentick Judge, *when men differ. And is it a good Argument, becauſe* (Matth. 4. 4, 7, 10.) *Scripture is beſt interpreted by it ſelf, therefore that all other interpretations are unlawful? certainful you cannot think it. Thus having ſhewed you that we differ about the* meaning *of the Scripture, and are like to do ſo; certainly there ought to be for this, as well as other things, a* Rule *or a* Judge *between us, to determine our differences, or, at leaſt, to make our Probations and Arguments* Relevant: *therefore evading for this time to Anſwer your Six* Conſiderations (*not, I aſſure you, for the difficulty of them, but the ſtarting of new Queſtions*) *I deſire you onely to ſhew Me a better then what I have offered unto you.*

Newcaſtle, July 3. 1646.

C. R.

VIII.

His MAJESTIES Fifth Paper.

For Mr *Alexander Henderſon.*

A particular Anſwer to Mr *Alexander Henderſon's* Third Paper.
July 16. 1646.

UNtill *you ſhall find out a* fitter way *to decide our* Difference *in Opinion concerning* Interpretation of Scripture, *then the* Conſent of the Fathers and the Univerſal Practice of the Primitive Church, *I cannot but paſs my Judgement anent thoſe Six* Conſiderations *which you offered to invalidate thoſe Authorities that I ſo much reverence.*

1. *In the firſt you mention* two Rules for defining of Controverſies, *and ſeek a moſt odde way to confute them, as I think; for you alleage, that* there is more attributed to them *then I believe you can prove by the Conſent of moſt learned Men (there being no queſtion, but there are alwayes ſome flattering fools that can commend nothing but with hyperbolick expreſsions) and you know that* ſuppoſito quolibet, ſequitur quidlibet: *beſides, do you think, that albeit ſome ignorant Fellows ſhould attribute more power to* Presbyters *then is really due unto them, that thereby their Juſt reverence and Authority is diminiſhed? So I ſee no reaſon why I may not ſafely maintain that the* Interpretation of Fathers *is a moſt excellent* ſtrengthning *to My Opinion, though others ſhould attribute the* Cauſe *and* Reaſon *of their Faith unto it.*

2. *As there is no queſtion but that* Scripture *is farre the* beſt Interpreter *of it ſelf, ſo I ſee nothing in this, negatively proved, to exclude any other, notwithſtanding your poſitive affirmation.*

3. *Nor in the next; for I hope you will not be the firſt to condemn your ſelf, Me, and innumerable others, who yet unblameably have not tied themſelves to this Rule.*

4. *If*

4. *If this you onely intend to prove, that* Errours *were alwaies* breeding in the Church, *I ſhall not deny it; yet that makes little (as I conceive) to your purpoſe. But if your meaning be, to accuſe the* Univerſal practice of the Church *with* Errour, *I muſt ſay, it is a very bold undertaking, and (if you cannot juſtifie your ſelf by clear places in Scripture) much to be blamed: wherein you muſt not alleage that to be univerſally received which was not; as I dare ſay that the* Controverſie about Free-will *was never yet decided by* Oecumenicall *or* Generall Councill: *nor muſt you preſume to call that an* Errour, *which really the* Catholick Church *maintained (as in* Rites of Baptiſme, Forms of Prayer, Obſervation of Feaſts, Faſts, *&c.) except you can prove it ſo by the Word of God; and it is not enough to ſay that ſuch a thing was not warranted by the* Apoſtles, *but you muſt prove by their* Doctrine *that ſuch a thing was* unlawfull, *or elſe the* Practice of the Church *is warrant enough for Me to follow and obey that Cuſtome, whatſoever it be, and think it good; and I ſhall believe that the* Apoſtles Creed *was made by them, (ſuch* Reverence *I bear to the Churches* Tradition) *untill other Authours be certainly found out.*

5. *I was taught that* de poſſe ad eſſe *was no good Argument; and indeed to Me it is incredible that any* cuſtome of the Catholick Church *was erroneous, which was not contradicted by* Orthodox *learned Men in the times of their firſt Practice, as is eaſily perceived that all thoſe* Defections *were (ſome of them may be juſtly called* Rebellions) *which you mention.*

6. *I deny it is* impoſsible (*though I confeſs it* difficult) *to come to the knowledge of the* Univerſal Conſent and Practice of the Primitive Church; *therefore I confeſs a man ought to be* carefull *how to believe things of this nature; wherefore I conceive this to be only an Argument for* Caution.

My concluſion is, that albeit I never eſteemed any Authority *equall to the* Scriptures; *yet I do think the* Unanimous Conſent of the Fathers, *and the* Univerſall Practice of the Primitive Church, to be the beſt and moſt Authentical Interpreters of God's word, *and conſequently the fitteſt Judges between Me and you, when we differ, untill you ſhall find Me better. For example, I think you for the preſent the beſt* Preacher *in* Newcaſtle; *yet I believe you may erre, and poſsibly a better* Preacher *may come: but till then I muſt retain my Opinion.*

Newcaſtle, July 16. 1646.

C. R.

His MAJESTIES *Quære concerning* Easter, *propounded to the Parliaments Commissioners at* Holdenby, *April* 23. 1647.

I desire to be resolved of this Question,

Why the new Reformers discharge the keeping of Easter.

The Reason for this Quære is,

I Conceive the Celebration of this Feast was instituted by the same Authority which changed the *Jewish* Sabbath into the Lords Day, or *Sunday*; for it will not be found in Scripture where *Saturday* is discharged to be kept, or turned into the *Sunday*: wherefore it must be the Churches Authority that changed the one, and instituted the other. Therefore My Opinion is, that those who will not keep this Feast, may as well return to the observation of *Saturday*, and refuse the weekly *Sunday*. When any body can shew Me that herein I am in an errour, I shall not be ashamed to confess and amend it; till when you know my mind.

C. R.

His MAJESTIES *First Paper Concerning Episcopacy,*

At the Treatie at NEWPORT, *October* 2. 1648.

Charles R.

I Conceive that *Episcopal Government* is most consonant to the Word of God, and of an Apostolical institution, as it appears by the Scripture to have been practised by the Apostles themselves, and by them committed and derived to particular persons as their Substitutes or Successors therein (as for ordaining Presbyters and Deacons, giving Rules concerning Christian Discipline, and exercising Censures over Presbyters and others) and hath ever since to these last times been exercised by Bishops in all the Churches of Christ: and therefore I cannot in Conscience consent to abolish the said Government. Notwithstanding this my perswasion, I shall be glad to be informed, if our Saviour and the Apostles did so leave the Church at libertie, as they might totally alter or change the Church-Government at their pleasure: Which if you can make appear to Me, then I will confess that one of my great Scruples is clean taken away:

Act. 14. 23. Acts 6. 6. 1 Cor. 16. 1. 1 Cor. 14. 1 Cor. 5. 5. 3 Joh. 9, 10 1 Tim. 5. 22. Tit. 1. 5. Revel. 2. 3. 1 Tim. 5. 19. Tit. 3. 10.

And then there onely remaines,

That being by my Coronation Oath obliged to maintain Episcopal Government as I found it setled to my hands; Whether I may consent to the abolishing thereof, until the same shall be evidenced to Me to be contrary to the Word of God.

Newport, 2. *October*, 1648.

PRAYERS
USED BY KING CHARLES
IN THE TIME
OF HIS TROUBLES
AND RESTRAINT.

PRAYERS

Used by His MAJESTIE in the time of His Troubles and Restraint.

I.

A Prayer used by His MAJESTIE, at His entrance in state into the Cathedral Church of Excester *after the defeat of the Earle of* Essex *in* Cornwall.

O Most glorious Lord God, Father, Sonne, and Holy Ghost, I here humbly adore thy most Sacred Majesty; and I bless and magnify thy Name, for that Thou hast been pleased so often and so strangely to deliver Me from the strivings of my People. Father, forgive them who have thus risen up against Me, and do Thou yet turne their hearts both unto Thee and to Me; that I being firmly established in the Throne Thou hast placed Me in, I may defend Thy Church committed to My care, and keep all this Thine and My People in Truth and Peace, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

II.

A Prayer drawn by His MAJESTIES speciall direction and dictates, for a Blessing on the Treatie at Uxbridge.

O Most mercifull Father, Lord God of Peace and Truth, we a People sorely afflicted by the scourge of an unnatural War, do here earnestly beseech Thee to command a Blessing from

Heaven upon this preſent Treatie, begun for the eſtabliſhment of an happy Peace. Soften the moſt obdurate hearts with a true Chriſtian deſire of ſaving thoſe mens blood for whom Chriſt himſelf hath ſhed his. Or, if the guilt of our great Sins cauſe this Treaty to break off in vain, Lord, let the Truth clearly appear, who thoſe men are, which under pretence of the Publick Good do purſue their own private ends; that this People may be no longer ſo blindly miſerable as not to ſee, at leaſt in this their day, the things that belong unto their Peace. Grant this, gratious God, for His ſake who is our Peace it ſelf, even Jeſus Chriſt our Lord. Amen.

III.

A Prayer drawn by His MAJESTIES ſpecial directions, for a Bleſſing on the Treaty at Newport *in the Iſle of* Wight.

O Moſt Merciful Father, Lord God of Peace and Truth, we a People ſorely afflicted by the ſcourge of an unnatural War, do here earneſtly beſeech Thee to command a Bleſsing from Heaven upon this Treaty brought about by Thy Providence, and the only viſible remedie left for the eſtabliſhment of an happy Peace. Soften the moſt obdurate hearts with a true Chriſtian deſire of ſaving thoſe mens blood for whom Chriſt himſelf hath ſhed His. O Lord, let not the guilt of our Sins cauſe this Treatie to break off; but let the Truth of Thy ſpirit ſo clearly ſhine in our minds, that all private ends laid aſide, we may every one of us heartily and ſincerely purſue the Publick Good; and that thy People may be no longer ſo blindly miſerable as not to ſee, at leaſt in this their day, the things that belong unto their Peace. Grant this, gratious God, for His ſake who is our Peace it ſelf, even Jeſus Chriſt our Lord. Amen.

A Prayer

IV.

A Prayer for Pardon of Sin.

ALmighty and moſt merciſull Father, look down upon Me thy unworthy Servant, who here proſtrate My ſelf at the Footſtool of thy Throne of Grace: but look upon Me, O Father, through the Mediation and in the Merits of Jeſus Chriſt, in whom Thou art onely well pleaſed; for of My ſelf I am not worthy to ſtand before Thee, or to ſpeak with my unclean lips to Thee, moſt Holy and Eternal God. For as in ſin I was conceived and born, ſo likewiſe I have broken all thy Commandements by my ſinfull Motions, unclean Thoughts, evil Words, and wicked Works; omitting many Duties I ought to doe, and committing many Vices which Thou haſt forbidden under pain of thy heavy diſpleaſure. As for my Sins, O Lord, they are innumerable; wherefore I ſtand here liable to all the Miſeries in this life, and everlaſting Torments in that to come, if Thou ſhouldſt deale with Me according to My deſerts. I confeſſe, O Lord, that it is Thy Mercy (which endureth for ever) and Thy Compaſsion (which never failes) which is the cauſe that I have not been long agoe conſumed: But with Thee there is Mercy and plenteous redemption. In the multitude therefore of thy Mercies, and by the Merits of Jeſus Chriſt, I entreat thy Divine Majeſty that Thou wouldſt not enter into Judgement with thy Servant, nor be extreme to mark what is done amiſs, but be Thou merciſull unto Me, and waſh away all my Sins with that precious Blood that my Saviour ſhed for Me. And I beſeech Thee, O Lord, not only to waſh away all my Sins, but alſo to purge my Heart by thy Holy Spirit from the droſs of my natural Corruption. And as Thou doſt adde days to my Life, ſo, Good Lord, I beſeech Thee to adde Repentance to my days; that when I have paſt this mortal life, I may be partaker of thy everlaſting Kingdom, through the merits of Jeſus Chriſt our Lord. Amen.

V.

A Prayer and Confession in and for the times of Affliction.

ALmighty and most mercifull Father, as it is only Thy goodness that admits of our imperfect Prayers, and the knowledge that Thy Mercies are infinite which can give us any hope of Thy accepting or granting them; so it is our bounden and necessary Duty to confess our Sins freely unto Thee. And of all men living I have most need, most reason so to doe, no man living having been so much obliged by Thee; that degree of Knowledge which Thou hast given Me, adding likewise to the guilt of my Transgressions. For was it through Ignorance that I suffered innocent blood to be shed by a false pretended way of Justice? or that I permitted a wrong way of thy Worship to be set up in *Scotland*, and injured the Bishops in *England*? O no; but with shame and grief I confess, that I therein followed the perswasions of worldly Wisdom, forsaking the Dictates of a right-informed Conscience. Wherefore, O Lord, I have no excuse to make, no hope left, but in the multitude of Thy Mercies; for I know my Repentance weak, and my Prayers faulty. Grant therefore, mercifull Father, so to strengthen my Repentance and amend my Prayers, that Thou mayst clear the way for thine own Mercies; to which O let thy Justice at last give place, putting a speedy end to my deserved Afflictions. In the mean time give Me Patience to endure, Constancy against Temptations, and a discerning spirit to chuse what is best for Thy Church and People which Thou hast committed to My Charge. Grant this, O most mercifull Father, for thy Son Jesus Christ's sake, our onely Saviour. Amen.

VI.

A Praier in time of Captivity.

O Powerful and eternal God, to whom nothing is ſo great that it may reſiſt, or ſo ſmall that it is contemned; look upon My Miſery with Thine Eye of Mercy, and let thy infinite Power vouchſafe to limit out ſome proportion of deliverance unto Me, as to Thee ſhall ſeem moſt convenient. Let not injury, O Lord, triumph over Me, and let my faults by Thy Hand be corrected, and make not my unjuſt Enemies the Miniſters of thy Juſtice. But yet, my God, if in thy Wiſedome this be the apteſt chaſtiſement for my unexcuſable Tranſgreſsions, if this ungrateful bondage be fitteſt for my over-high deſires, if the pride of my (not enough humble) Heart be thus to be broken; O Lord, I yield unto Thy Will, and chearfully embrace what ſorrow Thou wilt have Me ſuffer. Onely thus much let Me crave of Thee, (let my craving, O Lord, be accepted of, ſince it even proceeds from Thee,) that by thy Goodneſs, which is Thy ſelf, Thou wilt ſuffer ſome beame of thy Majeſty ſo to ſhine in my mind, that I, who acknowledge it my nobleſt Title to be Thy Creature, may ſtill in my greateſt Afflictions depend confidently on Thee. Let Calamitie be the exerciſe, but not the overthrow of my Vertue: O let not their prevailing power be to My Deſtruction. And if it be thy Will, that they more and more vex Me with puniſhment, yet, O Lord, never let their Wickedneſs have ſuch a hand, but that I may ſtill carry a pure mind and ſtedfaſt reſolution ever to ſerve Thee without Fear or Preſumption, yet with that humble Confidence which may beſt pleaſe Thee: ſo that at the laſt I may come to thy eternal Kingdome, through the Merits of thy Son, our alone Saviour, Jeſus Chriſt. Amen.

VII.

A Prayer in time of imminent danger.

O Moſt merciful Father, though my Sins are ſo many and grievous, that I may rather expect the effects of thy Anger then ſo great a deliverance as to free Me from my preſent great Danger; yet, O Lord, ſince thy Mercies are over all thy works, and Thou never faileſt to relieve all thoſe who with humble and unfeigned Repentance come to Thee for ſuccour, it were to multiplie, not diminiſh my Tranſgreſsions, to deſpair of thy heavenly favour: wherefore I humbly deſire thy Divine Majeſty, that Thou wilt not onely pardon all my Sinnes, but alſo free Me out of the hands and protect Me from the Malice of my cruel Enemies. But if thy wrath againſt my hainous offences will not otherwiſe be ſatisfied, then by ſuffering Me to fall under my preſent Afflictions, thy Will be done: yet with humble importunitie I do, and ſhall never leave to implore the aſsiſtance of thy Heavenly Spirit, that My Cauſe, as I am Thy Vicegerent, may not ſuffer through My weakneſs or want of Courage. O Lord, ſo ſtrengthen and inlighten all the Faculties of my Mind, that with clearneſs I may ſhew forth thy Truth, and manfully endure this bloody Trial; that ſo my Sufferings here may not onely glorify Thee, but likewiſe be a furtherance to My Salvation hereafter. Grant this, O merciful Father, for His ſake who ſuffered for Me, even Jeſus Chriſt the Righteous. Amen.

KING CHARLES HIS MESSAGES FOR PEACE.

XXXIX.

KING CHARLES
HIS MESSAGES
FOR PEACE.

I.

From CANTERBURY,

Jan. 20. MDCXLI. II.

For the Compoſing of all Differences.

HIS Majeſty perceiving the manifold diſtractions which are now in this Kingdom, which cannot but bring great inconveniencies and miſchief to this whole Government, in which as His Majeſty is moſt chiefly intereſſed, ſo He holds Himſelf by many reaſons moſt obliged to doe what in Him lies for the preventing thereof; though He might juſtly expect (as moſt proper for the duty of Subjects) that Propoſitions for the remedies of theſe evils ought rather to come to Him then from Him; yet His Fatherly care of all His people being ſuch, that He will rather lay by any particular reſpect of His Own Dignity, then that any time ſhould be loſt for prevention of theſe threatning evils, which cannot admit the delays of the ordinary proceedings in Parliament; doth think fit to make this enſuing Propoſition to both Houſes of Parliament, That they will with all ſpeed fall into a ſerious conſideration of all thoſe particulars which they ſhall hold neceſſary, as well for the upholding and maintaining of His Majeſties Juſt and Regal Authority, and for the ſetling of His Revenue, as for the preſent and future eſtabliſhment of their Priviledges, the free and quiet enjoying of their Eſtates and Fortunes, the Liberties of their Perſons, the ſecurity of

the

the true Religion now profeſſed in the Church of *England*, and the ſetling of Ceremonies in ſuch a maner as may take away all juſt offence. Which when they ſhall have digeſted and compoſed into one entire body, that ſo His Majeſty and themſelves may be able to make the more clear Judgement of them, it ſhall then appear by what his Majeſty ſhall doe, how far He hath been from intending or deſigning any of thoſe things which the too great Fears and Jealouſies of ſome perſons ſeem to apprehend; and how ready He will be to equal and exceed the greateſt examples of the moſt indulgent Princes, in their Acts of Grace and Favor to their People. So that if all the preſent Diſtractions (which ſo apparently threaten the Ruine of this Kingdome) do not (by the bleſsing of Almighty God) end in an happy and bleſſed Accommodation; His Majeſty will then be ready to call Heaven and Earth, God and Man to witneſs, that it hath not failed on His part.

II.

From HUNTINGDON, *March* 15.

Upon His Removal to YORK.

In purſuance of the Former.

HIS Majeſty being now on His remove to His City of *York*, where He intends to make His Reſidence for ſome time, thinks fit to ſend this Meſſage to both Houſes of Parliament:

That he doth very earneſtly deſire that they will uſe all poſsible induſtry in expediting the buſineſs of *Ireland*, in which they ſhall finde ſo chearfull a concurrence by His Majeſty, that no inconvenience ſhall happen to that ſervice by His abſence, He having all that paſsion for the reducing of that Kingdom which He hath expreſſed in His former Meſſages, and being unable by words to manifeſt more affection to it then He hath endeavored to do by thoſe Meſſages (having likewiſe done all ſuch Acts as he hath been moved

moved unto by His Parliament:) therefore if the misfortunes and calamities of His poor Protestant Subjects shall grow upon them (though His Majesty shall be deeply concerned in and sensible of their sufferings) He shall wash His hands before all the World from the least imputation of slackness in that most necessary and pious work.

And that His Majesty may leave no way unattempted which may beget a good understanding between Him and His Parliament, He thinks it necessary to declare, That as He hath been so tender of the Privileges of Parliament, that He hath been ready and forward to retract any Act of His own which He hath been informed hath trencht upon their Privileges; so He expects an equal tenderness in them of His Majesties known and unquestionable Privileges (which are the Privileges of the Kingdom) amongst which He is assured it is a Fundamental one, That His Subjects cannot be obliged to obey any Act, Order, or Injunction, to which His Majesty hath not given His consent. And therefore He thinks it necessary to publish, That He expects, and hereby requires, Obedience from all His loving Subjects to the Laws established, and that they presume not upon any pretence of Order or Ordinance (to which His Majesty is no party) concerning the *Militia*, or any other thing, to doe or execute what is not warranted by those Laws, His Majesty being resolved to keep the Laws Himself, and to require Obedience to them from all His Subjects.

And His Majesty once more recommends to His Parliament the substance of His Message of the twentieth of *January* last, that they compose and digest with all speed such Acts as they shall think fit for the present and future establishment of their Privileges, the free and quiet enjoying their Estates and Fortunes, the Liberties of their Persons, the security of the true Religion now professed in the Church of *England*, the maintaining His Majesties Regal and just Authority, and setling His Revenue: His Majesty being most desirous to take all fitting and just ways which may beget a happy understanding between Him and His Parliament, in which He conceives His greatest Power and Riches do consist.

From

III.

From NOTTINGHAM,
Aug. 25. MDCXLII.

When He set up His Standard.

By the Earls of Southampton *and* Dorset, *Sir* John Culpeper *Knight, Chancellour of the Exchequer, and Sir* W. Wedale *Knight.*

WE have with unspeakable grief of heart long beheld the distractions of this our Kingdom; Our very soul is full of anguish until We may finde some remedy to prevent the Miseries which are ready to overwhelm this whole Nation by a Civil War: and though all Our endeavors tending to the composing of those unhappy Differences betwixt Us and our two Houses of Parliament (though pursued by Us with all zeal and sincerity) have been hitherto without that success We hoped for; yet such is Our constant and earnest care to preserve the publick Peace, that We shall not be discouraged from using any expedient which by the blessing of the God of Mercy may lay a firm foundation of Peace and Happiness to all Our good Subjects. To this end observing that many mistakes have arisen by the Messages, Petitions, and Answers betwixt Us and Our two Houses of Parliament, which happily may be prevented by some other way of Treaty, wherein the matters in difference may be more clearly understood and more freely transacted; We have thought fit to propound to you, that some fit persons may be by you enabled to treat with the like number to be authorized by Us, in such a manner, and with such freedome of debate, as may best tend to that happy conclusion which all good men desire, *The peace of the Kingdom*: wherein as We promise in the word of a King all safety and encouragement to such as shall be sent unto Us, if you shall chuse the

place

place where We are for the Treaty, which We wholly leave to you, preſuming on the like care of the ſafety of thoſe We ſhall imploy, if you ſhall name another place; ſo We aſſure you and all Our good Subjects, that (to the beſt of Our Underſtanding) nothing ſhall be therein wanting on Our part which may advance the true Proteſtant Religion, oppoſe Popery and Superſtition, ſecure the Law of the land (upon which is built as well Our juſt Prerogative as the Propriety and Liberty of the Subject) confirm all juſt power and Privileges of Parliament, and render Us and Our People truly happy by a good underſtanding betwixt Us and Our two Houſes of Parliament. Bring with you as firm reſolutions to doe your Duty, and let all Our People joyn with Us in Our Prayers to Almighty God for his bleſsing upon this Work.

If this Propoſition ſhall be rejected by you, We have done Our duty ſo amply, that God will abſolve Us from the guilt of any of that Blood which muſt be ſpilt. And what opinion ſoever other men may have of Our power, We aſſure you nothing but Our Chriſtian and pious care to prevent the effuſion of Blood hath begot this motion; Our proviſion of Men, Arms and Money being ſuch as may ſecure Us from further Violence, till it pleaſe God to open the eyes of Our People.

IV.

From ..... *Sept.* 5. MDCXLII.

In purſuance of the former.

WE will not repeat what means We have uſed to prevent the dangerous and diſtracted eſtate of the Kingdom, nor how theſe means have been interpreted; becauſe being deſirous to avoid effuſion of blood, We are willing to decline all memory of former bitterneſs that might make Our offer of a Treaty leſs readily accepted.

We never did declare, nor ever intended to declare both Our Houſes

of Parliament Traitors, or ſet up Our Standard againſt them, and much leſs to put them and this Kingdom out of Our protection; We utterly profeſs againſt it before God and the World. And further, to remove all poſsible ſcruples which may hinder the Treaty ſo much deſired by Us, We hereby promiſe, ſo that a day be appointed by you for the revoking of your Declarations againſt all perſons as Traitors or otherwiſe, for aſsiſting Us, We ſhall with all chearfulneſs upon the ſame day recal Our Proclamations and Declarations, and take down Our Standard; in which Treaty We ſhall be ready to grant any thing that ſhall be really for the good of Our Subjects: Conjuring you to conſider the bleeding condition of *Ireland*, and the dangerous condition of *England*, in as high a degree as by theſe Our offers We have declared Our Self to do: And aſſuring you that Our chief deſire in this world is to beget a good underſtanding and mutual confidence betwixt Us and Our two Houſes of Parliament.

V.

From ..... *Sept.* II. MDC XLII.

In Replie to the Anſwer of both Houſes to the former.

WHo have taken moſt ways, uſed moſt endeavours, and made moſt real expreſsions to prevent the preſent Diſtractions and Dangers, let all the world judge, as well by former paſſages as Our two laſt Meſſages, which have been ſo fruitleſs, that (though We have deſcended to deſire and preſs it) not ſo much as a Treaty can be obtained, unleſs We would denude Our ſelf of all force to defend Us from a viſible ſtrength marching againſt Us, and admit thoſe perſons accounted as Traitors to Us, who according to their Duty, their Oaths of Allegiance and the Law, have appeared in defence of Us their King and Liege Lord, (whom

We

We are bound in Conscience and Honour to preserve) though We disclaimed all Our Proclamations and Declarations, and the erecting of Our Standard as against Our Parliament. All We have now left in Our power is, to express the deep sense We have of the publick Misery of this Kingdom, in which is involved that of Our distressed Protestants of *Ireland*; and to apply Our self to Our necessary defence, wherein We wholly relie upon the Providence of God, the Justice of Our Cause, and the Affection of Our good people, so far We are from putting them out of Our Protection. When you shall desire a Treaty of Us, We shall piously remember whose blood is to be spilt in this quarrel, and chearfully embrace it. And as no other reason induced Us to leave Our City of *London*, but that with Honour and Safety We could not stay there; nor to raise any force, but for the necessary defence of Our Person and the Law, against Levies in opposition to both: so We shall suddenly and most willingly return to the one, and disband the other, as soon as those causes shall be removed. The God of Heaven direct you, and in Mercy divert those Judgements which hang over this Nation; and so deal with Us and Our Posterity, as We desire the preservation and advancement of the true Protestant Religion, and the Law and Liberty of the Subject, the just Rights of Parliament, and the Peace of the Kingdome.

VI.

From BRAINFORD,

Nov. 12. MDCXLII.

After the Defeat of the Parliament forces at EDGE-HILL, *and at* BRAINFORD.

WHereas the last night, being the eleventh of *November*, after the departure of the Committee of both Our Houses with Our gratious Answer to their Petition, We received certain information (having till then heard nothing

of it, either from the Houſes Committee or otherwiſe) that the L. of *Eſſex* had drawn his Forces out of *London* towards Us, which hath neceſsitated Our ſudden reſolution to march with Our Forces to *Brainford*; We have thought hereby fit to ſignifie to both Our Houſes of Parliament, that We are no leſs deſirous of the Peace of the Kingdome then We expreſs in Our aforeſaid Anſwer; the Propoſitions for which We ſhall willingly receive whereever We are, and deſire (if it may be) to receive them at *Brainford* this night, or early to morrow morning; that all poſsible ſpeed may be made in ſo good a work, and all inconveniencies otherwiſe likely to intervene may be avoided.

VII.

From OXFORD, *April* 12. MDC XLIII.
At the Cloſe of the Treaty.

Concerning the Disbanding of all Forces, and His Return to the Houſes.

TO ſhew to the whole World how earneſtly His Majeſty longs for Peace, and that no ſucceſs ſhall make Him deſire the continuance of His Army to any other end, or for any longer time then that, and untill things may be ſo ſetled as that the Law may have a full, free and uninterrupted courſe, for the defence and preſervation of the Rights of His Majeſty, both Houſes, and His good Subjects;

1. As ſoon as His Majeſty is ſatisfied in His firſt Propoſition concerning His own Revenue, Magazines, Ships and Forts, in which He deſires nothing but that the Juſt, known, Legal Rights of His Majeſty (devolved to him from His Progenitors) and of the perſons truſted by Him, which have been violently taken from both, be reſtored unto Him and unto them, unleſs any juſt and legal exceptions againſt

againſt any of the perſons truſted by Him (which are yet unknown to His Majeſty) can be made appear to Him:

2. As ſoon as all the Members of both Houſes ſhall be reſtored to the ſame capacity of ſitting and Voting in Parliament as they had upon the firſt of *January* 1641. the ſame of right belonging unto them by their birth-rights and the free election of thoſe that ſent them, and having been voted from them for adhering to His Majeſty in theſe Diſtractions; His Majeſty not intending that this ſhould extend either to the Biſhops, whoſe Votes have been taken away by Bill, or to ſuch in whoſe places upon new Writs new Elections have been made:

3. As ſoon as His Majeſty and both Houſes may be ſecured from ſuch tumultuous Aſſemblies, as to the great breach of the Privileges and the high diſhonor of Parliaments have formerly aſſembled about both Houſes, and awed the Members of the ſame, and occaſioned two ſeveral complaints from the Lords Houſe, and two ſeveral deſires of that Houſe to the Houſe of Commons to joyn in a Declaration againſt them, the complying with which deſire might have prevented all theſe miſerable Diſtractions which have enſued; which ſecurity His Majeſty conceives can be onely ſetled by adjourning the Parliament to ſome other place, at the leaſt twenty Miles from *London*, the choice of which His Majeſty leaves to both Houſes:

His Majeſty will moſt chearfully and readily conſent that both Armies be immediately disbanded, and give a preſent meeting to both His Houſes of Parliament at the time and place at and to which the Parliament ſhall be agreed to be adjourned.

His Majeſty being moſt confident that the Law will then recover the due credit and eſtimation, and that upon a free debate in a full and peaceable Convention of Parliament, ſuch proviſions will be made againſt ſeditious Preaching and Printing againſt His Majeſty and the eſtabliſhed Laws, which hath been one of the chief cauſes of the preſent Diſtractions, and ſuch care will be taken concerning the legal and known Rights of His Majeſty, and the Property and Liberty of His Subjects, that whatſoever hath been publiſhed or done in or by colour of any illegal Declaration, Ordinance or Order of one or both Houſes, or any Committee of either of them, and particu-

larly the power to raiſe Arms without His Majeſties conſent, will be in ſuch a maner recalled, diſclaimed, and provided againſt, that no ſeed will remain for the like to ſpring out of for the future, to diſturb the Peace of the Kingdom, and to endanger the very Being of it.

And in ſuch a Convention His Majeſty is reſolved, by His readineſs to conſent to whatſoever ſhall be propoſed to Him by Bill for the real good of His Subjects, and particularly for the better diſcovery and ſpeedier conviction of Recuſants, for the education of the children of Papiſts by Proteſtants in the Proteſtant Religion, for the prevention of the practices of Papiſts againſt the State, and the due execution of the Laws, and true levying of the penalties againſt them; to make known to all the world how cauſeleſs thoſe Fears and Jealouſies have been which have been raiſed againſt Him, and by that ſo diſtracted this miſerable Kingdom. And if this offer of His Majeſty be not conſented to, (in which He asks nothing for which there is not apparent Juſtice on His ſide, and in which He defers many things highly concerning both Himſelf and People, till a full and peaceable Convention of Parliament, which in Juſtice He might now require) His Majeſty is confident that it will then appear to all the World, not onely who is moſt deſirous of Peace, and whoſe fault it is that both Armies are not now disbanded, but who have been the true and firſt cauſe that this Peace was ever interrupted, or theſe Armies raiſed; and the beginning or continuance of the War, and the deſtruction and deſolation of this poor Kingdom (which is too likely to enſue) will not, by the moſt intereſſed, paſſionate or prejudicate perſon, be imputed to His Majeſty.

From

VIII.

From OXFORD, *May* 19. MDCXLIII.

In purſuance of the former.

SInce His Majeſties Meſſage of the twelfth of *April*, (in which He conceived He had made ſuch an Overture for the immediate disbanding of all Armies, and compoſure of theſe preſent miſerable Diſtractions, by a full and free Convention in Parliament, that a perfect and ſetled Peace would have enſued) hath in all this time (above a full moneth) procured no Anſwer from both Houſes, His Majeſty might well believe Himſelf abſolved before God and man from the leaſt poſsible charge of not having uſed His utmoſt endeavor for Peace: yet when He conſiders that the Scene of all this Calamity is in the bowels of his own Kingdom, that all the blood which is ſpilt is of His own Subjects, and that what Victory ſoever it ſhall pleaſe God to give Him muſt be over thoſe who ought not to have lifted up their hands againſt Him; when He conſiders That theſe deſperate civil Diſſentions may encourage and invite a forein Enemy to make a prey of the whole Nation; That *Ireland* is in preſent danger to be totally loſt; That the heavy Judgements of God, Plague, Peſtilence and Famine, will be the inevitable attendants of this unnatural Contention; and That in a ſhort time there will be ſo general a habit of Uncharitableneſs and Cruelty contracted throughout the Kingdom, that even Peace it ſelf will not reſtore His People to their old temper and ſecurity; His Majeſty cannot but again call for an Anſwer to that His Meſſage, which gives ſo fair a riſe to end theſe unnatural Diſtractions. And His Majeſty doth this with the more earneſtneſs, becauſe He doubts not the condition of His Armies in ſeveral parts, His ſtrength of Horſe, Foot and Artillery, His plenty of Ammunition (which ſome men lately might conceive He wanted) is ſo well known and underſtood, that it muſt be confeſſed, that nothing but the Tenderneſs and Love to His people, and thoſe Chriſtian Impreſsions which always have, and He hopes always ſhall dwell

in His heart, could move Him once more to hazard a refuſal. And he requires them, as they will anſwer to God, to Himſelf, and all the World, that they will no longer ſuffer their fellow-Subjects to welter in each others blood; that they will remember by whoſe Authority, and to what end they met in that Council, and ſend ſuch an Anſwer to His Majeſty, as may open a door to let in a firm Peace and Security to the whole Kingdom. If His Majeſty ſhall again be diſappointed of His intentions herein, the Blood, Rapine and Diſtraction which muſt follow in *England* and *Ireland*, will be caſt upon the account of thoſe who are deaf to the motion of Peace and Accommodation.

IX.

From OXFORD, *Mar.* 3. MDCXLIII IV.

For a Treaty.

To the Lords and Commons of Parliament Aſſembled at *Weſtminſter.*

C. R.

OUt of Our moſt tender and pious ſenſe of the ſad and bleeding condition of this Our Kingdom, and Our unwearied deſires to apply all remedies which, by the bleſsing of Almighty God, may recover it from an utter Ruine, by the Advice of the Lords and Commons of Parliament aſſembled at *Oxford*, We do propound and deſire, That a convenient number of fit Perſons may be appointed and authorized by you to meet with all convenient ſpeed, at ſuch Place as you ſhall nominate, with an equal number of fit Perſons whom We ſhall appoint and authorize, to Treat of the waies and means to ſettle the preſent Diſtractions of this Our Kingdom, and to procure a happy Peace: And particularly, how all the Members of both Houſes may ſecurely meet in a full and free Convention of Parliament,

ment, there to Treat, Consult, and Agree upon such things as may conduce to the maintenance and defence of the true Reformed Protestant Religion, with due consideration to all just and reasonable ease of tender Consciences, to the setling and maintaining of Our just Rights and Privileges, of the Rights and Privileges of Parliament, the Lawes of the Land, the Liberty and Property of the Subject, and all other Expedients that may conduce to that blessed end of a firme and lasting Peace, both in Church and State, and a perfect understanding betwixt Us and Our People; wherein no endeavour or concurrency of Ours shall be wanting. And God direct your hearts in the waies of Peace.

Given at Our Court at *Oxford*,
the third day of *March*, 1643.

X.

From EVESHOLME, *July* 4. MDC XLIV.

After the Defeat of WALLER *at* Cropredy *Bridge.*

To the Lords and Commons of Parliament Assembled at *Westminster.*

C. R.

WE being deeply sensible of the Miseries and Calamities of this Our Kingdome, and of the grievous Sufferings of Our poor Subjects, do most earnestly desire that some Expedient may be found out which, by the blessing of God, may prevent the further effusion of blood, and restore the Nation to Peace: from the earnest and constant endeavouring of which, as no discouragement given Us on the Contrary part shall make Us cease, so no success on Ours shall ever divert Us. For the effecting whereof, We are most ready and willing to condescend to

all

all that ſhall be for the good of Us and Our People, whether by way of confirmation of what We have already granted, or of ſuch further conceſsion as ſhall be requiſite to the giving a full aſſurance of the performance of all Our moſt real profeſsions, concerning the maintenance of the true Reformed Proteſtant Religion eſtabliſhed in this Kingdom, with due regard to the eaſe of tender Conſciences, the juſt Privileges of Parliament, and the Liberty and Propriety of the Subject, according to the Laws of the Land; as alſo by granting a general Pardon, without or with exceptions, as ſhall be thought fit. In order to which bleſſed Peace, We do deſire and propound to the Lords and Commons of Parliament aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*, That they appoint ſuch and ſo many perſons as they ſhall think fit, ſufficiently authorized by them, to attend Us at Our Army, upon ſafe conduct to come and return, (which We do hereby grant) and conclude with Us how the Premiſſes and all other things in queſtion betwixt Us and them may be fully ſetled: whereby all unhappy miſtākings betwixt Us and Our People being removed, there may be a preſent Ceſſation of Arms, and as ſoon as may be a totall disbanding of all Armies, the Subject have his due, and We be reſtored to Our Rights. Wherein if this Our offer ſhall be accepted, there ſhall be nothing wanting on Our part which may make our People ſecure and happy.

Given at Our Court at *Eveſholm*,
the fourth of *July*, 1644.

From

XI.

From TAVESTOCK, *Sept.* 8. MDC XLIV.

After the Defeat of the Earl of ESSEX *in* Cornwall.

To the Lords and Commons of Parliament Aſſembled at *Weſtminſter.*

CHARLES R.

IT having pleaſed God in ſo eminent a manner lately to bleſs Our Armies in theſe parts with ſucceſs, We do not ſo much joy in that bleſsing for any other conſideration, as for the hopes We have that it may be a means to make others lay to heart, as We do, the miſeries brought and continued upon Our Kingdom by this unnatural War, and that it may open your ears and diſpoſe your mindes to embrace thoſe offers of Peace and Reconciliation which have been ſo often and ſo earneſtly made unto you by Us, and from the conſtant and fervent endeavours of which We are reſolved never to deſiſt. In purſuance whereof, We do upon this occaſion conjure you to take into conſideration Our (too-long-neglected) Meſſage of the fourth of *July* from *Eveſholm*, which We again renew unto you; and that you will ſpeedily ſend Us ſuch an Anſwer thereunto, as may ſhew unto Our poor Subjects ſome light of a deliverance from their preſent Calamities by a happy Accommodation; toward which We do here engage the word of a King, to make good all thoſe things which We have therein promiſed, and really to endeavour a happy concluſion of this Treaty. And ſo God direct you in the ways of Peace.

Given at our Court at *Taveſtock*,
the eighth of *September*, 1644.

From

XII.

From OXFORD, *Dec.* 13. MDCXLIV.

For a Treaty by Commissioners.

By the Duke of Richmond *and Earle of* Southampton.

HIS Majesty hath seriously considered your Propositions, and finds it very difficult, in respect they import so great an alteration in Government, both in Church and State, to return a particular and positive Answer before a full debate, wherein those Propositions, and all necessary Explanations, and Reasons for assenting, dissenting, or qualifying, and all inconveniences and mischiefs which may ensue, and cannot otherwise be so well foreseen, may be discussed and weighed. His Majesty therefore proposeth and desireth as the best expedient for Peace, That you will appoint such a number of Persons as you shall think fit, to Treat with the like number of Persons to be appointed by His Majesty upon the said Propositions, and such other things as shall be proposed by His Majesty, for the preservation and defence of the Protestant Religion (with due regard to the ease of tender Consciences, as His Majesty hath often offered) the Rights of the Crown, the Liberty and Property of the Subject, and the Privileges of Parliament: and upon the whole matter to conclude a happy and blessed Peace.

From

XIII.

From OXFORD, *Dec.* 5. MDC XLV.

For a safe Conduct for certain Persons of Honor, to be sent with Propositions of Peace.

For the Speaker of the House of Peers *pro tempore.*

CHARLES R.

HIs Majesty being still deeply sensible of the continuation of this bloody and unnatural War, cannot think Himself discharg'd of the duty He owes to God, or the affection and regard He hath to the preservation of His People, without the constant application of His earnest endeavours to find some Expedient for the speedy ending of these unhappy Distractions, if that may be; doth therefore desire, That a safe Conduct may be forthwith sent for the Duke of *Richmond*, the Earle of *Southampton*, *John Ashburnham* and *Jeffry Palmer* Esquires, and their attendants, with Coaches, Horses, and other accommodations for their journey to *Westminster*, during their stay there, and return when they shall think fit; whom His Majesty intends to send to the Lords and Commons assembled in the Parliament of *England* at *Westminster*, and the Commissioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*, furnished with such Propositions as His Majesty is confident will be the foundation of a happy and well-grounded Peace.

Given at our Court at
Oxford, 5. *December* 1645.

XIV.

From OXFORD, *Dec.* 15. MDCXLV.

In purſuance of the former.

For the Speaker of the Houſe of Peers *pro tempore.*

CHARLES R.

HIs Majeſty cannot but extremely wonder, that after ſo many expreſsions on your part of a deep and ſeeming ſenſe of the Miſeries of this afflicted Kingdom, and of the dangers incident to His Perſon during the continuance of this unnatural War, your many great and ſo often repeated Proteſtations, that the raiſing of theſe Arms hath been only for the neceſſary defence of God's true Religion, His Majeſties Honour, Safety and Proſperity, the Peace, Comfort and Security of His People, you ſhould delay a ſafe Conduct to the perſons mentioned in His Majeſties Meſſage of the fifth of this inſtant *December*, which are to be ſent unto you with Propoſitions for a well-grounded Peace: A thing ſo far from having been denied at any time by His Majeſty, whenſoever you have deſired the ſame, that He believes it hath been ſeldom (if ever) practiſed among the moſt avowed and profeſſed Enemies, much leſs from Subjects to their King. But His Majeſty is reſolved that no diſcouragements whatſoever ſhall make Him fail on His part in doing His uttermoſt endeavours to put an end to theſe Calamities, which if not in time prevented, muſt prove the ruine of this unhappy Nation: and therefore doth once again deſire, that a ſafe Conduct may be forthwith ſent for thoſe Perſons expreſſed in His former Meſſage; and doth therefore conjure you, as you will anſwer to Almighty God, in that day when He ſhall make inquiſition for all the blood that hath and may yet be ſpilt in this unnatural War, as you tender the preſervation and eſtabliſhment of the true Religion, by all the bonds of Duty

and

and Allegiance to your King, or compassion to your bleeding and unhappy Countrey, and of charity to your selves, that you dispose your hearts to a true sense, and imploy all your faculties in a more serious endeavour, together with His Majesty, to set a speedie end to these wasting Divisions: and then He shall not doubt but that God will yet again give the blessing of Peace to this distracted Kingdom.

Given at our Court at *Oxford*,
the 15. of *Decemb.* 1645.

XV.

From OXFORD, *Dec.* 26. MDC XLV.

For a Personal Treaty.

For the Speaker of the House of Peers *pro tempore*, to be communicated to the two Houses of Parliament at *Westminster*, and to the Commissioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*.

CHARLES R.

NOtwithstanding the strange and unexpected delayes (which can be precedented by no former times) to His Majesties two former Messages, His Majesty will lay aside all expostulations, as rather serving to lose time, then to contribute any remedy to the evils which (for the present) do afflict this distracted Kingdom: Therefore, without further preamble, His Majesty thinks it most necessary to send these Propositions this way, which He intended to do by the Persons mentioned in His former Messages, though He well knows the great disadvantage which overtures of this kinde have by the want of being accompanied by well-instructed Messengers.

His Majesty conceiving that the former Treaties have hitherto proved ineffectual chiefly for want of Power in those Persons that Treated, as likewise because those from whom their Power was derived (not possibly having the particular informations of every severall debate) could not give so clear a Judgement as was requisite in so important a business; If therefore His Majesty may have the engagement of the two Houses of Parliament at *Westminster*, the Commissioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*, the Maior, Aldermen, Common-Councill & Militia of *London*, of the chief Commanders in Sir *Thomas Fairfax* his Army, as also those in the *Scots* Army, for His Majesties free and safe coming to & abode in *London* or *Westminster*, (with such of His Servants now attending Him, and their followers, not exceeding in all the number of three hundred) for the space of fourty days, and after the said time for His free and safe repair to any of His Garrisons of *Oxford*, *Worcester*, or *Newark*, (which His Majesty shall nominate at any time before His going from *London* or *Westminster*) His Majesty propounds to have a Personal Treaty with the two Houses of Parliament at *Westminster*, and the Commissioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*, upon all matters which may conduce to the restoring of Peace and happiness to these miserable distracted Kingdoms; and to begin with the three Heads which were Treated on at *Uxbridge*. And for the better clearing of His Majesties earnest and sincere intentions of putting an end to these unnatural Distractions, (knowing that point of security may prove the greatest obstacle to this most blessed work) His Majesty therefore declares, That He is willing to commit the great trust of the Militia of this Kingdom for such time and with such powers as are expresst in the Paper delivered by His Majesties Commissioners at *Uxbridge* the sixth of February last, to these persons following, *viz.* the Lord *Privie Seal*, the Duke of *Richmond*, the Marquess of *Hertford*, the Marquess of *Dorchester*, the Earl of *Dorset*, Lord *Chamberlain*, the Earl of *Northumberland*, the Earl of *Essex*, Earl of *Southampton*, Earl of *Pembroke*, Earl of *Salisbury*, Earl of *Manchester*, Earle of *Warwick*, Earl of *Denbigh*, Earl of *Chichester*, Lord *Say*, Lord *Seymour*, Lord *Lucas*, Lord *Lexington*, Mr. *Denzil Hollis*, Mr. *Pierrepont*, Mr. *Henry Bellasis*, Mr. *Richard Spencer*, Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, Mr. *John Ashburnham*, Sir *Gervas Clifton*, Sir *Henry Vane* Junior, Mr. *Robert Wallop*, Mr. *Thomas Chicheley*, Mr. *Oliver Cromwell*, Mr. *Philip Skippon*, supposing that these are persons against whom

whom there can be no juſt exception: But if this doth not ſatisfie, then His Majeſty offers to name the one half, and leaves the other to the election of the two Houſes of Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, with the Powers and Limitations before mentioned.

Thus His Majeſty calls God and the World to witneſs of His ſincere intentions and real endeavours for the compoſing and ſetling of theſe miſerable Diſtractions, which he doubts not but by the bleſsing of God will ſoon be put to a happy concluſion, if this His Majeſties offer be accepted: Otherwiſe He leaves all the World to judge, who are the continuers of this unnatural War. And therefore He once more conjures you by all the bonds of Duty you owe to God and your King, to have ſo great a compaſsion on the bleeding and miſerable eſtate of your Countrey, that you joyn your moſt ſerious and hearty endeavours with His Majeſty, to put a happy and ſpeedy end to theſe preſent Miſeries.

Given at our Court at *Oxford*,
the 26 of *Decem.* 1645.

XVI.

From OXFORD, *Dec.* 29. MDCXLV.

In purſuance of the former, for a Perſonal Treaty at Weſtminſter.

For the Speaker of the Houſe of Peers *pro tempore*, to be communicated to the two Houſes of Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, and to the Commiſsioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*.

CHARLES R.

ALthough the Meſſage ſent by Sir *Peter Killegrew* may juſtly require an expoſtulatory Anſwer, yet His Majeſty layes that aſide, as not ſo proper for His preſent endeavours, leaving all the World to judge, whether His Propoſition for a Perſonal Treaty,

or the flat deniall of a safe Conduct for Persons to begin a Treaty, be greater signes of a real intention to Peace; and shall now only insist upon His former Message of the 26. of this *December*; That upon His repair to *Westminster*, He doubts not but so to joyn His indeavours with His two Houses of Parliament, as to give just satisfaction, not onely concerning the business of *Ireland*, but also for the setling of a way for the payment of the publick Debts, as well to the *Scots* and to the City of *London* as others. And as already He hath shewn a fair way for the setling of the *Militia*, so He shall carefully endeavour in all other particulars, that none shall have cause to complain for want of security, whereby just Jealousies may arise to hinder the continuance of the desired Peace. And certainly this proposition of a Personal Treaty could never have entred into His Majesties thoughts, if He had not resolved to make apparent to all the World, that the publick good and Peace of this Kingdom is far dearer to Him then the respect of any particular Interest. Wherefore none can oppose this motion, without a manifest demonstration that he particularly envies His Majesty should be the chief Author in so blessed a work, besides the declaring himself a direct opposer of the happy Peace of these Nations. To conclude, whosoever will not be ashamed that his fair and specious protestations should be brought to a true and publick test, and those who have a real sense, and do truly commiserate the miseries of their bleeding Countrey, let them speedily and chearfully embrace His Majesties Proposition for His Personal Treaty at *Westminster*, which, by the blessing of God, will undoubtedly to these now-distracted Kingdoms restore the happiness of a long-wisht-for and lasting Peace.

Given at Our Court at *Oxford*, the nine and twentieth day of *December*, 1645.

From

XVII.

From OXFORD, *January* 15. MDCXLV.VI.

In pursuance of the former.

Containing His Majesties Concessions and Offers.

For the Speaker of the House of Peers *pro tempore*, to be communicated to the two Houses of Parliament at *Westminster*, and to the Commissioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*.

CHARLES R.

BUT that these are times wherein nothing is strange; it were a thing much to be marvelled at, what should cause this unparallel'd long detention of His Majesties Trumpet, sent with His gracious Message of the 26. of *December* last; Peace being the onely subject of it, and His Majesties Personal Treaty the means proposed for it. And it were almost as great a wonder that His Majesty should be so long from enquiring after it, if that the hourly expectation thereof had not in some measure satisfied His impatience. But lest His Majesty by His long silence should condemn Himself of Carelesness in that which so much concerns the good of all His People, He thinks it high time to enquire after His said Trumpeter: For since all men who pretend any goodness must desire Peace; and that all men know Treaties to be the best and most Christian way to procure it; and there being as little question, that His Majesties Personal presence in it is the likeliest way to bring it to an happy issue; He judges there must be some strange variety of accidents which causeth this most tedious delay. Wherefore His Majesty earnestly desires to have a speedy account of His former Message, the subject whereof is Peace, and the means His Personal presence at *Westminster*; where the Government of the Church being setled as it was in the times of the happy and glorious Reigns of Queen *Elizabeth* and King *James*, and full liberty for the ease of their Consciences who will not

communicate in that Service eſtabliſhed by Law, and likewiſe for the free and publick uſe of the Directory (preſcribed, and by command of the two Houſes of Parliament now practiſed in ſome parts of the City of *London*) to ſuch as ſhall deſire to uſe the ſame, and all Forces being agreed to be disbanded; His Majeſty will then forthwith (as He hath in His Meſſage of the 29. of *December* laſt already offered) joyn with His two Houſes of Parliament, in ſetling ſome way for the payment of the publick Debts to His *Scotch* Subjects, the City of *London*, and others. And His Majeſty having propoſed a fair way for the ſetling of the *Militia*, which now by this long delay ſeems not to be thought ſufficient ſecurity; His Majeſty (to ſhew how really He will imploy Himſelf at His coming to *Weſtminſter* for making this a laſting Peace, and taking away all Jealouſies, how groundleſs ſoever) will indeavor upon debate with His two Houſes ſo to diſpoſe of it (as likewiſe of the buſineſs of *Ireland*) as may give to them and both Kingdoms juſt ſatisfaction: not doubting alſo but to give good contentment to His two Houſes of Parliament in the choice of the Lord Admiral, the Officers of State, and others, if His two Houſes by their ready inclinations to Peace ſhall give Him encouragement thereunto.

Thus His Majeſty having taken occaſion by His juſt impatience ſo to explain His intentions, that no man can doubt of a happy iſſue to this ſucceeding Treaty; if now there ſhall be ſo much as a delay of the ſame, He calls God and the World to witneſs, who they are that not only hinder but reject this Kingdoms future Happineſs, it being ſo much the ſtranger, that His Majeſties coming to *Weſtminſter* (which was firſt the greateſt pretence for taking up Arms) ſhould be ſo much as delayed, much leſs not accepted, or refuſed: but His Majeſty hopes that God will no longer ſuffer the Malice of Wicked men to hinder the Peace of this too much afflicted Kingdom.

Given at Our Court at *Oxford*,
the fifteenth of *January*, 1645.

From

XVIII.

From OXFORD, *Jan.* 17. MDC XLV.VI.

For an Answer to His former Messages.

For the Speaker of the House of Peers *pro tempore*, to be communicated to the two Houses of Parliament at *Westminster*, and to the Commissioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*.

CHARLES R.

HIS Majesty thinks not fit now to answer those Aspersions which are returned as arguments for His not admittance to *Westminster* for a Personal Treaty, because it would enforce a style not suitable to His end, it being the Peace of these miserable Kingdoms: yet thus much He cannot but say to those who have sent Him this Answer, that if they had considered what they have done themselves in occasioning the shedding of so much innocent blood, by withdrawing themselves from their Duty to Him in a time when He had granted so much to His Subjects, and in violating the known Laws of the Kingdome to draw an exorbitant power to themselves over their fellow-Subjects, (to say no more, to doe as they have done) they could not have given such a false character of His Majesties Actions. Wherefore His Majesty must now remember them, that having some hours before his receiving of their last Paper of the 13. of *January*, sent another Message to them of the 15, wherein by divers particulars He enlargeth Himself to shew the reality of His endeavors for Peace, by His desired Personal Treaty (which He still conceives to be the likeliest way to attain to that blessed End) He thinks fit by this Message to call for an Answer to that, and indeed to all the former. For certainly, no rational man can think their last Paper can be any Answer to His former demands, the scope of it being, That because there is a War, therefore there should be no Treaty for Peace. And is it possible to expect that the Propositions mentioned should

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be the grounds of a laſting Peace, when the perſons that ſend them will not endure to hear their own King ſpeak? But whatever the ſucceſs hath been of His Majeſties former Meſſages, or how ſmall ſoever His hopes are of a better, conſidering the high ſtrain of thoſe who deal with His Majeſty, yet He will neither want Fatherly Bowels to His Subjects in general, nor will He forget that God hath appointed Him for their King with whom He treats. Wherefore He now demands a ſpeedy Anſwer to His laſt and former Meſſages.

Given at our Court at *Oxford*,
this 17. of *January*, 1645.

XIX.

From OXFORD, *Jan.* 24. MDCXLV. VI.

For Anſwer to His former Meſſage, and concerning their Reaſons againſt a Perſonal Treaty.

For the Speaker of the Houſe of Peers *pro tempore*, to be communicated to the two Houſes of Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, and to the Commiſsioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*.

CHARLES R.

THE procuring Peace to theſe Kingdoms by Treaty is ſo much deſired by His Majeſty, that no unjuſt Aſperſions whatſoever or any other Diſcouragements ſhall make Him deſiſt from doing His endeavour therein, untill He ſhall ſee it altogether impoſsible; and He therefore hath thought fitting ſo far only to make reply to that Paper or Anſwer which He hath received of the 13 of this inſtant *January*, as may take away thoſe objections which are made againſt His Majeſties coming to *Weſtminſter*, expecting ſtill an Anſwer to His Meſſages of the fifteenth and ſeventeenth, which

which He hopes by this time have begotten better thoughts and reſolutions in the Members of both Houſes.

And firſt therefore, whereas in the ſaid laſt Paper it is objected as an impediment to His Majeſties Perſonall Treaty, that much innocent blood hath been ſhed in this War by His Majeſties Commiſsions, &c. He will not now diſpute, (it being apparent to all the World by whom this blood hath been ſpilt) but rather preſſeth that there ſhould be no more; and to that end only He hath deſired this Perſonal Treaty, as judging it the moſt immediate means to aboliſh ſo many horrid Confuſions in all His Kingdoms. And it is no Argument, to ſay that there ſhall be no ſuch Perſonal Treaty becauſe there have been Wars, it being a ſtrong inducement to have ſuch a Treaty to put an end to the War.

Secondly, that there ſhould be no ſuch Perſonal Treaty, becauſe ſome of His *Iriſh* Subjects have repaired to His aſsiſtance in it, ſeems an argument altogether as ſtrange as the other, as always urging that there ſhould be no Phyſick becauſe the Party is ſick. And in this particular it hath been often obſerved unto them, that thoſe whom they call *Iriſh*, who have ſo expreſſed their Loyalty to their Soveraign, were indeed (for the moſt part) ſuch *Engliſh* Proteſtants as had been formerly ſent into *Ireland* by the two Houſes, impoſsibilitated to ſtay there any longer by the neglect of thoſe that ſent them thither, who ſhould there have better provided for them. And for any Forein forces, it is too apparent that their Armies have ſwarmed with them, when His Majeſty hath had very few or none.

And whereas, for a third Impediment, it is alledged that the Prince is in the head of an Army in the Weſt, and that there are divers Garriſons ſtill kept in His Majeſties obedience, and that there are forces in *Scotland*; it muſt be as much confeſſed as that as yet there is no Peace: And therefore it is deſired, that by ſuch a Perſonal Treaty all theſe impediments may be removed. And it is not here amiſs to put them in mind, how long ſince His Majeſty did preſs a disbanding of all Forces on both ſides, the refuſing whereof hath been the cauſe of this objection.

And whereas exception is taken, that there is a time limited in the Propoſition for His Majeſties Perſonal Treaty, thereupon inferring

ring, that He ſhould again return to Hoſtility, His Majeſty proteſteth that He ſeeks this Treaty to void future Hoſtility, and to procure a laſting Peace; and if He can meet with like inclinations to Peace in thoſe He deſires to Treat with, He will bring ſuch Affections and reſolutions in Himſelf as ſhall end all theſe unhappy bloody Differences.

As for thoſe engagements which His Majeſty hath deſired for His ſecurity, whoſoever ſhall call to mind the particular occaſions that enforced His Majeſty to leave His City of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, will judge His demand very reaſonable and neceſſary for His Safety. But He no way conceiveth how the Lord Maior, Aldermen, Common-Council and *Militia* of *London*, were either ſubject or ſubordinate to that Authority which is alleged, as knowing neither Law nor practice for it: And if the two Armies be, He believes it is more then can be parallel'd by any former times in this Kingdom. Nor can His Majeſty underſtand how His Majeſties ſeeking of a Perſonal ſecurity can be any breach of Privilege: it being likely to be infringed by hindring His Majeſty from coming freely to His two Houſes.

As for the objection, that His Majeſty omitted to mention the ſetling Religion, and ſecuring the Peace of His native Kingdom, His Majeſty declares, that He conceives that it was included in His former, and hath been particularly mentioned in His later Meſſage of the 15. preſent. But, for their better ſatisfaction, He again expreſſeth that it was, and ever ſhall be, both His meaning and endeavour in this Treaty deſired: and it ſeems to Him very clear, that there is no way for a final ending of ſuch Diſtractions as afflict this Kingdom, but either by Treaty or Conqueſt, the latter of which His Majeſty hopes none will have the Impudency or Impiety to wiſh for. And for the former, if his Perſonal aſsiſtance in it be not the moſt likely way, let any reaſonable man judge: when by that means not only all unneceſſary Delaies will be removed, but even the greateſt Difficulties made eaſy. And therefore He doth now again earneſtly inſiſt upon that Propoſition, expecting to have a better Anſwer upon mature conſideration. And can it be imagined that any Propoſitions will be ſo effectual, being formed before a Perſonal Treaty, as ſuch as are framed and propounded upon a full debate on both ſides? Wherefore His Majeſty, who is moſt concerned in the

good

good of His People, and is most desirous to restore Peace and Happiness to His three Kingdoms, doth again instantly desire an Answer to His said former Messages, to which He hath hitherto received none.

Given at our Court at *Oxon*, the
twenty fourth day of *January*, 1645.

XX.

From OXFORD, *January* 29. MDCXLV. VI.

Concerning the Negotiations in Ireland; *with His Majesties further Concessions, in order to a Personal Treaty.*

To the Speaker of the House of Peers *pro tempore*, to be communicated to the two Houses of Parliament at *Westminster*, and to the Commissioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*.

CHARLES R.

HIS Majesty having received information from the Lord Lieutenant and Councel in *Ireland*, that the Earl of *Glamorgan* hath, without his or their directions or privity, entred into a Treaty with some Commissioners on the Roman Catholick party there, and also drawn up and agreed unto certain Articles with the said Commissioners, highly derogatory to His Majesties Honour and Royal Dignity, and most prejudicial unto the Protestant Religion and Church there in *Ireland*; whereupon the said Earl of *Glamorgan* is arrested upon suspicion of high Treason, and imprisoned by the said Lord Lieutenant and Councell, at the instance and by the impeachment of the Lord *Digby*, who (by reason of his place and former imployment in these affairs) doth best know how contrary that proceeding of the said Earl hath been to His Majesties inten-

tions and directions, and what great prejudice it might bring to His Affairs, if thoſe proceedings of the Earl of *Glamorgan* ſhould be any waies underſtood to have been done by the directions, liking, or approbation of His Majeſty:

His Majeſty, having in His former *Meſſages* for a Perſonall Treaty offered to give contentment to his two Houſes in the buſineſs of *Ireland*, hath now thought fitting, the better to ſhew His clear intentions, and to give ſatisfaction to His ſaid Houſes of Parliament, and the reſt of His Subjects in all His Kingdoms, to ſend this Declaration to His ſaid Houſes, containing the whole truth of the buſineſs; Which is,

That the Earl of *Glamorgan* having made offer unto Him to raiſe Forces in the Kingdom of *Ireland*, and to conduct them into *England* for His Majeſties Service, had a Commiſsion to that purpoſe, and to that purpoſe onely.

That he had no Commiſsion at all to treat of any thing elſe, without the privity and directions of the Lord Lieutenant, much leſs to capitulate any thing concerning Religion, or any propriety belonging either to Church or Laity.

That it clearly appears by the Lord Lieutenants Proceedings with the ſaid Earl, that he had no notice at all of what the ſaid Earl had treated and pretended to have capitulated with the *Iriſh*, until by accident it came to his knowledge.

And His Majeſty doth proteſt, that until ſuch time as He had advertiſement that the perſon of the ſaid Earl of *Glamorgan* was arreſted and reſtrained, as is aboveſaid, He never heard, nor had any kind of notice that the ſaid Earl had entred into any kind of Treaty or Capitulation with thoſe *Iriſh* Commiſsioners; much leſs that he had concluded or ſigned thoſe Articles ſo deſtructive both to Church and State, and ſo repugnant to His Majeſties publick profeſsions and known reſolutions.

And for the further vindication of His Majeſties Honor and Integrity herein, He doth declare, That He is ſo far from conſidering any thing contained in thoſe Papers or Writings framed by the ſaid Earl, and thoſe Commiſsioners with whom he treated, as He doth abſolutely diſavow him therein, & hath given commandment to the Lord Lieutenant and the Councel there, to proceed againſt the ſaid Earl

as

as one who either out of Falſeneſs, Preſumption or Folly, hath ſo hazarded the blemiſhing of His Majeſties Reputation with His good Subjects, and ſo impertinently framed thoſe Articles of his own head, without the conſent, privity or directions of His Majeſty, or the Lord Lieutenant, or any of His Majeſties Councel there. But true it is, that for the neceſſary preſervation of His Majeſties Proteſtant Subjects in *Ireland*, whoſe caſe was daily repreſented unto Him to be ſo deſperate, His Majeſty had given Commiſsion to the Lord Lieutenant to treat and conclude ſuch a Peace there, as might be for the ſafety of that Crown, the preſervation of the Proteſtant Religion, and no way derogatory to His Own Honor and publick profeſsions.

But to the end that His Majeſties real intentions in this buſineſs of *Ireland* may be the more clearly underſtood, and to give more ample ſatisfaction to both Houſes of Parliament and the Commiſſioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*, eſpecially concerning His Majeſties not being engaged in any Peace or Agreement there, He doth deſire, if the two Houſes ſhall admit of His Majeſties repair to *London* for a Perſonal Treaty, (as was formerly propoſed) that ſpeedy notice be given thereof to His Majeſty, and a Paſs or Safe Conduct with a blank ſent for a Meſſenger to be immediately diſpatcht into *Ireland*, to prevent any accident that may happen to hinder His Majeſties reſolution of leaving the managing of the buſineſs of *Ireland* wholly to the Houſes, and to make no Peace there but with their conſent; which, in caſe it ſhall pleaſe God to bleſs His endeavors in the Treaty with ſucceſs, His Majeſty doth hereby engage Himſelf to doe.

And for a further explanation of His Majeſties intentions in His former Meſſages, He doth now declare, that if His Perſonal repair to *London*, as aforeſaid, ſhall be admitted, and a Peace thereon ſhall enſue, He will then leave the nomination of the Perſons to be intruſted with the *Militia* wholly to His two Houſes, with ſuch power and limitations as are expreſſed in the paper delivered by His Majeſties Commiſsioners at *Uxbridge* the ſixth of *February*, 1644. for the term of ſeven years, as hath been deſired, to be given immediately after the concluſion of the Peace, the disbanding of all Forces on both ſides, and the diſmantling of the Garriſons erected ſince theſe preſent Troubles, ſo as at the expiration of the time before men-

tioned the power of the *Militia* ſhall entirely revert and remain as before.

And for their further ſecurity, His Majeſty (the Peace ſucceeding) will be contentthat, *pro hac vice*, the two Houſes ſhall nominate the Admiral, Officers of State, and Judges, to hold their places during life, or *quam diu ſe bene geſſerint*, which ſhall be beſt liked, to be accountable to none but the King and the two Houſes of Parliament.

As for matter of Religion, His Majeſty doth further declare, That by the Liberty offered in His Meſſage of the 15. preſent, for the eaſe of their Conſciences who will not communicate in the Service already eſtabliſhed by Act of Parliament in this Kingdom, He intends that all other Proteſtants behaving themſelves peaceably in and towards the Civil Government, ſhall have the free exerciſe of their Religion according to their own way.

And for the total removing of all Fears and Jealouſies, His Majeſty is willing to agree, that upon the concluſion of Peace, there ſhall be a general Act of Oblivion and free Pardon paſt by Act of Parliament in both His Kingdoms reſpectively.

And leſt it ſhould be imagined, that in the making theſe Propoſitions His Majeſties Kingdom of *Scotland* and His Subjects there have been forgotten or neglected, His Majeſty declares, That what is here mentioned touching the *Militia*, and the naming of Officers of State, and Judges, ſhall likewiſe extend to His Kingdom of *Scotland*.

And now His Majeſty having ſo fully and clearly expreſſed His intentions and deſires of making a happy and well-grounded Peace, if any perſon ſhall decline that Happineſs by oppoſing of ſo apparent a way of attaining it, he will ſufficiently demonſtrate to all the World his intention and deſign can be no other, then the total ſubverſion and change of the ancient and happy Government of this Kingdom under which the *Engliſh* Nation hath ſo long flouriſhed.

Given at our Court at *Oxon*,
the 29. of *January*, 1645.

From

XXI.

From OXFORD, *Feb.* 26. MDC XLV.VI.

For an Anſwer to the Former.

For the Speaker of the Houſe of Peers *pro tempore*, to be communicated to the two Houſes of Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, and the Commiſsioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*.

CHARLES R.

HIS Majeſty needs to make no excuſe, though He ſent no more Meſſages unto you; for He very well knows He ought not to doe it, if He either ſtood upon punctilio's of Honour, or His Own private Intereſt; the one being already call'd in queſtion by His often ſending, and the other aſſuredly prejudg'd, if a Peace be concluded from that He hath already offered, He having therein departed with many His undoubted Rights. But nothing being equally dear unto Him to the preſervation of His People, His Majeſty paſſeth by many ſcruples, neglects and delays, and once more deſires you to give Him a ſpeedy Anſwer to His laſt Meſſage; for His Majeſty believes it doth very well become Him (after this very long delay) at laſt to utter His Impatience, ſince the Goods and Blood of His Subjects crie ſo much for Peace.

Given at Our Court at *Oxford*,
the 26. day of *February*, 1645.

XXII.

From OXFORD, *Mar.* 23. MDC XLV. VI.

Concerning His Return to the Houses.

For the Speaker of the House of Peers *pro tempore*, to be communicated to the two Houses of Parliament at *Westminster*.

CHARLES R.

NOtwithstanding the unexpected Silence in stead of Answer to His Majesties many and gracious Messages to both Houses, whereby it may appear, that they desire to obtain their ends by Force rather then by Treaty, which may justly discourage His Majesty from any more overtures of that kind; yet His Majesty conceives He shall be much wanting in His duty to God, and in what He oweth to the safety of His people, if He should not intend to prevent the great inconveniences that may otherwise hinder a safe and well-grounded Peace. His Majesty therefore now proposeth, that, so He may have the Faith of both Houses of Parliament for the preservation of His Honour, Person and Estate; and that liberty be given to all those who do and have adhered to His Majesty to go to their own houses, and there to live peaceably enjoying their Estates, all Sequestrations being taken off, without being compelled to take any Oath not enjoyned by the undoubted Laws of the Kingdom, or being put to any other molestation whatsoever; He will immediately disband all His Forces, and dismantle all His Garrisons, and being accompanied with His Royal, not His Martiall Attendance, return to His two Houses of Parliament, and there reside with them. And for the better security of all His Majesties Subjects, He proposeth that He with His said two Houses immediately upon His coming to *Westminster* will passe an Act of Oblivion and free Pardon, and where His Majesty will further doe whatsoever they will advise Him for the good and Peace of this Kingdom.

And

And as for the Kingdom of *Scotland*, His Majesty hath made no mention of it here, in regard of the great loss of time which must now be spent in expecting an answer from thence, but declares that immediately upon His coming to *Westminster*, He will apply himself to give them all satisfaction touching that Kingdom.

If His Majesty could possibly doubt the success of this offer, He could use many arguments to perswade them to it; but shall only insist on that great One, of giving an instant Peace to these afflicted Kingdoms.

Given at our Court at *Oxford*,
the 23. of *March*, 1645.

XXIII.

From SOUTHWELL, *May* 18. MDCXLVI.

With his further Concessions for the obtaining of Peace.

For the Speaker of the House of Peers *pro tempore*, to be communicated to the two Houses of Parliament at *Westminster*, and the Commissioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*.

CHARLES R.

HIS Majesty having understood from both His Houses of Parliament, that it was not safe for Him to come to *London* (whither He had purposed to repair, if so He might, by their advice to doe whatsoever may be best for the good and Peace of these Kingdoms) untill He shall first give His consent to such Propositions as were to be presented to Him from them; and being certainly informed that the Armies were marching so fast up to *Oxford*, as made

that no fit place for Treating; did reſolve to withdraw Himſelf hither, only to ſecure His Own Perſon, and with no intention to continue this War any longer, or to make any Diviſion between His two Kingdoms, but to give ſuch contentment to both, as, by the bleſsing of God, He might ſee a happy and well-grounded Peace, thereby to bring Proſperity to theſe Kingdoms anſwerable to the beſt times of His Progenitors.

And ſince the ſetling of Religion ought to be the chiefeſt care of all Counſels, His Majeſty moſt earneſtly and heartily recommends to His two Houſes of Parliament all the ways and means poſsible for ſpeedy finiſhing this pious and neceſsary work; and particularly that they take the advice of the Divines of both Kingdoms aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*.

Likewiſe concerning the *Militia* of *England*, for ſecuring His People againſt all pretenſions of Danger, His Majeſty is pleaſed to have it ſetled as was offered at the Treaty at *Uxbridge*, all the perſons being to be named for the truſt by the two Houſes of the Parliament of *England* for the ſpace of ſeven years; and after the expiring of that term, that it be regulated as ſhall be agreed upon by His Majeſty and His two Houſes of Parliament.

And the like for the Kingdom of *Scotland*.

Concerning the Wars in *Ireland*, His Majeſty will do whatſoever is poſsible for Him to give full ſatisfaction therein.

And if theſe be not ſatisfactory, His Majeſty then deſires that all ſuch of the Propoſitions as are already agreed upon by both Kingdomes may be ſpeedily ſent unto Him; His Majeſty being reſolved to comply with His Parliament in every thing that ſhall be for the Happineſs of His Subjects, and for the removing of all unhappy Differences, which have produced ſo many ſad effects.

His Majeſty having made theſe offers, he will neither queſtion the thankfull acceptation of them, nor doth He doubt but that His two Kingdoms will be carefull to maintain Him in His Honor, and in His juſt and lawful Rights, which is the only way to make a happy compoſure of theſe unnatural Diviſions; and likewiſe will think upon a ſolid way of conſerving the Peace between the two Kingdoms for the time to come; and will take a ſpeedy courſe for eaſing and quieting His afflicted People, by ſatisfying

the

the publick Debts, by disbanding of all Armies, and whatsoever else shall be judged conducible to that end: that so all hindrances being removed, He may return to His Parliament with mutuall comfort.

Southwell, May 18. 1646.

POSTSCRIPT.

HIS Majesty being desirous to shun the further effusion of Blood, and to evidence His real intentions to Peace, is willing that His Forces in and about Oxford *be disbanded, and the Fortifications of the City dismantled, they receiving honourable Conditions. Which being granted to the Town and Forces there, His Majesty will give the like Order to the rest of the Garrisons.*

XXIV.

From NEWCASTLE, *Jun.* 10. MDC XLVI.

For Propositions for Peace, and a Personal Treaty.

For the Speaker of the House of Peers *pro tempore*, to be communicated to the two Houses of Parliament at *Westminster*, and the Commissioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*.

CHARLES R.

HIS Majesty looking with grief of heart upon the sad sufferings of His People in His three Kingdoms for some years past, and being afflicted with their distresses and unquiet condition through the distractions about Religion, the keeping of Forces

on foot in the Fields and Garrisons, the not satisfying of publick Debts, and the fears of the further effusion of blood by the continuance of an unnatural War in any of these Kingdoms, or by rending and dividing these Kingdoms so happily united; and having sent a gracious Message unto both Houses of Parliament and the Commissioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*, expressing the necessary causes of His coming from *Oxford* unto the *Scotish* Army, (without any intention to make a Division, where He is in freedom and right capacity to settle a true Peace) and containing such offers as He conceived would have been accepted, with a general clause of complying with their desires; and being impatient of delays, and not acquainted with the particulars which may give contentment to them; His Majesty doth earnestly desire, That the Propositions of Peace so often promised, and so much expected, may be speedily sent unto Him, that upon consideration of them, He may apply Himself to give such satisfaction as may be the foundation of a firm Peace.

And for the better and more speedy attaining thereunto, His Majesty doth further propound, That he may come to *London* with Safety, Freedom and Honor, where He resolves to comply with His Houses of Parliament in every thing which may be most for the good of His Subjects, and perfect what remains for setling both Kingdoms and people in a happy condition: being likewise most confident that they, according to their reiterated Declarations and solemn Protestations, will be zealous in the maintenance of His Honor and just and lawful Rights. And as His Majesty desires the Houses of Parliament to disburthen the Kingdom of all Forces and Garrisons in their power, except such as before these unhappy times have been maintained for the necessary defence and safety of this Kingdom: so He is willing forthwith to disband all His Forces and Garrisons within the same, as the inclosed Order herewith sent will evidence. And if upon these offers His Majesty shall have such satisfaction as He may be confident a firm Peace shall ensue thereon, His Majesty will then give order for His Son the Prince his present return.

Newcastle, the tenth of *June*, 1646.

To

To Our Trusty and Wel-beloved Sir *Thomas Glenham*, Sir *Thomas Tildesley*, Col. *H. Washington*, Col. *Thomas Blagge*, Governors of our Cities and Towns of *Oxford*, *Lichfield*, *Worcester*, and *Wallingford*; and all other Commanders of any Towns, Castles and Forts, in Our Kingdom of *England*.

CHARLES R.

HAving resolved to comply with the desires of Our Parliament in every thing which may be for the good of Our Subjects, and leave no means unassayed for removing all Differences amongst us; therefore We have thought fit, the more to evidence the reality of Our intentions of setling a happy and firm Peace, to require you upon honorable terms to quit those Towns, Castles and Forts intrusted to you by Us, and to disband all the Forces under your several commands.

Newcastle, *the tenth of* June, 1646.

XXV.

From NEWCASTLE, *Aug.* 1. MDC XLVI.

For a Personal Treaty upon the Propositions sent Him.

To the Speaker of the House of Peers *pro tempore*, to be communicated to the two Houses of Parliament at *Westminster*, and the Commissioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*.

CHARLES R.

THE Propositions tendered to His Majesty by the Commissioners from the Lords and Commons of the Parliament of *England* assembled at *Westminster* and the Commissioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*, (to which the Houses of

Parliament

Parliament have taken twice ſo many moneths for deliberation as they have aſsigned days for His Majeſties Anſwer) do import ſo great alterations in Government both in Church and Kingdom, as it is very difficult to return a particular and poſitive Anſwer before a full Debate, wherein theſe Propoſitions, and the neceſſary explanations, true ſenſe and reaſons thereof, may be rightly weighed and underſtood, and that His Majeſty, upon a full view of the whole Propoſitions, may know what is left, as well as what is taken away and changed. In all which He finds (upon diſcourſe with the ſaid Commiſsioners) that they are ſo bound up from any capacity either to give reaſons for the demands they bring, or to give ear to ſuch deſires as His Majeſty is to propound, as it is impoſsible for Him to give ſuch a preſent Judgement of and Anſwer to theſe Propoſitions, whereby He can anſwer to God, that a ſafe and well-grounded Peace will enſue (which is evident to all the world can never be, unleſs the juſt Power of the Crown, as well as the Freedom and Propriety of the Subject, with the juſt Liberty and Privileges of the Parliament, be likewiſe ſetled.) To which end His Majeſty deſires and propoſeth to come to *London*, or any of His Houſes thereabouts, upon the publick Faith, and ſecurity of the two Houſes of Parliament and the *Scotch* Commiſsioners, that He ſhall be there with Freedom, Honor and Safety; where by His Perſonal preſence He may not only raiſe a mutual Confidence betwixt Him and His People, but alſo have theſe Doubts cleared, and theſe Difficulties explained unto Him, which He now conceives to be deſtructive to His juſt Regal Power, if He ſhall give a full conſent to theſe Propoſitions as they now ſtand: as likewiſe, that He may make known to them ſuch His reaſonable demands, as He is moſt aſſured will be very much conducible to that Peace which all good men deſire and pray for, by the ſetling of Religion, the juſt Privileges of Parliament, with the Freedom and Propriety of the Subject.

And His Majeſty aſſures them, that as He can never condeſcend unto what is abſolutely deſtructive to that juſt Power which by the Laws of God and the Land He is born unto; ſo He will chearfully grant and give His aſſent unto all ſuch Bills, at the deſire of His two Houſes, or reaſonable demands for *Scotland*, which ſhall be really for the good and Peace of His People, not having regard to His own particular (much leſs any bodies elſe) in reſpect of the Happineſs of

theſe

these Kingdoms. Wherefore His Majesty conjures them as Christians, as Subjects, and as men who desire to leave a good name behind them, that they will so receive and make use of this Answer, that all issues of blood may be stopped, and these unhappy Distractions peaceably setled.

Newcastle, August 1. 1646.

POSTSCRIPT.

UPon assurance of a happy agreement, His Majesty will immediately send for the Prince His Son, absolutely expecting his perfect obedience to return into this Kingdom.

XXVI.

From NEWCASTLE, *December* 20. MDCXLVI.

For a Personal Treaty at or near LONDON.

To the Speaker of the House of Peers *pro tempore*, to be communicated to the two Houses of Parliament at *Westminster*, and to the Commissioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*.

CHARLES R.

HIS Majesties thoughts being alwaies sincerely bent to the Peace of His Kingdoms, was and will be ever desirous to take all waies which might the most clearly make appear the candor of His intentions to His People; and to this end could find no better way then to propose a Personal free debate with His two Houses of Parliament upon all the present Differences: Yet finding, very much against His expectations, that this offer was laid aside, His Majesty bent all His thoughts to make His intentions fully known by a particular Answer to the Propositions delivered to Him in the name of both Kingdoms the 24. of *July* last. But the more He endeavored it, He more plainly saw, that any answer He

could make would be subject to mis-informations and mis-constructions, which upon His own Paraphrases and Explanations He is most confident will give so good satisfaction, as would doubtless cause a happy and lasting Peace. Lest therefore that good intentions may produce ill effects, His Majesty again proposeth, and desires again to come to *London*, or any of His Houses thereabouts, upon the publick Faith and security of his two Houses of Parliament and the *Scotch* Commissioners, that He shall be there with Honor, Freedom and Safety: Where, by His Personal presence, He may not onely raise a mutual Confidence betwixt Him and His People, but also have those Doubts cleared and those Difficulties explained to Him, without which He cannot (but with the aforesaid mischievous inconveniences) give a particular Answer to the Propositions; and with which He doubts not but so to manifest His real intentions for the setling of Religion, the just Privileges of Parliament, with the Freedom and Property of the Subject, that it shall not be in the power of wicked and malicious men to hinder the establishing of that firm Peace which all honest men desire. Assuring them, as He will make no other Demands but such as He believes confidently to be just, and much conducing to the tranquillity of the People; so He will be most willing to condescend to them in whatsoever shall be really for their good and happiness. Not doubting likewise but you will also have a due regard to maintain the just Power of the Crown, according to your many Protestations and professions: For certainly, except King and People have reciprocal care each of other, neither can be happy.

To conclude, 'tis your King who desires to be heard, (the which if refused to a Subject by a King, he would be thought a Tyrant for it) and for that end which all men profess to desire. Wherefore His Majesty conjures you, as you desire to shew your selves really what you profess, even as you are good Christians and Subjects, that you will accept this His offer, which He is confident God will so bless, that it will be the readiest means by which these Kingdoms may again become a Comfort to their Friends, and a Terror to their Enemies.

Newcastle, 20. *December*, 1646.

From

XXVII.

From HOLDENBY, *Feb.* 17. MDC XLVI. VII.

Desiring some of His Chaplains.

For the Speaker of the House of Peers *pro tempore*, to be communicated to the two Houses of Parliament at *Westminster*.

SInce I have never dissembled nor hid My Conscience, and that I am not yet satisfied with the alteration of Religion, to which you desire My consent, I will not yet lose time in giving reasons, which are too obvious to every body, why it is fit for Me to be attended by some of My Chaplains, whose opinions, as Clergymen, I esteem and reverence; not onely for the exercise of My Conscience, but also for clearing of My Judgement concerning the present differences in Religion; as I have at full declared to Mr *Marshall* and his fellow-Minister, having shewed them, that it is the best and likeliest means of giving Me satisfaction, which without it I cannot have in these times, whereby the Distractions of this Church may be the better setled. Wherefore I desire, that at least two of these *Reverend Divines* whose names I have here set down may have free liberty to wait upon Me, for their discharging of their Duty unto Me according to their Function.

CHARLES R.

Holdenby, 17. *February*, 1646.

B. *London.*	D. *Sanderson.*
B. *Salisbury.*	D. *Baily.*
B. *Peterborough.*	D. *Heywood.*
D. *Shelden*, Clark of My Closet.	D. *Beal.*
D. *Marsh*, Dean of *York.*	D. *Fuller.*
	D. *Hammond.*
	D. *Taylor.*

XXVIII.

From HOLDENBY, *Mar.* 6. MDC XLVI.VII.

In pursuance of the former.

To the Speaker of the House of Peers *pro tempore*, to be communicated to the two Houses of Parliament at *Westminster*.

IT being now seventeen days since I wrote to you from hence, and not yet receiving any Answer to what I then desired, I cannot but now again renew the same unto you. And indeed, concerning any thing but the necessary duty of a Christian, I would not thus at this time trouble you with any of My desires. But My being attended with some of My Chaplains whom I esteem and reverence, is so necessary for Me, even considering My present condition, whether it be in relation to My Conscience, or a happy settlement of the present Distractions in Religion, that I will slight divers kinds of censures, rather then not to obtain what I demand; nor shall I doe you the wrong, as in this to doubt the obtaining of My wish, it being totally grounded upon Reason. For desiring you to consider (not thinking it needfull to mention) the divers reasons, which no Christian can be ignorant of, for point of Conscience, I must assure you that I cannot, as I ought, take in consideration those alterations in Religion which have and will be offered unto Me, without such help as I desire; because I can never judge rightly of or be altered in any thing of my Opinion, so long as any ordinary way of finding out the truth is denied Me: but when this is granted Me, I promise you faithfully not to strive for Victory in Argument, but to seek and submit to Truth (according to that Judgement which God hath given Me) alwayes holding it My best and greatest Conquest to give contentment to My two Houses of Parliament in all things which I conceive

conceive not to be againſt My Conſcience or Honor; not doubting likewiſe but that you will be ready to ſatisfie Me in reaſonable things, as I hope to find in this particular concerning the attendance of My Chaplains upon Me.

CHARLES R.

Holdenby 6. of *March*, 1646.

XXIX.

From HOLDENBY, *May* 12. MDC XLVII.

In Anſwer to their Propoſitions.

To the Speaker of the Houſe of Peers *pro tempore*, to be communicated to the two Houſes of Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, and the Commiſsioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*.

CHARLES R.

AS the daily expectation of the coming of the Propoſitions hath made His Majeſty this long time to forbear giving His Anſwer unto them; ſo the appearance of their ſending being no more for any thing He can hear then it was at His firſt coming hither, notwithſtanding that the Earl of *Lauderdale* hath been at *London* above theſe ten days, (whoſe not coming was ſaid to be the only ſtop) hath cauſed His Majeſty thus to anticipate their coming to Him. And yet conſidering His condition, that His Servants are denied acceſſe to Him, all but very few, and thoſe by appointment, not His own election, and that it is declared a crime for any but the Commiſsioners or ſuch who are particularly permitted by them to converſe with His Majeſty, or that any Letters ſhould be given to or received from Him, may He not truly ſay, that He is not in caſe fit to make Conceſsions or give Anſwers, ſince He is not maſter of theſe

ordinary actions which are the undoubted rights of any free-born man, how mean ſoever his birth be? And certainly He would ſtill be ſilent as to this Subject, until His condition were much mended, did He not prefer ſuch a right underſtanding betwixt Him and His Parliaments of both Kingdoms, which may make a firm and laſting Peace in all His Dominions, before any particular of His Own, or any earthly bleſsing: and therefore His Majeſty hath diligently imployed His utmoſt endeavours for divers months paſt ſo to inform His underſtanding and ſatisfie His Conſcience, that He might be able to give ſuch anſwers to the Propoſitions as would be moſt conformable to His Parliaments; but He ingenuouſly profeſſes, that notwithſtanding all the pains that He hath taken therein, the nature of ſome of them appears ſuch unto Him, that without diſclaiming that Reaſon which God hath given Him to judge by, for the good of Him and His People, and without putting the greateſt violence upon His Own Conſcience, He cannot give His Conſent to all of them. Yet His Majeſty (that it may appear to all the world how deſirous He is to give full ſatisfaction) hath thought fit hereby to expreſs His readineſs to grant what He may, and His willingneſs to receive from them, and that Perſonally, if His two Houſes at *Weſtminſter* ſhall approve thereof, ſuch further information in the reſt as may beſt convince His Judgement, and ſatisfie thoſe doubts which are not yet clear unto Him: deſiring them alſo to conſider, that if His Majeſty intended to winde Himſelf out of theſe Troubles by indirect means, were it not eaſie for Him now readily to conſent to what hath or ſhall be propoſed unto Him, and afterwards chuſe His time to break all, alledging, that forced Conceſsions are not to be kept? ſurely He might, and not incur a hard cenſure from indifferent men. But Maximes in this kind are not the guides of His Majeſties Actions, for He freely and clearly avows, that He holds it unlawfull for any man, and moſt baſe in a King, to recede from His Promiſes for having been obtained by force or under reſtraint. Wherefore His Majeſty not only rejecting thoſe acts which He eſteems unworthy of Him, but even paſsing by that which He might well inſiſt upon, a point of Honour, in reſpect of His preſent condition, thus anſwers the firſt Propoſition:

That upon His Majeſties coming to *London*, He will heartily joyn in all that ſhall concern the Honour of His two Kingdoms, or the

Aſſembly

Aſſembly of the States of *Scotland*, or of the Commiſsioners or Deputies of either Kingdom, particularly in thoſe things which are deſired in that Propoſition, upon confidence that all of them reſpectively with the ſame tenderneſs will look upon thoſe things which concern His Majeſties Honour.

In anſwer to all the Propoſitions concerning Religion, His Majeſty propoſeth, That He will confirm the Presbyterial Government, the Aſſembly of Divines at *Weſtminſter* and the Directory, for three years, being the time ſet down by the two Houſes, ſo that His Majeſty and His Houſhold be not hindred from that form of God's Service which they formerly have had: And alſo that a free conſultation and debate be had with the Divines at *Weſtminſter*, (twenty of His Majeſties nomination being added unto them) whereby it may be determined by His Majeſty and the two Houſes how the Church ſhall be governed after the ſaid three years, or ſooner, if differences may be agreed. Touching the Covenant, His Majeſty is not yet therein ſatisfied, and deſires to reſpite His particular Anſwer thereunto until His coming to *London*, becauſe it being a matter of Conſcience, He cannot give a reſolution therein till He may be aſsiſted with the Advice of ſome of His own Chaplains (which hath hitherto been denied Him) and ſuch other Divines as ſhall be moſt proper to inform Him therein; and then He will make clearly appear both His zeal to the Proteſtant Profeſsion and the Union of theſe two Kingdoms, which He conceives to be the main drift of this Covenant.

To the ſeventh and eighth Propoſitions His Majeſtie will conſent.

To the ninth His Majeſty doubts not but to give good ſatisfaction, when He ſhall be particularly informed how the ſaid penalties ſhall be levied and diſpoſed of.

To the tenth His Majeſties Anſwer is, That He hath been alwaies ready to prevent the practices of Papiſts, and therefore is content to paſs an Act of Parliament for that purpoſe; and alſo that the Laws againſt them be duly executed.

His Majeſty will give his conſent to the Act for the due obſervation of the Lords day, for the ſuppreſsing of Innovations, and thoſe concerning the Preaching of God's Word, and touching Non-reſidence and Pluralities; and His Majeſty will yield to ſuch Act or Acts as ſhall be requiſite to raiſe moneys for the payment and ſatisfying

all publick Debts, expecting alſo that His will be therein included.

As to the Propoſition touching the *Militia*, though His Majeſty cannot conſent unto it *in terminis* as it is propoſed, becauſe thereby He conceives He wholly parts with the power of the Sword, entruſted to Him by God and the Laws of the Land for the protection and government of His People, thereby at once deveſting Himſelf and diſ-inheriting His Poſterity of that right and Prerogative of the Crown which is abſolutely neceſſary to the Kingly Office, and ſo weakening Monarchy in this Kingdom, that little more then the name and ſhadow of it will remain: yet if it be only ſecurity for the preſervation of the Peace of this Kingdom after the unhappy Troubles, and the due performance of all the agreements which are now to be concluded, which is deſired, (which His Majeſty always underſtood to be the caſe, and hopes that herein He is not miſtaken) His Majeſty will give abundant ſatisfaction; to which end He is willing by Act of Parliament, That the whole power of the *Militia* both by Sea and Land for the ſpace of ten years be in the hands of ſuch perſons as the two Houſes ſhall nominate, giving them power during the ſaid term to change the ſaid perſons, and ſubſtitute others in their places at pleaſure, and afterwards to return to the proper Chanel again, as it was in the times of Queen *Elizabeth* and King *James* of bleſſed memory. And now His Majeſty conjures His two Houſes of Parliament, as they are Engliſhmen and lovers of Peace, by the duty they owe to His Majeſty their King, and by the bowels of compaſsion they have to their fellow-Subjects, that they will accept of this His Majeſties offer, whereby the joyful news of Peace may be reſtored to this languiſhing Kingdom. His Majeſty will grant the like to the Kingdom of *Scotland*, if it be deſired, and agree to all things that are propounded touching the conſerving of Peace betwixt the two Kingdoms.

Touching *Ireland* (other things being agreed) His Majeſty will give ſatisfaction therein. As to the mutuall Declaration propoſed to be eſtabliſhed in both Kingdoms by Act of Parliament, and the Modifications, Qualifications, and branches which follow in the Propoſitions, His Majeſty onely profeſſes, that He doth not ſufficiently underſtand nor is able to reconcile many things contained in them: but this

this He well knoweth, that a general Act of Oblivion is the beſt Bond of Peace; and that after inteſtine Troubles, the wiſdom of this and other Kingdoms hath uſually and happily in all ages granted generall Pardons, whereby the numerous diſcontentments of many perſons and families otherwiſe expoſed to ruine might not become fuel to new diſorders, or ſeeds to future troubles. His Majeſty therefore deſires, that His two Houſes of Parliament would ſeriouſly deſcend into theſe conſiderations, and likewiſe tenderly look upon His condition herein, and the perpetuall diſhonour that muſt cleave to Him, if He ſhall thus abandon ſo many perſons of condition and fortune that have engaged themſelves with and for Him out of a ſenſe of Duty; and propounds as a very acceptable teſtimony of their affection to Him, that a generall Act of Oblivion and free Pardon be forthwith paſſed by Act of Parliament.

Touching the new great Seal, His Majeſty is very willing to confirm both it and all the Acts done by virtue thereof untill this preſent time, ſo that it be not thereby preſſed to make void thoſe Acts of His done by virtue of His great Seal, which in Honour and Juſtice He is obliged to maintain: and that the future government thereof may be in His Majeſty, according to the due courſe of Law.

Concerning the Officers mentioned in the 19. Article, His Majeſty when he ſhall come to *Weſtminſter* will gratifie His Parliament all that poſsibly He may, without deſtroying the alterations which are neceſſary for the Crown.

His Majeſty will willingly conſent to the Act for the confirmation of the privileges and cuſtoms of the City of *London*, and all that is mentioned in the Propoſitions for their particular advantage.

And now that His Majeſty hath thus far endeavoured to comply with the deſires of His two Houſes of Parliament, to the end that this agreement may be firm and laſting, without the leaſt face or queſtion of reſtraint to blemiſh the ſame, His Majeſty earneſtly deſires preſently to be admitted to His Parliament at *Weſtminſter* with that Honour which is due to their Soveraign, there ſolemnly to confirm the ſame, and legally to paſs the Acts before mentioned, and to give and receive as well ſatisfaction in all the remaining particulars, as likewiſe ſuch other pledges of mutuall love, truſt and confidence, as ſhall moſt concern the good of Him and His People; upon

which

which happy Agreement, His Majeſty will diſpatch His Directions to the Prince His Son, to return immediately to Him, and will undertake for His ready obedience thereunto.

Holdenby, May 12. 1647.

XXX.

From HAMPTON-COURT, *Sep.* 9. MDCXLVII.

In Anſwer to the Propoſitions preſented to Him there.

For the Speaker of the Houſe of Peers *pro tempore*, to be communicated to the two Houſes of Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, and to the Commiſsioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*.

CHARLES R.

HIS Majeſty cannot chuſe but be paſsionately ſenſible (as He believes all His good Subjects are) of the late great Diſtractions, and ſtill languiſhing and unſetled ſtate of this Kingdom; and He calls God to witneſs, and is willing to give teſtimony to all the world of His readineſs to contribute His uttermoſt endeavors for reſtoring it to a happy and flouriſhing condition. His Majeſty having peruſed the Propoſitions now brought to Him, findes them the ſame in effect which were offered to Him at *Newcaſtle*: To ſome of which as He could not then conſent without violation of His Conſcience and Honor; ſo neither can He agree to others now, conceiving them in many reſpects more diſagreeable to the preſent condition of affairs then when they were formerly preſented unto Him, as being deſtructive to the main principal Intereſts of the Army, and of all thoſe whoſe affections concur with them. And His Majeſty having ſeen the Propoſals of the Army to the Commiſsioners from His two Houſes reſiding with them, and with them to be

treated

treated on, in order to the clearing and ſecuring of the Rights and Liberties of the Kingdom, and the ſetling of a Juſt and laſting Peace: to which Propoſals as He conceives His two Houſes not to be ſtrangers; ſo He believes they will think with Him, that they much more conduce to the ſatisfaction of all Intereſts, and may be a fitter foundation for a laſting Peace, then the Propoſitions which at this time are tendered unto Him: He therefore propounds (as the beſt way in His judgement in order to a Peace) that His two Houſes would inſtantly take into conſideration thoſe Propoſals upon which there may be a Perſonal Treaty with His Majeſty, and upon ſuch other Propoſitions as His Majeſty ſhall make; hoping that the ſaid Propoſals may be ſo moderated in the ſaid Treaty, as to render them the more capable of His Majeſties full Conceſsion: Wherein He reſolves to give full ſatisfaction to His People, for whatſoever ſhall concern the ſetling of the Proteſtant Profeſsion, with liberty to tender Conſciences, and the ſecuring of the Laws, Liberties and Properties of His Subjects, and all the juſt Privileges of Parliaments for the future: And likewiſe by His preſent deportment in this Treaty, He will make the World clearly judge of His intentions in matters of future Government. In which Treaty His Majeſty will be well pleaſed (if it be thought fit) that Commiſsioners from the Army (whoſe the Propoſals are) may likewiſe be admitted. His Majeſty therefore conjures His two Houſes of Parliament by the duty they owe to God and His Majeſty their King, and by the bowels of compaſsion they have to their fellow-Subjects, both for the relief of their preſent Sufferings, and to prevent future Miſeries, that they will forthwith accept of this His Majeſties offer, whereby the joyful news of Peace may be reſtored to this diſtreſſed Kingdom. And for what concerns the Kingdome of *Scotland* mentioned in the Propoſitions, His Majeſty will very willingly Treat upon thoſe particulars with the *Scotch* Commiſsioners, and doubts not but to give reaſonable ſatisfaction to that His Kingdome.

At *Hampton-Court*, the ninth
of *September*, 1647.

From

XXXI.

From HAMPTON-COURT, *Nov.* 11. MDC XLVII.

Left on the Table at His departure.

For the Speaker of the House of Peers *pro tempore*, to be communicated to the two Houses of Parliament at *Westminster*, and the Commissioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*.

CHARLES R.

LIberty being that which in all times hath been, but especially now is, the common theme and desire of all men; common reason shews that Kings less then any should endure Captivity. And yet I call God and the world to witness with what Patience I have endured a tedious Restraint; which so long as I had any hopes that this sort of My Suffering might conduce to the Peace of My Kingdoms, or the hindring of more effusion of blood, I did willingly undergo: but now finding by too certain proofs, that this My continued Patience would not only turn to My personal Ruine, but likewise be of much more prejudice then furtherance to the publick good, I thought I was bound as well by natural as political obligations to seek My Safety, by retiring My self for some time from the publick view both of My Friends and Enemies. And I appeal to all indifferent men to judge, if I have not just cause to free My self from the hands of those who change their Principles with their condition, and who are not ashamed openly to intend the destruction of the Nobility, taking away their negative voice, and with whom the Levellers doctrine is rather countenanced then punished. And as for their intentions to My Person, their changing and putting more strict Guards upon Me, with the discharging most of all those servants of Mine whom formerly they willingly admitted to wait upon Me, does sufficiently declare. Nor would I have this Retirement mis-interpreted;

preted; for I shall earnestly and unceſſantly endeavour the setling of a safe and well-grounded Peace whereever I am or shall be, and that (as much as may be) without the effusion of more Christian blood: for which how many times have I desired, prest to be heard? and yet no ear given to Me. And can any reasonable man think that (according to the ordinary course of affairs) there can be a setled Peace without it; or that God will bless those who refuse to hear their own King? Surely no. Nay I must further adde, that (besides what concerns My self) unless all other chief Interests have not only a hearing, but likewise just satisfaction given unto them, (to wit, the Presbyterians, Independents, Army, those who have adhered to Me, and even the *Scots*) I say, there cannot (I speak not of Miracles, it being, in My opinion, a sinful presumption in such cases to expect or trust to them) be a safe or lasting Peace.

Now as I cannot deny but that My Personal security is the urgent cause of this My Retirement; so I take God to witness that the publick Peace is no less before Mine eyes: and I can finde no better way to express this My profession (I know not what a wiser may do) then by desiring and urging that all chief Interests may be heard, to the end each may have just satisfaction. As for example, the Army (for the rest, though necessary, yet I suppose are not difficult to content) ought (in My Judgement) to enjoy the Liberty of their Consciences, have an Act of Oblivion or Indemnity (which should extend to all the rest of My Subjects) and that all their arrears should be speedily and duly paid; which I will undertake to doe, so I may be heard, and that I be not hindred from using such lawfull and honest means as I shall chuse. To conclude, let Me be heard with Freedom, Honor and Safety, and I shall instantly break through this Cloud of Retirement, and shew My self really to be *Pater Patriæ*.

Hampton-Court, Novemb. 11. 1647.

XXXII.

From the Iſle of WIGHT, *November* 17. MDCXLVII.

For a Perſonal Treaty, with His particular Conceſſions.

To the Speaker of the Houſe of Peers *pro tempore*, to be communicated to the two Houſes of Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, and the Commiſsioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*.

CHARLES R.

HIS Majeſty is confident that before this time His two Houſes of Parliament have received the Meſſage which He left behind Him at *Hampton-Court* the eleventh of this Moneth, by which they will have underſtood the reaſons which enforced Him to go from thence, as likewiſe His conſtant endeavours for the ſetling of a ſafe and well-grounded Peace whereſoever He ſhould be: And being now in a place where He conceives Himſelf to be at much more Freedom and Security then formerly, He thinks it neceſſary (not only for making good of His Own profeſsions, but alſo for the ſpeedy procuring of a Peace in theſe languiſhing and diſtreſſed Kingdoms) at this time to offer ſuch grounds to His two Houſes for that effect, which upon due examination of all Intereſts may beſt conduce thereunto.

And becauſe Religion is the beſt and chiefeſt foundation of Peace, His Majeſty will begin with that particular.

That for the aboliſhing Arch-biſhops, Biſhops, &c. His Majeſty clearly profeſſeth, that He cannot give His Conſent thereunto, both in relat on as He is a Chriſtian, and a King. For the firſt, He avows that He is ſatisfied in His Judgement that this Order was placed in the Church by the Apoſtles themſelves, and ever ſince their time hath continued in all Chriſtian Churches throughout the world until this laſt Century of years; and in this Church in all times of Change

and

and Reformation it hath been upheld by the wiſdom of His Anceſtors, as the great preſerver of Doctrine, Diſcipline and Order in the ſervice of God. As a King at His Coronation, He hath not only taken a ſolemn Oath to maintain this Order, but His Majeſty and His Predeceſſours in their confirmations of the Great Charter have inſeparably woven the Right of the Church into the Liberties of the reſt of the Subjects. And yet He is willing it be provided that the particular Biſhops perform the ſeveral duties of their Callings, both by their perſonal Reſidence and frequent Preachings in their Dioceſes, as alſo that they exerciſe no Act of Juriſdiction or Ordination without the conſent of their Presbyters; and will conſent that their powers in all things be ſo limited, that they be not grievous to tender Conſciences. Wherefore ſince His Majeſty is willing to give eaſe to the Conſciences of others, He ſees no reaſon why He alone and thoſe of His Judgement ſhould be preſſed to a violation of theirs. Nor can His Majeſty conſent to the alienation of Church-Lands, becauſe it cannot be denied to be a ſin of the higheſt Sacrilege; as alſo that it ſubverts the intentions of ſo many pious Donors, who have laid a heavy Curſe upon all ſuch profane violations, which His Majeſty is very unwilling to undergoe: And beſides the matter of Conſcience, His Majeſty believes it to be a prejudice to the publick good, many of His Subjects having the benefit of renewing Leaſes at much eaſier Rates then if thoſe poſſeſsions were in the hands of private men: not omitting the diſcouragement which it will be to all Learning and induſtry when ſuch eminent rewards ſhall be taken away, which now lye open to the Children of meaneſt perſons.

Yet His Majeſty conſidering the great preſent diſtempers concerning Church-diſcipline, and that the Presbyterian Government is now in practice, His Majeſty, to eſchew Confuſion as much as may be, and for the ſatisfaction of His two Houſes, is content that the ſaid Government be legally permitted to ſtand in the ſame condition it now is for three years: provided that His Majeſty and thoſe of His Judgement (or any other who cannot in Conſcience ſubmit thereunto) be not obliged to comply with the Presbyterian Government, but have free practice of their own profeſsion, without receiving any prejudice thereby; and that a free conſultation and debate be had with the

Divines at *Weſtminſter*, (twenty of His Majeſties nomination being added unto them) whereby it may be determined by His Majeſty and the two Houſes how the Church-government after the ſaid time ſhall be ſetled, (or ſooner, if differences may be agreed) as is moſt agreeable to the Word of God, with full liberty to all thoſe who ſhall differ upon Conſcientious grounds from that ſettlement. Alwaies provided, that nothing aforeſaid be underſtood to tolerate thoſe of the *Romiſh* profeſsion, nor exempting of any Popiſh Recuſant from the penalties of the Laws, or to tolerate the publick profeſsion of Atheiſm or Blaſphemy, contrary to the Doctrine of the Apoſtles, *Nicene* and *Athanaſian* Creeds, they having been received by and had in reverence of all the Chriſtian Churches, and more particularly by this of *England*, ever ſince the Reformation.

Next, the *Militia* being that Right which is inſeparably and undoubtedly inherent in the Crown by the Lawes of this Nation, and that which former Parliaments, as likewiſe this, have acknowledged ſo to be, His Majeſty cannot ſo much wrong that truſt which the Laws of God and this Land have annexed to the Crown for the protection and ſecurity of His People, as to deveſt Himſelf and Succeſſors of the power of the Sword: Yet to give an infallible evidence of His deſire to ſecure the performance of ſuch agreements as ſhall be made in order to a Peace, His Majeſty will conſent to an Act of Parliament, that the whole power of the *Militia* both by Sea and Land, for and during His whole Reign, ſhall be ordered and diſpoſed by His two Houſes of Parliament, or by ſuch perſons as they ſhall appoint, with powers limited for ſuppreſsing of Forces within this Kingdom to the diſturbance of the publick Peace, and againſt forein invaſions; and that they ſhall have power during His ſaid Reign to raiſe Monies for the purpoſes aforeſaid; and that neither His Majeſty that now is or any other (by any Authority derived only from Him) ſhall execute any of the ſaid powers during His Majeſties ſaid Reign, but ſuch as ſhall act by the conſent and Approbation of the two Houſes of Parliament. Nevertheleſs His Majeſty intends that all Patents, Commiſsions and other Acts concerning the *Militia*, be made and acted as formerly; and that after His Majeſties Reign, all the power of the *Militia* ſhall return entirely to the Crown, as it was in the times of Queen *Elizabeth* and King *James* of bleſſed memory.

After

After this head of the *Militia*, the conſideration of the Arrears due to the Army is not improper to follow; for the payment whereof, and the eaſe of His People, His Majeſty is willing to concur in any thing that can be done without the violation of His Conſcience and Honour. Wherefore if His two Houſes ſhall conſent to remit unto Him ſuch benefit out of Sequeſtrations from *Michaelmas* laſt, and out of Compoſitions that ſhall be made before the concluding of the Peace, and the Arrears of ſuch as have been already made, the aſsiſtance of the Clergy, and the Arrears of ſuch Rents of His own Revenue as His two Houſes ſhall not have received before the concluding of the Peace, His Majeſty will undertake within the ſpace of eighteen Moneths the payment of four hundred thouſand pounds for the ſatisfaction of the Army: and if thoſe means ſhall not be ſufficient, His Majeſty intends to give way to the ſale of Foreſt-Lands for that purpoſe, this being the publick Debt which in His Majeſties Judgement is firſt to be ſatisfied. And for other publick Debts already contracted upon Church-Lands or any other Ingagements, His Majeſty will give His Conſent to ſuch Act or Acts for raiſing of monies for payment thereof as both Houſes ſhall hereafter agree upon, ſo as they be equally laid, whereby His People (already too heavily burthened by theſe late Diſtempers) may have no more preſſures upon them then this abſolute neceſsitie requires.

And for the further ſecuring of all fears, His Majeſtie will conſent, that an Act of Parliament be paſſed for the diſpoſing of the great Offices of State and naming of Privy Councellors for the whole term of His Reign by the two Houſes of Parliament, their Patents and Commiſsions being taken from His Majeſtie, and after to return to the Crown, as is expreſſed in the Article of the *Militia*.

For the Court of Wards and Liveries, His Majeſty very well knows the conſequence of taking that away, by turning of all Tenures into common Soccage, as well in point of Revenue to the Crown, as in the protection of many of His Subjects being Infants. Nevertheleſs if the continuance thereof ſeem grievous to His Subjects, rather then He will fail on His part in giving ſatisfaction, He will conſent to an Act for taking of it away, ſo as a full recompence be ſetled upon His Majeſty and His Succeſsours in perpetuity, and

that the arrears now due be reſerved unto Him towards the payment of the arrears of the Army.

And that the memory of theſe late Diſtractions may be wholly wiped away, His Majeſty will conſent to an Act of Parliament for the ſuppreſsing and making null of all Oaths, Declarations and Proclamations againſt both or either Houſe of Parliament, and of all Indictments and other proceedings againſt any perſons for adhering to them: And His Majeſty propoſeth, (as the beſt expedient to take away all ſeeds of future Differences) that there be an Act of Oblivion to extend to all His Subjects.

As for *Ireland*, the Ceſſation there is long ſince determined; but for the future (all other things being fully agreed) His Majeſty will give full ſatisfaction to His two Houſes concerning that Kingdom.

And although His Majeſty cannot conſent in Honor and Juſtice to avoid all His own Grants and Acts paſt under His great Seal ſince the two and twentieth of *May* 1642, or to the confirming of all the Acts and Grants paſſed under that made by the two Houſes; yet His Majeſty is confident, that upon peruſal of particulars, He ſhall give full ſatisfaction to His two Houſes as to what may reaſonably be deſired in that particular.

And now His Majeſty conceives that by theſe His offers (which He is ready to make good upon the ſettlement of a Peace) He hath clearly manifeſted His intentions to give full ſecurity and ſatisfaction to all Intereſts, for what can juſtly be deſired in order to the future Happineſs of His People: and for the perfecting of theſe Conceſsions, as alſo for ſuch other things as may be propoſed by the two Houſes, and for ſuch juſt and reaſonable demands as His Majeſty ſhall find neceſſary to propoſe on His part, He earneſtly deſires a Perſonal Treaty at *London* with His two Houſes, in Honour, Freedom and Safety, it being in His Judgement the moſt proper and, indeed, only means to a firm and ſetled Peace, and impoſsible without it to reconcile former, or avoid future Miſunderſtandings.

All theſe things being by Treaty perfected, His Majeſty believes His Houſes will think it reaſonable, that the Propoſalls of the Army concerning the Succeſsion of Parliaments and their due elections ſhould be taken into conſideration.

As

As for what concerns the Kingdom of *Scotland*, His Majeſty will very readily apply Himſelf to give all reaſonable ſatisfaction, when the deſires of the two Houſes of Parliament on their behalf, or of the Commiſsioners of that Kingdom, or of both joyned together, ſhall be made known unto Him.

CHARLES R.

From the Iſle of *Wight*, *November* 17. 1647.

XXXIII.

From CARISBROOK, *Dec.* 6. MDC XLVII.

For an Anſwer to His laſt.

To the Speaker of the Houſe of Peers *pro tempore*, to be communicated to the two Houſes of Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, and the Commiſsioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*.

CHARLES R.

HAD His Majeſty thought it poſsible that His two Houſes could be imployed in things of greater concernment then the Peace of this miſerable diſtracted Kingdom, He would have expected with more patience their leiſure in ackowledging the receipt of His Meſſage of the 17. of *November* laſt. But ſince there is not in nature any conſideration preceding to that of Peace, His Majeſties conſtant tenderneſs of the welfare of His Subjects hath ſuch a prevalence with Him, that He cannot forbear the vehement proſecution of a Perſonal Treaty: which is onely ſo much the more deſired by His Majeſty, as it is ſuperiour to all other means of Peace. And truly, when His Majeſty conſiders the ſeveral complaints He daily hears from all parts of this Kingdom, That Trade is ſo decayed,

all commodities ſo dear, and Taxes ſo inſupportable, that even naturall ſubſiſtence will ſuddenly faile; His Majeſty (to perform the Truſt repoſed in Him) muſt uſe His uttermoſt endeavours for Peace, though He were to have no ſhare in the benefit of it. And hath not His Majeſty done His part for it, by deveſting Himſelf of ſo much Power and Authority as by His laſt Meſſage He hath promiſed to doe, upon the concluding of the whole Peace? And hath He met with that acknowledgement from His two Houſes which this great Grace and Favour juſtly deſerves? Surely the blame of this great retarding of Peace muſt fall ſomewhere elſe then on His Majeſty.

To conclude, if ye will but conſider in how little time this neceſſary good work will be done, if you the two Houſes will wait on His Majeſty with the ſame reſolutions for Peace as He will meet you, He no way doubts but that ye will willingly agree to this His Majeſties earneſt deſire of a Perſonal Treaty, and ſpeedily deſire His preſence amongſt you: where all things agreed on being digeſted into Acts (till when it is moſt unreaſonable for His Majeſty or His two Houſes to deſire each of other the leaſt conceſsion) this Kingdome may at laſt enjoy the bleſsing of a long-wiſht-for Peace.

Carisbrook-Caſtle, Decemb. 6. 1647.

From

XXXIV.

From CARISBROOK, *Dec.* 28. MDC XLVII.

In Anſwer to the Four Bills and Propoſitions, before the Votes of No addreſs.

For the Speaker of the Houſe of Peers *pro tempore*, to be communicated to the Lords and Commons in the Parliament of *England* at *Weſtminſter*, and the Commiſsioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*.

CHARLES R.

THE neceſsity of complying with all engaged Intereſts in theſe great Diſtempers for a perfect ſettlement of Peace, His Majeſty findes to be none of the leaſt difficulties He hath met with ſince the time of His Afflictions. Which is too viſible, when at the ſame time that the two Houſes of the *Engliſh* Parliament do preſent to His Majeſty ſeverall Bills and Propoſitions for His Conſent, the Commiſsioners for *Scotland* do openly proteſt againſt them. So that, were there nothing in the caſe but the conſideration of that difference, His Majeſty cannot imagine how to give ſuch an Anſwer to what is now propoſed, as thereby to promiſe Himſelf His great end, *A perfect Peace*. And when His Majeſty further conſiders how impoſsible it is (in the condition He now ſtands) to fulfil the deſires of the two Houſes, ſince the onely ancient and known ways of paſsing Laws are either by His Majeſties perſonal aſſent in the Houſe of Peers, or by Commiſsion under His great Seal of *England*: He cannot but wonder at ſuch failings in the manner of addreſs which is now made unto Him; unleſs His two Houſes intend that His Majeſty ſhall allow of a great Seal made without His Authority, before there be any conſideration had thereupon in a Treaty. Which as it may hereafter hazard the ſecurity it ſelf, ſo for the preſent it ſeems very unreaſonable to His Majeſty.

And

And though His Majeſty is willing to believe that the intentions of very many in both Houſes, in ſending theſe Bills before a Treaty, was onely to obtain a Truſt from Him, and not to take any advantage by paſsing them to force other things from Him which are either againſt His Conſcience or Honor: yet His Majeſty believes it clear to all underſtandings, that theſe Bills contain (as they are now penned) not only the deveſting Himſelf of all Soveraignty, and that without poſsibility of recovering it either to Him or His Succeſſors (except by repeal of thoſe Bils) but alſo the making His Conceſsions guilty of the greateſt preſſures that can be made upon the Subject, as in other particulars, ſo by giving an arbitrary and unlimited power to the two Houſes for ever, to raiſe and levy forces for Land or Sea ſervice of what perſons (without diſtinction or quality) and to what numbers they pleaſe; and likewiſe for the payment of them, to levy what Monies, in ſuch ſort and by ſuch ways and means (and conſequently upon the Eſtates of whatſoever perſons) as they ſhall think fit and appoint; which is utterly inconſiſtent with the Liberty and Property of the Subject, and His Majeſties Truſt in protecting them. So that if the major part of both Houſes ſhall think it neceſſary to put the reſt of the Propoſitions into Bils, His Majeſty leaves all the World to judge how unſafe it would be for Him to conſent thereunto: and if not, what a ſtrange condition (after the paſsing of theſe four Bils) His Majeſty and all His Subjects would be caſt into. And here His Majeſty thinks it not unfit to wiſh His two Houſes to conſider well the manner of their proceeding; that when His Majeſty deſires a Perſonal Treaty with them for the ſetling of a Peace, they in anſwer propoſe the very ſubject matter of the moſt eſſential part thereof to be firſt granted. A thing which will be hardly credible to poſterity. Wherefore His Majeſty declares, That neither the deſire of being freed from this tedious and irkſome condition of life His Majeſty hath ſo long ſuffered, nor the apprehenſion of what may befal Him in caſe His two Houſes ſhall not afford Him a Perſonal Treaty, ſhall make Him change His Reſolution, of not conſenting to any Act till the whole Peace be concluded. Yet then He intends not onely to give juſt and reaſonable ſatisfaction in the particulars preſented to Him; but alſo to make good all other Conceſsions mentioned in His Meſſage of the 16. of

Novembe

November laſt: which He thought would have produced better effects then what He findes in the Bils and Propoſitions now preſented unto Him.

And yet His Majeſty cannot give over, but now again earneſtly preſſeth for a Perſonal Treaty (ſo paſsionately is He affected with the advantages which Peace will bring to His Majeſty and all His Subjects) of which He will not at all deſpair, (there being no other viſible way to obtain a well-grounded Peace.) However His Majeſty is very much at eaſe within Himſelf, for having fulfilled the offices both of a Chriſtian and of a King; and will patiently wait the good pleaſure of Almighty God, to incline the hearts of His two Houſes to conſider their King, and to compaſsionate their fellow-Subjects miſeries.

Given at *Carisbrook-Caſtle* in the
Iſle of *Wight*, *December* 28. 1647.

XXXV.

From CARISBROOK, *Auguſt* 10. MDC XLVIII.

In Anſwer to the Votes for a Treaty.

For the Speaker of the Lords Houſe *pro tempore*, to be communicated to the Lords and Commons in the Parliament of *England* at *Weſtminſter*.

C. R.

IF the Peace of My Dominions were not much dearer to Me then any particular Intereſt whatſoever; I had too much reaſon to take notice of the ſeveral Votes which paſſed againſt Me, and the ſad condition I have been in now above theſe ſeven Moneths: But ſince you My two Houſes of Parliament have opened (as it ſeems to Me) a fair beginning to a happy Peace, I ſhall heartily apply My ſelf thereunto; and to that end, I will as clearly and ſhortly as I may

ſet

ſet you down thoſe things which I conceive neceſſary to this bleſſed work, ſo that We together may remove all impediments that may hinder a happy concluſion of this Treaty, which with all chearfulneſs I do embrace.

And to this wiſhed end your ſelves have laid moſt excellent grounds: For what can I reaſonably expect more then to Treat with *Honour*, *Freedome* and *Safety*, upon ſuch Propoſitions as you have or ſhall preſent unto Me, and ſuch as I ſhall make to you? But withall remember, that it is the definition, not names, of things which makes them rightly known; and that without means to perform no Propoſition can take effect: And truly My preſent condition is ſuch, that I can no more treat then a blind man judge of colours, or one run a race who hath both his feet faſt tied together; wherefore My firſt neceſſary demand is,

That you will recall all ſuch Votes and Orders by which people are frighted from coming, writing, or ſpeaking freely to Me.

Next, that ſuch men of all profeſsions whom I ſhall ſend for, as of neceſſary uſe to Me in this Treaty, may be admitted to wait upon Me. In a word, that I may be in the ſame ſtate of freedom I was in when I was laſt at *Hampton-Court*. And indeed leſs cannot in any reaſonable meaſure make good thoſe offers which you have made Me by your Votes. For how can I treat with *Honour*, ſo long as people are terrified with Votes and Orders againſt coming to ſpeak or write to Me? And am I honorably treated, ſo long as there is none about Me (except a Barber who came now with the Commiſsioners) that ever I named to wait upon Me? Or with *Freedome*, until I may call ſuch unto Me of whoſe ſervices I ſhall have uſe in ſo great and difficult a work? And for *Safety* (I ſpeak not of My Perſon, having no apprehenſion that way) how can I judge to make a *ſafe* and well-grounded Peace, until I may know (without diſguiſe) the true preſent ſtate of all My Dominions, and particularly of all thoſe whoſe Intereſts are neceſſarily concerned in the Peace of theſe Kingdoms? which leads Me naturally to the laſt neceſſary demand I ſhall make for the bringing of this Treaty to an happy end, which is,

That you alone, or you and I joyntly, do invite the *Scots* to ſend ſome perſons authorized by them to treat upon ſuch Propoſitions as they ſhall make; for certainly the publick and neceſſary Intereſt they

have

have in this great Settlement is ſo clearly plain to all the world, that I believe no body will deny the neceſsity of their concurrence in this Treaty in order to durable Peace. Wherefore I will onely ſay, that as I am a King of both Nations, ſo I will yield to none in either Kingdom for being truly and zealouſly affected for the good and honor of both; My reſolution being, never to be partial for either to the prejudice of the other.

Now as to the Place, (becauſe I conceive it to be rather a circumſtantial then real part of this Treaty, I ſhall not much inſiſt upon it) I name *Newport* in this Iſle: yet the fervent zeal I have that a ſpeedy end be put to theſe unhappy Diſtractions, doth force Me earneſtly to deſire you to conſider what a great loſs of time it will be to treat ſo far from the body of My two Houſes, when every ſmall debate (of which doubtleſs there will be many) muſt be tranſmitted to *Weſtminſter* before it be concluded. And really I think (though to ſome it may ſeem a Paradox) that peoples mindes will be much more apt to ſettle, ſeeing Me treat in or near *London*, then in this Iſle; becauſe ſo long as I am here, it will never be believed by many that I am really ſo free as before this Treaty begins I expect to be. And ſo I leave and recommend this Point to your ſerious conſideration.

And thus I have not only fully accepted of the Treaty which you have propoſed to Me by your Votes of the third of this moneth; but alſo given it all the furtherance that lies in Me, by demanding the neceſſary means for the effectual performance thereof. All which are ſo neceſſarily implied by, though not particularly mentioned in, your Votes, as I can no waies doubt of your ready compliance with Me herein. I have now no more to ſay, but to conjure you by all that is dear to Chriſtians, honeſt men or good Patriots, that ye will make all the expedition poſsible to begin this happy Work, by haſtening down your Commiſsioners fully authorized and well inſtructed, and by enabling Me (as I have ſhewed you) to Treat; praying the God of Peace ſo to bleſs our endeavours, that all My Dominions may ſpeedily enjoy a ſafe and well-grounded Peace.

CHARLES R.

XXXVI.

From CARISBROOK, *Aug.* 28. MDCXLVIII.

For ſome of His Councell and others to attend Him at the Treaty.

For the Earle of *Manchester*, Speaker of the Houſe of Peers *pro tempore*, and *William Lenthall*, Speaker of the Houſe of Commons.

MY Lord, and Maſter Speaker, I have received your Letter of the twenty fifth of this Moneth, with the Votes that you ſent Me: which though they are not ſo full as I could have wiſhed for the perfecting of a Treaty; yet becauſe I conceive by what you have done, that I am in ſome meaſure fit to begin one, ſuch is My unceſſant and earneſt deſire to give a Peace to theſe My now-diſtracted Kingdoms, as I accept the Treaty; and therefore deſire that ſuch five Lords and ten Commons as My two Houſes ſhall appoint, be ſpeedily ſent, fully authorized and inſtructed to Treat with Me, not doubting but what is now wanting, will, at our meeting, upon debate be fully ſupplied, not only to the furtherance of this Treaty, but alſo to the conſummating of a ſafe and well-grounded Peace. So I reſt,

Your good Friend
CHARLES R.

Here is incloſed a Liſt of the Names of ſuch Perſons as I deſire.

GEntlemen *of My Bedchamber*, *Duke* Richmond, *Marqueſs* Hertford, *Earl* Lindſey, *Earl* Southampton.

Grooms of My Bedchamber, Georg Kirk, James Leviſton, Henry Murry, John Aſhburnham, William Leg.

Thomas Daviſe, *Barber*.

Pages of My back ſtairs, Hugh Henne, Humphrey Rogers, William Levett.

Rives, *Yeoman of My Robes*.

Querries, with four or five of My Footmen, as they find fitteſt to wait, *Sir* Edward Sidenham, Robert Terwit, Jo. Houſden.

Mrs Wheeler *Landreſs, with ſuch Maids as ſhe ſhall chuſe*.

Parſons, *a Groom of the Preſence*.

Sir Fulk Grevil, *Captain* Titus, *Capt.* John Burroughs, *M^r* Creſſet, ... Hanſted, Abraham Douſet, Henry Firebrace, *to wait as they did, or as I ſhall appoint them*.

Biſhop of London, *B. of* Sarum, *D^r* Shelden, *D^r* Hammond, *D^r* Holdſworth, *D^r* Sanderſon, *Doctor* Turner, *Doctor* Heywood.

Lawyers, *Sir* Thomas Gardiner, *Sir* Orlando Bridgman, *Sir* Robert Holburn, *M^r* Geffery Palmer, *M^r* Thomas Cooke, *M^r* James Vaughan.

Clarks and Writers, *Sir* Edward Walker, *M^r* Philip Warwick, Nicholas Oudart, Charles Whittaker.

To make ready the Houſe for Treaty, Peter Newton, Clem. Kinerſley.

I deſire in order to one of your Votes, that you would ſend Me a free paſs for *Parſons*, one of the Grooms of My Preſence-Chamber, to goe into *Scotland*, and that you would immediately ſend him to Me, to receive the diſpatch thither.

XXXVII.

From CARISBROOK, *Sept.* 7. MDC XLVIII.

Concerning the time of the Treaty, and the sending some other Civile Lawyers and Divines.

For the Lord *Hunsdon,* Speaker of the House of Peers *pro tempore,* and *William Lenthall,* Speaker of the House of Commons.

MY Lord, and Master Speaker, I have received your Letter of the second of this Moneth, containing the Names of those who are to Treat with Me; and though they do not come at the time appointed, I shall not wonder, at first judging it too short in respect of My two Houses, not of My self, so that I did not imagine it could be kept, (as I then commanded Sir *Peter Killegrew* to tell you by word of mouth:) and therefore it shall be far from Me to take exceptions for their having elapsed the appointed time, for God forbid that either My two Houses or I should carp at Circumstances to give the least impediment to this Treaty, much less to hinder the happy finishing of it. I say this the rather, because I know not how it is possible (in this I shall wish to be deceived) that in forty daies Treaty the many Distractions of these Kingdoms can be setled; and if so, it were more then strange that time enough should not be given for the perfecting of this most great and good Work, which as I will not believe can be stuck on by the two Houses, so I am sure it shall never be by

Your good Friend,

Carisbrook, 7. Sept. 1648.

CHARLES R.

I think fit to tell you, because I believe in this Treaty there will be need of Civil Lawyers, I have sent for My Advocate *Rives* and D. *Duck.*

[*And*

[*And afterward, in a Letter of one of the Commissioners for the two Houses He sent inclosed this Note,* Nov. 2.]

C. R.

The Bishop of *Armagh*, the Bishop of *Exceter*, the Bishop of *Rochester*, the Bishop of *Worcester*, Dr *Ferne*, Dr *Morley*.

XXXVIII.

From NEWPORT, *Sept.* 29. MDCXLVIII.

Containing His Concessions.

HIS Majestie did use many earnest endeavours for a Personall Treaty, which He hoped might have been obtained at *Westminster*, between Him and His two Houses of Parliament immediately; yet they having made choice of this way by you their Commissioners, His Majesty did gladly and chearfully accept thereof in this place, as a fit means to begin a Treaty for Peace, which might put an end to His Own sad condition, and the Miseries of His Kingdom: For an entrance whereunto, His Majesty hath already expressed His consent to the First Proposition. But finding you are limited by Instructions which you have no warrant to communicate unto Him, and having cause by your Paper of the twentieth of this present to believe that you have no power to omit or alter any thing, though He shall give you such reasons as may satisfie you so to doe, without transmitting the Papers to the two Houses at a far distance, where His Majesties reasons, expressions, and offers upon debate cannot be fully represented, and from whence their Answers cannot be returned without much waste of the time allotted for the Treaty here; and having lately received another Paper concerning the Church, containing in it self many particulars of great importance, and referring to divers Ordinances, Articles of Religion, and other things (eleven or twelve in number) of great length, and some of them very

new, and never before preſented to His Majeſty, the due conſideration whereof will take up much time, and require His Majeſties preſence with His two Houſes before a full reſolution can well be had in matters of ſo high conſequence: To the end therefore that the good Work now in hand may (by God's bleſsing) proceed more ſpeedily and effectually to an happy concluſion, and that His two Houſes of Parliament may at preſent have further ſecurity, and an earneſt of future ſatisfaction, His Majeſty, upon conſideration had of yours, makes theſe Propoſitions following.

Concerning the Church, His Majeſty will conſent that the calling and ſitting of the Aſſembly of Divines at *Weſtminſter* be confirmed for three years by Act of Parliament.

And will by Act of Parliament confirm for three years the *Directory* for the publick Worſhip of God in the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, and Dominion of *Wales*.

And will likewiſe confirm for three years by Act of Parliament the Form of Church-Government which ye have preſented to Him, to be uſed for the Churches of *England* and *Ireland*, and Dominion of *Wales*: Provided that His Majeſty and thoſe of His Judgement, or any others who cannot in Conſcience ſubmit thereunto, be not in the mean time obliged to comply with the ſame Government or Form of Worſhip, but have free practice of their own profeſsion. And that a free conſultation and debate be had with the Aſſembly of Divines at *Weſtminſter* in the mean time (twenty of His Majeſties nomination being added unto them) whereby it may be determined by His Majeſty and His two Houſes of Parliament, how the ſaid Church-Government and Form of Publick Worſhip after the ſaid time may be ſetled, or ſooner, if Differences may be agreed: and how alſo Reformation of Religion may be ſetled within the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, and the Dominion of *Wales*. And the Articles of Chriſtian Religion now delivered to Him may in like manner be then conſidered of and determined, and care taken for the eaſe of tender Conſciences.

And concerning the Biſhops Lands and Revenues, His Majeſty conſidering that during theſe troubleſome times divers of His Subjects have made contracts and purchaces, and divers have diſburſed great ſummes of moneys upon ſecurity and engagement of thoſe

Lands;

Lands; His Majeſty, for their ſatisfaction, will conſent to an Act or Acts of Parliament, whereby legal eſtates for lives or for years (at their choice,) not exceeding 99. years, ſhall be made of thoſe lands towards the ſatisfaction of the ſaid Purchaſers, Contractors, and others to whom they are engaged, at the old Rents, or ſome other moderate Rent, whereby they may receive ſatisfaction.

And in caſe ſuch Leaſes ſhall not ſatisfie, His Majeſty will propound and conſent to ſome other way for their further ſatisfaction.

Provided that the propriety and inheritance of thoſe Lands may ſtill remain and continue to the Church and Church-men reſpectively, according to the pious intentions of the Donors and Founders thereof: and the rent that ſhall be reſerved to be for their maintenance.

His Majeſty will give his Royal aſſent for the better obſervation of the Lords day, for ſuppreſsing of Innovations in Churches and Chappels in and about the Worſhip of God, and for the better advancement of the Preaching of God's Holy Word in all parts of this Kingdom; and to an Act againſt enjoying pluralities of Benefices by Spiritual perſons, and Non-reſidency; and to an Act for regulating and Reforming both Univerſities, and the Colledges of *Weſtminſter*, *Wincheſter* and *Eaton*.

His Majeſty will conſent to an Act for the better diſcovery and ſpeedy conviction of Popiſh Recuſants, as is deſired in your Propoſitions; and alſo to an Act for the education of the children of Papiſts by Proteſtants in the Proteſtant Religion.

As alſo to an Act for the true levying of the penalties againſt Papiſts, to be levied and diſpoſed in ſuch manner as both Houſes ſhall agree on, and as is propoſed on His Majeſties behalf.

As alſo to an Act to prevent the practices of Papiſts againſt the State, and for putting the Laws in execution; and for a ſtricter courſe to prevent hearing and ſaying of Maſs.

But as to the Covenant, His Majeſty is not yet therein ſatisfied, that He can either ſign or ſwear it, or conſent to impoſe it on the Conſciences of others: nor doth He conceive it proper or uſeful at this time to be inſiſted on.

Touching the *Militia*, His Majeſty conceives that your Propoſition demands a far larger power over the perſons and eſtates of His Sub-

jects then hath ever hitherto been warranted by the Laws and Statutes of this Realm: Yet conſidering the preſent Diſtractions require more, and truſting in His two Houſes of Parliament that they will make no further uſe of the power therein mentioned, after the preſent Diſtempers ſetled, then ſhall be agreeable to the legal exerciſe thereof in times paſt, or juſt neceſsity ſhall require, His Majeſty will conſent to an Act of Parliament,

That the Lords and Commons in the Parliament of *England* now aſſembled, or hereafter to be aſſembled, or ſuch as they ſhall appoint, during the ſpace of ten years, ſhall arm, train and diſcipline, or cauſe to be armed, trained or diſciplined, all the Forces of the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland* and Dominion of *Wales*, the Iſles of *Gerneſy* and *Jerſey*, and the Town of *Barwick* upon *Tweed*, already raiſed both for Sea and Land ſervice; and ſhall from time to time during the ſpace of ten years raiſe, levy, arm, train and diſcipline, or cauſe to be raiſed, levied, armed, trained and diſciplined any other forces for Land and Sea ſervice in the Kingdoms, Dominions and places aforeſaid, as in their judgments they ſhall from time to time during the ſaid ſpace of ten years think fit to appoint; and that neither the King, His Heirs or Succeſſors, or any other but ſuch as ſhall Act by the authority or approbation of the ſaid Lords and Commons, ſhall during the ſaid ſpace of ten years exerciſe any of the powers aforeſaid:

That monies be raiſed and levied for the maintenance and uſe of the ſaid Forces for Land-ſervice, and of the Navy and Forces for Sea-ſervice, in ſuch ſort and by ſuch ways and means as the ſaid Lords and Commons ſhall from time to time during the ſaid ſpace of ten years think fit and appoint, and not otherwiſe:

That all the ſaid Forces both for Land and Sea ſervice ſo raiſed or levied, or to be raiſed or levied, and alſo the Admiralty and Navy, ſhall from time to time during the ſaid ſpace of ten years be imployed, managed, ordered and diſpoſed by the Lords and Commons in ſuch ſort and by ſuch ways and means as they ſhall think fit and appoint, and not otherwiſe.

And the ſaid Lords and Commons, or ſuch as they ſhall appoint, during the ſaid ſpace of ten years ſhall have power,

1. To ſuppreſs all Forces raiſed or to be raiſed without authority and conſent of the ſaid Lords and Commons, to the diſturbance of

of the publick Peace of the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, Dominion of *Wales*, the Iſles of *Gerneſey* and *Jerſey*, and the Town of *Barwick* upon *Tweed*, or any of them.

2. To ſuppreſs any forein Forces who ſhall invade or endeavour to invade the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, Dominion of *Wales*, the Iſles of *Gerneſey* and *Jerſey*, and the Town of *Barwick* upon *Tweed*, or any of them.

And after the expiration of the ſaid ten years, neither the King, His Heirs or Succeſſors, or any perſon or perſons by colour or pretence of any Commiſsion, power, deputation, or authority to be derived from the King, His Heirs or Succeſſors, or any of them, ſhall without the conſent of the ſaid Lords and Commons raiſe, arm, train, diſcipline, imploy, order, manage, disband, or diſpoſe any the Forces by Sea or Land, of the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, the Dominion of *Wales*, Iſles of *Gerneſey* and *Jerſey*, and the Town of *Barwick* upon *Tweed*; nor exerciſe any of the ſaid powers or authorities herein before mentioned, and expreſſed to be during the ſpace of ten years in the ſaid Lords and Commons; nor do any act or any thing concerning the execution of the ſaid powers or authorities, or any of them, without the conſent of the ſaid Lords and Commons firſt had and obtained:

And with the ſame Proviſoes for ſaving the ordinary legal power of Officers of Juſtice, not being Military Officers, as is ſet down in your Propoſitions:

And with a Declaration, That if any perſons ſhall be gathered and aſſembled together in a warlike manner or otherwiſe, to the number of thirty perſons, and ſhall not forthwith diſperſe themſelves, being required thereto by the ſaid Lords and Commons, or command from them, or any by them eſpecially authorized for that purpoſe, then ſuch perſon or perſons not ſo diſperſing themſelves ſhall be guilty, and incur the pains of high Treaſon, being firſt declared guilty of ſuch offence by the ſaid Lords and Commons, any Commiſsion under the Great Seal or other Warrant to the contrary notwithſtanding: and he or they that ſhall ſo offend herein to be uncapable of any pardon from His Majeſty, His Heirs or Succeſſors.

And likewiſe that it be provided that the City of *London* ſhall have and enjoy all their rights, liberties, &c. in raiſing and imploying

the

the Forces of that City in ſuch ſort as is mentioned in the ſaid Propoſition.

With theſe Proviſoes following to be inſerted in the ſaid Act.

Firſt, that none be compelled to ſerve in the War againſt their wills, but in caſe of coming in of ſtrange Enemies into this Kingdom.

And that the powers above mentioned as concerning the Land-Forces, other then for keeping up and maintenance of Forts and Garriſons, and the keeping up, maintaining and pay of this preſent Army ſo long as it ſhall be thought fit by both Houſes of Parliament, be exerciſed to no other purpoſes then for the ſuppreſsing of Forces raiſed or to be raiſed without authority and conſent of the ſaid Lords and Commons as aforeſaid, or for ſuppreſsing of any Forein Forces which ſhall invade or endeavour to invade the Kingdoms, Dominions or places aforeſaid.

And that the monies be raiſed by general and equal Taxations, ſaving that Tunnage and Poundage, and ſuch Impoſts as have been applied to the Navy, be raiſed as hath been uſuall.

And that all Patents, Commiſsions and other Acts concerning the premiſſes be made and acted in His Majeſties name by Warrant, ſignified by the Lords and Commons, or ſuch others as they ſhall authoriſe for that purpoſe.

If it ſhall be more ſatisfactory to His two Houſes to have the *Militia* and powers thereupon depending during the whole time of His Majeſties Reign, rather then for the ſpace of ten years, His Majeſty gives them the election.

Touching *Ireland*, His Majeſty having in the two preceding Propoſitions given His conſent concerning the Church and the *Militia* there in all things as in *England*; as to all other matters relating to that Kingdome, after advice with His two Houſes, He will leave it to their determination, and give His conſent accordingly, as is herein hereafter expreſſed.

Touching publick Debts, His Majeſty will give His conſent to ſuch an Act for raiſing of monies by generall and equall Taxations, for the payment and ſatisfying the Arrears of the Army, publick Debts and engagements of the Kingdom, as ſhall be agreed on by both

both Houſes of Parliament, and ſhall be audited and aſcertained by them, or ſuch perſons as they ſhall appoint, within the ſpace of twelve months after the paſsing of an Act for the ſame.

His Majeſty will conſent to an Act, that during the ſaid ſpace of ten years the Lord Chancellour, or Lord Keeper, Commiſsioners of the Great Seal, or Treaſury, Lord Warden of the Cinque-ports, Chancellour of the Exchequer and Dutchy, Secretaries of State, Maſter of the Rolls, Judges of both Benches, and Barons of the Exchequer of *England*, be nominated by both Houſes of the Parliament of *England*, to continue *quam diu ſe bene geſſerint*; and in the intervalls of Parliament, by ſuch others as they ſhall authorize for that purpoſe.

His Majeſty will conſent that the *Militia* of the City of *London* and Liberties thereof, during the ſpace of ten years, may be in the ordering and government of the Lord Maior, Aldermen, and Commons in the Common Councel aſſembled, or ſuch as they ſhall from time to time appoint (whereof the Lord Maior and Sheriffs for the time being to be three) to be imployed and directed from time to time, during the ſaid ſpace of ten years, in ſuch manner as ſhall be agreed upon and appointed by both Houſes of Parliament; and that no Citizen of the City of *London*, nor any of the Officers of the ſaid City, ſhall be drawn forth, or compelled to go out of the ſaid City or Liberties thereof for Military ſervice, without their own free conſent.

That an Act be paſſed for granting and confirming the Charters, Cuſtoms, Liberties and Franchiſes of the City of *London*, notwithſtanding any *Non-uſer*, *Miſ-uſer*, or *Abuſer*.

And that during the ſaid ten years, the Tower of *London* may be in the government of the City of *London*, and the Chief Officer and Governor from time to time during the ſaid ſpace to be nominated, and removeable by the Common Councel, as are deſired in your Propoſitions.

His Majeſty having thus far expreſſed His conſent for the preſent ſatisfaction and ſecurity of His two Houſes of Parliament, and thoſe that

that have adhered unto them, touching your four firſt Propoſitions, and other the particulars before ſpecified; as to all the reſt of your Propoſitions delivered to Him at *Hampton-Court*, (not referring to thoſe heads) and to that of the Court of Wards ſince delivered, as alſo to the remaining Propoſitions concerning *Ireland*, His Majeſty deſires onely, when He ſhall come to *Weſtminſter*, perſonally to adviſe with His two Houſes, and to deliver His opinion, and the reaſons of it; which being done, He will leave the whole matter of thoſe remaining Propoſitions to the determination of His two Houſes, which ſhall prevail with Him for His conſent accordingly.

And His Majeſty doth (for His Own particular) onely propoſe that He may have liberty to repair forthwith to *Weſtminſter*, and be reſtored to a condition of abſolute Freedom and Safety, (a thing which He ſhall never deny to any of His Subjects) and to the poſſeſsion of His Lands and Revenues; and that an Act of Oblivion and Indemnity may paſs, to extend to all perſons for all matters relating to the late unhappy Differences: which being agreed by His two Houſes of Parliament, His Majeſty will be ready to make theſe His Conceſſions binding, by giving them the Force of Laws by His Royal aſſent.

HIS

MAJESTIES

DECLARATIONS.

HIS
MAJESTIES
DECLARATIONS.

I.

His MAJESTIES DECLARATION
After the Votes of no further Addreſs.

Carisbrook, *Jan.* 18. M DC XLVII.

To all My People, of whatſoever Nation, Quality or Condition.

AM I thus laid aſide? and muſt I not ſpeak for My ſelf? No: I will ſpeak, and that to all My People, (which I would have rather done by the way of My two Houſes of Parliament, but that there is a publick Order, neither to make Addreſſes to or receive Meſſages from Me.) And who but you can be judge of the differences betwixt Me and My two Houſes? I know none elſe: for I am ſure you it is who will enjoy the Happineſs or feel the Miſery of good or ill Government; and we all pretend who ſhould run faſteſt to ſerve you, without having a regard (at leaſt in the firſt place) to particular Intereſts. And therefore I deſire you to conſider the ſtate I am and have been in this long time, and whether My Actions have more tended to the Publick or My own particular good. For whoſoever will look upon Me barely as I am a Man, without that liberty (which the meaneſt of My Subjects enjoyes) of going whither and converſing with whom I will; as a Husband and Father, without the comfort of My Wife and Children; or laſtly as a King, without the leaſt ſhew of Authority or Power to protect My diſtreſſed Subjects; muſt conclude Me not onely void of all Natural Affection, but alſo to want common underſtanding, if I ſhould not moſt chearfully

embrace the readieſt way to the ſettlement of theſe diſtracted Kingdoms. As alſo on the other ſide, do but conſider the form and draught of the Bils lately preſented unto Me, and as they are the Conditions of a Treaty, ye will conclude, that the ſame Spirit which hath ſtill been able to fruſtrate all My ſincere and conſtant endeavours for Peace, hath had a powerful influence on this Meſſage: For though I was ready to grant the ſubſtance, and comply with what they ſeem to deſire; yet as they had framed it, I could not agree thereunto, without deeply wounding My Conſcience and Honour, and betraying the Truſt repoſed in Me, by abandoning My People to the Arbitrary and Unlimited Power of the two Houſes for ever, for the levying and maintaining of Land or Sea Forces, without diſtinction of quality or limitation for Mony taxes. And if I could have paſſed them in termes, how unheard-of a Condition were it for a Treaty to grant beforehand the moſt conſiderable part of the ſubject matter? How ineffectual were that debate like to prove, wherein the moſt potent Party had nothing of moment left to ask, and the other nothing more to give? ſo, conſequently, how hopeleſs of mutual compliance? without which a ſettlement is impoſsible. Beſides, if after My Conceſsions the two Houſes ſhould inſiſt on thoſe things from which I cannot depart, how deſperate would the condition of theſe Kingdoms be, when the moſt proper and approved remedy ſhould become ineffectual? Being therefore fully reſolved that I could neither in Conſcience, Honour or Prudence, paſs thoſe Four Bils; I onely endeavoured to make the Reaſons and Juſtice of My Denial appear to all the World, as they doe to me, intending to give as little diſ-ſatisfaction to the two Houſes of Parliament (without betraying My own Cauſe) as the matter would beare: I was deſirous to give My Anſwer of the 28. of *December* laſt to the Commiſsioners ſealed, (as I had done others heretofore, and ſometimes at the deſire of the Commiſsioners) chiefly, becauſe when My Meſſages or Anſwers were publickly known before they were read in the Houſes, prejudicial interpretations were forced on them, much differing, and ſometimes contrary to My meaning. For example, My Anſwer from *Hampton-Court* was accuſed of dividing the two Nations, becauſe I promiſed to give ſatisfaction to the *Scots* in all things concerning that Kingdome: And this laſt ſuffers in a contrary ſenſe, by making Me

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intend to intereſt *Scotland* in the Laws of this Kingdome, (then which nothing was, nor is, further from My thoughts) becauſe I took notice of the *Scots* Commiſsioners proteſting againſt the Bils and Propoſitions, as contrary to the Intereſts and Engagements of the two Kingdomes. Indeed, if I had not mentioned their diſſent, an Objection, not without ſome probability, might have been made againſt Me, both in reſpect the *Scots* are much concern'd in the Bill for the *Militia*, and in ſeveral other Propoſitions; and My ſilence might, with ſome Juſtice, have ſeemed to approve of it: But the Commiſsioners refuſing to receive My Anſwer ſealed, I (upon the engagement of their and the Governors Honour, that no other uſe ſhould be made or notice taken of it then as if it had not been ſeen) read and delivered it open unto them; whereupon what hath ſince paſſed, either by the Governour, in diſcharging moſt of My Servants, redoubling the Guards, and reſtraining Me of My former Liberty, (and all this, as himſelf confeſt, merely out of his own diſlike of My Anſwer, notwithſtanding his beforeſaid Engagement) or afterwards by the two Houſes, (as the Governour affirmes) in confining Me within the circuit of this Caſtle, I appeal to God and the World, whether My ſaid Anſwer deſerved the reply of ſuch proceedings; beſides the unlawfulneſs for Subjects to impriſon their King. That by the permiſsion of Almighty God I am reduced to this ſad condition, as I no way repine; ſo I am not without hope, but that the ſame God will in due time convert theſe Afflictions into My advantage. In the mean time, I am confident to bear theſe croſſes with Patience, and a great Equality of Mind. But by what means or occaſion I am come to this Relapſe in My Affairs, I am utterly to ſeek; eſpecially when I conſider, that I have ſacrificed to My two Houſes of Parliament, for the Peace of the Kingdome, all but what is much more dear to Me then My life, My Conſcience and Honour; deſiring nothing more then to perform it in the moſt proper and natural way, a Perſonal Treaty. But that which makes Me moſt at a loſs is, the remembring My ſignal compliance with the Army and their Intereſts: and of what importance My compliance was to them, and their often-repeated Profeſsions and Ingagements for My juſt Rights in general, at *Newmarket* and S. *Albans*, and their particular explanation of thoſe generals by their voted and re-voted Propoſals, which I had reaſon

to understand should be the utmost extremity would be expected from Me, and that in some things therein I should be eased; (herein appealing to the Consciences of some of the chiefest Officers in the Army, if what I have said be not punctually true) and how I have failed of their expectations, or My professions to them, I challenge them and the whole World to produce the least colour of Reason. And now I would know what it is that is desired. Is it Peace? I have shewed the way, (being both willing and desirous to perform My part in it) which is, a just compliance with all chief Interests. Is it Plenty and Happiness? They are the inseparable effects of Peace. Is it Security? I, who wish that all men would forgive and forget like Me, have offered the *Militia* for My time. Is it Liberty of Conscience? He who wants it is most ready to give it. Is it the right administration of Justice? Officers of trust are committed to the choice of My two Houses of Parliament. Is it frequent Parliaments? I have legally, fully concurr'd therewith. Is it the Arrears of the Army? Upon a settlement they will certainly be payed with much ease, but before there will be found much difficulty, if not impossibility, in it.

Thus all the World cannot but see My reall and unwearied endeavours for Peace, the which (by the grace of God) I shall neither repent Me of nor ever be slackned in, notwithstanding My past, present, or future sufferings: but if I may not be heard, let every one judge who it is that obstructs the good I would or might doe. What is it that men are afraid to hear from Me? It cannot be Reason, (at least, none will declare themselves so unreasonable as to confess it:) and it can less be impertinent or unreasonable Discourses; for thereby, peradventure, I might more justifie this My Restraint then the causers themselves can doe: so that of all wonders yet this is the greatest to Me. But it may be easily gathered how those men intend to govern who have used Me thus. And if it be My hard Fate to fall together with the Liberty of this Kingdom, I shall not blush for My self, but much lament the future Miseries of My People, the which I shall still pray to God to avert, whatever becomes of Me.

CHARLES R.

An

II.

An Answer to a Pamphlet entitled, A Declaration of the Commons of *England* in Parliament assembled, expressing their Reasons and Grounds of passing the late Resolutions touching no farther Address or Application to be made to the KING.

Published by His Majesties appointment.

I Believe that it was never heard of until now, that heavy Imputations were laid on any man (I speak not now of Kings, which I confess makes the case yet more strange and unjust) and He not permitted to see, much less to answer them: but so it is now with the King; which does (though silently, yet) subject Him to as great an Imputation as there is any in the said Declaration; for those who know no better, may think that He cannot, because He does not, answer it. Wherefore I hold it my Duty (knowing these things better then every ordinary man) to doe my best that the King should not be injured by the Ignorance of His People: and albeit I (lying under Persecution for My Conscience and love to Regall Authority) have not the means in every thing to make full Probations; yet I am confident in all the most materiall Points so to make the truth of the King's Innocency appear, that I shall satisfie any impartial judicious Reader.

What the Issue of former Addresses to the King hath been is most certainly known to all the World; but where the fault rests whereby Peace hath not ensued, bare Asseverations without Proofs cannot, I am sure, satisfie any judicious Reader. And indeed, it seems to me that the Penner of this seeks more to take the ears of the ignorant Multitude with big words and bold Assertions, then to satisfie Rational men with reall Proofs or true Arguments. For at the very first he begs the Question, taking it for granted that the King could ease the *Sighs* and *Groans*, dry the *Tears*, and stanch the *Blood* of His distressed Subjects. Alas! Is it He that keeps Armies on foot when there is

none to oppoſe? Is it He that will not lay down Exciſe, Taxations and Free-quarterings? But it is He indeed who was ſo far from Power, even at that time, (being far worſe ſince) that in moſt things He wanted the Liberty of any free-born man: It is He who never refuſed to eaſe His People of their Grievances; witneſs more Acts of Grace paſſed in His Reign then (to ſpeak within my compaſs) in any five Kings or Queens Times that ever were before Him: Moreover it is He who, to ſettle the preſent unhappy Diſtractions, and (as the beſt means to it) to obtain a Perſonall Treaty, hath offered ſo much, that (to ſay truth) during His own time He hath left Himſelf little more then the *Title* of a King; as it plainly appears by His Meſſage from the Iſle of *Wight*, concerning the *Militia*, and chuſing the Officers of State and Privy-Counſellours, beſides other points of Compliance, which it is needleſs here to mention.

Good God! are theſe *Offers unfit for them to receive*? Have they *tendred ſuch Propoſitions, that might occaſion the World to judge that they have yielded up not only their Wills and Affections, but their Reaſons alſo and Judgements, for obtaining a true Peace or good Accommodation*? It is true, that if they can ſhew what reaſonably they could have asked more, or wherein the King's Offers were deficient (either in Point of Security, or by with-holding from any of His Subjects a jot of their juſt Privileges) then they ſaid ſomewhat to challenge Belief: But bare Aſſeverations, even againſt what a man ſees, will not get credit with any but ſuch who abandon their Judgements to an implicite Faith: nor can the Determinations of all the Parliaments in the World make a thing Juſt or Neceſſary, if it be not ſo of it ſelf. And can it be imagined, that any who were ever acquainted with the Paſſages at the Treaties of *Oxford* and *Uxbridge* will believe (though it be ſaid) that *the Propoſitions tendred at* Newcaſtle *were the ſame in effect which had been preſented to the King before, in the midſt of all His ſtrength and Forces*? Indeed methinks ſuch groſs ſlips as theſe ſhould at leaſt make a man be wary how to believe ſuch things for which He ſees no Proofs: And yet it ſhould ſeem that a man muſt either take their words for good payment, or remain unſatisfied; for a little after it is ſaid, *that the Kings ſtrange, unexpected and conditionall Anſwers or Denialls might juſtly have made them conſider ſome other courſe for ſetling the Kingdom in Peace and Safety, without any farther Application*; but never ſhewn wherein the ſtrangeneſs of

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His Anſwers or Denials conſiſts. And I ſhould think that thoſe Reaſons upon which the laying by of a King's Authority is grounded (for it is no leſs) ought to be particularly mentioned for the Worlds ſatisfaction, and not involved in generall big words: for it thereby ſeems that it is their force of Arms, more then that of Reaſon, which they truſt to, for procuring of obedience to their Determinations, or belief to what they ſay: Otherways can it be imagined that their ſaying, that *their laſt Propoſitions were ſo qualified, that (where it might ſtand with the publick Safety) the wonted Scruples and Objections were prevented or removed*, can give ſatisfaction to any rational man, who hath ſeen all their former Propoſitions? for it is moſt evident that their Demands have alwayes encreaſed with their good Fortune.

And for their great Condeſcenſion to a *Perſonal Treaty* (which, under favour, can ſcarcely be called ſo; for the King, though He had granted what was deſired, was not to come either to or near *London*, but to ſtay in the Iſle of *Wight*, and there to Treat with Commiſsioners) upon ſigning the Four Bills; ſurely they incurred therein but little danger: for it is moſt evident that they contain the very ſubſtance of the moſt eſſentiall parts of their Demands; which being once granted, the King would neither have had power to deny, nor any thing left worth the refuſing: for after He had confeſſed that He had taken up Arms to invade the Liberty of His People, (whereas it was only for the Defence of His own Rights) and had likewiſe condemned all thoſe who had faithfully ſerved Him, of Rebellion; and that He had totally deveſted Himſelf, His Heirs and Succeſſors for ever, of the power of the Sword, whereby the Protection of His Subjects (which is one of the moſt eſſentiall and neceſſary Rights belonging to Regall Authority) is totally torne away from the Crown; and that by a ſilent Confeſsion He had done Himſelf and Succeſſors an irreparable prejudice concerning the great Seal (I ſpeak not of the other two Bills, neither of which are of little importance) what was there more for Him to grant (worth the inſiſting upon) after ſuch Conceſsions? or, indeed, what power was left Him to deny any thing? So that the King's neceſsity of giving the Anſwer He did (for it was no abſolute Refuſall) is moſt evident; unleſs He had reſolved to have lived in quiet without Honour, and to have given His People Peace without Safety, by abandoning them to an arbitrary and unlimited

power of the two Houſes for ever, concerning the levying of Land or Sea Forces, without ſtinting of numbers or diſtinction of perſons; and for Payments, to levy ſuch ſummes of Monies, in ſuch ſort and by ſuch ways and means, as they ſhall think fit and appoint. And now I cannot but ask, is this the *Militia* that the King contends for? or did ever any King of *England* pretend to or ſeek for ſuch a Power? ſurely no; but this is a new *Militia*: and take heed leſt this ſhould prove like the *Roman* Prætorian Cohorts, that what they did in chuſing and changing Emperours, theſe doe not to this Government, by moulding and altering it according to their Fancies. Now my eagerneſs to clear this Point concerning the four Bils had almoſt made me forget a moſt material Queſtion. I wonder much wherein the *Danger* conſiſts of a *Perſonal Treaty* with the King ever ſince He was laſt at *Newcaſtle*. Surely He cannot bring Forces along with Him to awe His two Houſes of Parliament; and it is as well known that He hath not Mony to raiſe an Army; and truly there is as little fear that the Eloquence of His Tongue ſhould work Miracles: but on the contrary, if He were ſo ill a man as you deſcribe Him to be, whatſoever He ſhall ſay or write muſt more prejudice Him then You: for let Him never flatter Himſelf, it muſt be clear, not doubtful, Reaſon that can prevail againſt that great viſible prevailing Power which now oppoſes Him; nor do I ſay it will, but certainly leſs cannot doe it. Where is then the *Danger*? Believe it, Reaſon will hardly maintain thoſe who are afraid of her.

After this it is ſaid, that *they had cauſe enough to remember that the King ſometimes denied to receive their humble Petitions*: but they neither tell where nor when; which I am moſt confident they cannot: but I am certain that the King hath ſent divers Meſſages of Peace to them, unto which He hath yet had no Anſwer; namely, His laſt from *Oxford* of the 15. *January* 1645. and all the reſt ſince. As for the Fight at *Brainford*, whoſoever will read the Collection of the Declarations in print upon that ſubject, will clearly find that the King hath more reaſon to complain, that they under colour of Treaty ſought to environ Him with their Forces, then they for what He then did: and His retreat was neither for Fear nor with Shame; for the appearing of the Enemy made Him retard, not haſten His orders for retiring, which divers hours before their appearing He

had

had given; which He did without any loſs at all, but (on the contrary) retreated with more Armes, eleven Colours, and fifteen pieces of Ordnance (beſide good ſtore of Ammunition) then He had before. And for Cruelty, there was not a drop of Blood ſhed but in the heat of the Fight, for I ſaw above five hundred Priſoners who (only promiſing *never after to bear Armes againſt the King*) were freely releaſed.

Again, they ſeem to have good Memories, ſaying, that *the King once ſent them a ſpecious Meſſage of renewing a Treaty, when at the ſame time His Meſſenger was inſtructed how to manage that bloody Maſſacre in* London, *which was then deſign'd by virtue of the Kings Commiſſion ſince publiſhed.* And hath the King ſent but one Meſſage for the renewing of a Treaty? Then what was that from *Taveſtock* in *Auguſt* 1644. and * five others from *Oxford* the next year? But indeed this that is here mentioned they knew not how to anſwer (for at that time they knew not the way of ſilence) but by this forged Accuſation againſt the Meſſenger; who, I dare ſay, knew nothing of that which might have been (at that time) intended for the King's ſervice by ſome who had more Zeal then Judgement. But that there was a *Maſſacre* intended, or that any *Commiſſion* from the King ſhould countenance ſuch a Deſign, is a moſt notorious Slaunder. As for the King's mentioned Letter to the Queen, I am confident that any judicious Reader will find the Gloſs made upon it very much wreſted. And certainly after-Ages will think theſe Times very barbarous, wherein private Letters betwixt Man and Wife are publiſhed to open view: and in other Countries there is ſuch reſpect carried to private Letters of Princes that (to my knowledge) the laſt Emperour, in the greateſt heat of the *Bohemian* Warre, having intercepted a Packet wherein were private Letters to King JAMES of bleſſed Memory (who was then known no great Friend to the Emperour) from His onely Daughter, then avowedly the Emperour's greateſt Enemy; yet He ſent them to the King, without the leaſt offer of violence to the Seals.

* 5, 15, 26, 29. of *Decemb.* and 15. of *Jan.* 1643.

And now I come to their Determination upon the whole matter, what Courſe they have reſolved to take with the King: their words are, *But notwithſtanding this and other former Tenders, we have now received ſuch a Denial, that we are in Deſpair of any good by Addreſſes to the King;*

King; neither muſt we be ſo injurious to the People in further delaying their Settlement, as any more to preſs His Conſent to theſe or any other Propoſitions. Beſides, it is *Reſolved upon the Queſtion, That they will receive no more any Meſſage from the King*; and do enjoyn, *That no perſons do preſume to receive or bring any Meſſage from the King to both or either Houſes of Parliament, or to any other perſon.* Thus you ſee that the King is laid by: but that is not all; for He muſt neither juſtifie His Innocency againſt Calumny, nor is there any way left Him to mend any Errour that He may have committed. Is this a Juſt way of proceeding, when Truth, though offered, muſt not be heard, and that no way muſt be left to recant an Error? And why all this Severity? Becauſe (as I have already ſhewn you) the King will not injure His Conſcience or Honour, nor ſuffer His People to be oppreſſed; to which they give the Term of *ſuch a Denial*, though really it was none. But ſince they thus ſeek to hoodwink the People, it is no great Wonder that they forbid the King to repent Him of thoſe Faults which He never committed: and I believe all Indifferent men will eaſily judge of the King's Innocency even by their way of accuſation: for thoſe who will lay ſuch high Crimes to His charge, as the *breach of Oaths, Vows, Proteſtations* and *Imprecations*, would not ſpare to bring their Proofs if they had any. But on the contrary it is known to all the World, that He had not ſuffer'd as He has done, if He would have diſpenſed with that part of His *Coronation-Oath* which He made to the *Clergy*; which is no great ſign that He makes ſlight of His Engagements: of which it is ſo univerſally known that He has been ſo Religiouſly careful, as I hold it a wrong to His Innocency, to ſeek to clear Him of ſuch Slaunders for which there are no Proofs alledged; for Malice being once detected, is beſt anſwered with Neglect and Silence. And was there ever greater or more apparent Malice, then to offer to put the horrid ſlaunder of Parricide upon Him, who was eminently known to be as obedient and loving a Son to His bleſſed Father as any Hiſtory can make mention of? But indeed the loſs of *Rochel* doth fitly follow; to ſhew how Malice, when it is at the height, is ordinarily accompanied: for there are none but ignorant or forgetful men, who know not that it was merely the want of Aſſiſtance from the Two Houſes of Parliament (contrary to their Publick General Engagement) that loſt *Rochel*;

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and there is nothing more clear (to any who hath known French Occurrences) then that real Assistance, which the King, to the uttermost of His Power, gave to those of the *Religion* at that time, made the Cardinall of *Richelieu* an irreconcileable enemy to the King. Wherefore I cannot but say, that it is a strange forgetfull Boldness to charge the King with that which was evidently other mens faults.

There are also other things that to any knowing man will rather seem Jeers then Accusations; as the *German Horse*, and *Spanish Fleet* in the year 1639. But my Affection shall not so blind me, as to say that the King never erred: yet, as when a just Debt is paid, Bonds ought to be cancell'd; so Grievances, be they never so just, being once redressed, ought no more to be objected as Errours. And it is no Paradox to affirme, that Truths this way told are no better then Slaunders: and such are the Catalogue of Grievances here enumerated; which when they are well examined, every one of them, will not be found such as here they are described to be.

Now as concerning those Discourses which mention the beginnings of these Troubles, (which are in Two severall places of this Declaration) I will only say this, that what the King did upon those Occasions, was merely to defend the Rights of His Crown, which were and are evidently sought to be torn from Him. Nor can I acknowledge all those Relations to be true, such as *Private Levies of men by Popish Agents*, *Arming of Papists in the North*, *Calling in of Danish Forces*, and the like: And as for the stale Slaunder of *calling up the Northern Army*, now renewed, it is well known that the Two Houses (even at that time) were not so partiall to the King, as to have conceal'd a Practice of that kind, if they could have got it sufficiently proved.

But if the *Irish Rebellion* can be justly charged upon the King, then I shall not blame any for believing all the rest of the Allegations against Him: onely I protest against all *Rebells* Testimony as good Proof; it being most certain by experience, that they who make no Conscience of Rebelling, will make less of Lying when it is for their Advantage. And it is no little wonder that so grave an Assembly as the House of *Commons* should so slightly examine a Business of that Great Weight, as to alleage that the *Scots* Great Seal did countenance the *Irish* Rebellion; when I know it can be proved by Witnesses

without exception, that for many Moneths before, untill the now Lord Chancellour had the keeping of it, there was nothing at all Sealed by it. Nor concerning this great point will I onely ſay, that the King is Innocent, and bid them prove (which to moſt Accuſations is a ſufficient Anſwer) but I can prove, that if the King had been obeyed in the *Iriſh* Affairs before He went laſt into *Scotland*, there had been no *Iriſh Rebellion*; and after it was begun, it had in few Months been ſuppreſſed, if His Directions had been obſerved. For if the King had been ſuffered to have performed His Engagements to the *Iriſh* Agents, and had diſpoſed of the diſcontented *Iriſh* Army beyond Sea (according to His Contracts with the *French* and *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadours) there is nothing more clear, then that there could have been no Rebellion in *Ireland*; becauſe they had wanted both Pretence and Means to have made one. Then, when it was broken forth, if thoſe vigorous courſes had been purſued which the King propoſed, (firſt to the *Scots*, then to the *Engliſh* Parliament) doubtleſs that Rebellion had been ſoon ſuppreſſed. But what He propoſed took ſo little effect, that in many months after there was nothing ſent into *Ireland* but what the King Himſelf ſent (aſsiſted by the Duke of *Richmond*) before He came from *Scotland*, unto Sir *Rob. Steward*; which, though it were little, will be found to have done much ſervice, as may be ſeen by the ſaid Sir *Robert*'s voluntary Teſtimony given in writing to the Parliament Commiſsioners then attending the King at *Stoak*. And certainly a greater Evidence for Conſtancy in Religion there cannot be, then the King ſhewed in His *Iriſh* Treaty; for in the time that He moſt needed Aſsiſtance, it was in His Power to have made that Kingdom declare unanimouſly for Him, and have had the whole Forces thereof employed in His Service, if He would have granted their Demand in Points of Religion, they not inſiſting on any thing of Civil Government, which His Majeſty might not have granted without prejudice to Regal Authority: and this can be clearly proved by the Marqueſs of *Ormond*'s Treaties with the *Iriſh*, not without very good Evidence by ſome of the King's Letters to the Queen which were taken at *Naſeby*, that are purpoſely concealed, leſt they ſhould too plainly diſcover the King's deteſtation of that Rebellion, and His rigid firmneſs to the Proteſtant Profeſsion. Nor can I end this Point, without remarking with wonder, that Men

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ſhould have ſo ill Memories as again to renew that old Slander of the *King's giving Paſſes to divers Papiſts and Perſons of Quality who headed the Rebels*; of which He ſo cleared Himſelf, that He demanded Reparation for it, but could not have it, albeit no ſhew of Proof could be produced for that Allegation: as is moſt plainly to be ſeen in the firſt book of the Collection of all Remonſtrances, Declarations, &c. fol. 69, & 70.

Thus having given a particular Anſwer to the moſt material Points in this Declaration, the reſt are ſuch frivolous, malicious, and many of them groundleſs Calumnies, that Contempt is the beſt Anſwer for them. Yet one thing more I muſt obſerve, that they not onely endeavour to make Fables paſs for currant Coyn, but likewiſe ſeek to blind mens Judgements with falſe Inferences upon ſome Truths. For Example, it is true that *the King hath ſaid in ſome of His Speeches or Declarations, That He oweth an Accompt of His Actions to none but God alone; and that the Houſes of Parliament joynt or ſeparate have no Power either to make or declare any Law*: But that this is *a fit foundation for all Tyranny*, I muſt utterly deny. Indeed if it had been ſaid, that *the King without the Two Houſes of Parliament could make or declare Laws*, then there might be ſome ſtrength in the Argument: but before this Parliament it was never ſo much as pretended, that either or both Houſes without the King could make or declare any Law; and certainly His Majeſty is not the firſt (and I hope will not be the laſt) King of *England*, that hath not held Himſelf Accomptable to any Earthly Power. Beſides, it will be found that this His Majeſty's Poſition is moſt agreeable to all Divine and Humane Laws; ſo far it is from being *Deſtructive to a Kingdome*, or *a Foundation for Tyranny*.

To conclude, I appeal to God and the World, whether it can be parallel'd by Example, or warranted by Juſtice, that any man ſhould be Slander'd, yet denyed the ſight thereof, and ſo far from being permitted to Anſwer, that if he have erred, there is no way left him to acknowledge or mend it: and yet this is the King's preſent Condition; who is at this time laid aſide, becauſe He will not conſent that the old Fundamental Laws of this Land be changed, Regal Power deſtroyed, nor His People ſubmitted to a new Arbitrary Tyrannical Government.

III.

His Majesties Declaration concerning the Treaty, and His dislike of the Armies Proceedings.

NOV. 22. M DC XLVIII.

Delivered by His Majesty to one of His Servants at His departure from the Isle of Wight, *and commanded to be published for satisfaction of all His Subjects.*

WHen large pretences prove but the shadows of weak performance, then the greatest labours produce the smallest effects; and when a period is put to a work of great concernment, all mens ears do (as it were) hunger till they are satisfied in their expectations. Hath not this distracted Nation groaned a long time under the burthen of Tyrannie and Oppression? and hath not all the blood that hath been spilt these seven years been cast upon My head, who am the greatest sufferer, though the least guilty? and was it not requisite to indeavour the stopping of that flux, which, if not stopt, will bring an absolute destruction to this Nation? And what more speedy way was there to consummate those distractions then by a *Personall Treaty*, being agreed upon by My two Houses of Parliament, and condescended to by Me? And I might declare, that I conceive it had been the best Physick, had not the operation been hindred by the interposition of this imperious Army, who were so audacious as to style Me, in their unparallel'd *Remonstrance*, their *capital Enemy*. But let the World judge whether Mine endeavours have not been attended with reality in this late Treaty, and whether I was not as ready to grant as they were to ask; and yet all this is not satisfaction to them, that pursue their own ambitious ends more then the welfare of a miserable Land. Were not the dying hearts of My poor distressed People much revived with the hopes of a happiness from this Treaty? and how suddainly are they frustrated in their expectations? Have not I formerly been condemned for yielding

ding too little to My two Houſes of Parliament, and ſhall I now be condemned for yielding too much? Have I not formerly been impriſoned for making War, and ſhall I now be condemned for making Peace? Have I not formerly ruled like a King, and ſhall I now be ruled like a Slave? Have I not formerly enjoyed the ſociety of My dear Wife and Children in peace and quietneſs, and ſhall I now neither enjoy them, nor Peace? Have not My Subjects formerly obeyed Me, and ſhall I now be obedient to My Subjects? Have I not been condemned for Evil Counſellours, and ſhall I now be condemned for having no Counſel but God? Theſe are unutterable miſeries, that the more I endeavour for Peace, the leſs My endeavours are reſpected: And how ſhall I know hereafter what to grant, when your ſelves know not what to ask? I refer it to your Conſciences, whether I have not ſatisfied your deſires in every particular ſince this Treaty; if you find I have not, then let Me bear the burthen of the fault: but if I have given you ample ſatisfaction, (as I am ſure I have) then you are bound to vindicate Me from the fury of thoſe whoſe thoughts are filled with blood: though they pretend zeal, yet they are but Wolves in Sheeps cloathing.

I muſt further declare, that there is nothing can more obſtruct the long-hoped-for Peace of this Nation, then the illegal proceedings of them that preſume from Servants to become Maſters, and labour to bring in Democracy, and to aboliſh Monarchy. Needs muſt the total alteration of Fundamentalls be not onely deſtructive to others, but in concluſion to themſelves: for they that endeavour to rule by the Sword, ſhall at laſt fall by it; for Faction is the Mother of Ruine: and it is the humour of thoſe who are of this Weather-cock-like diſpoſition, to love nothing but mutabilities, neither will that pleaſe them, but onely *pro tempore*; for the too much variety doth but confound the ſenſes, and makes them ſtill hate one folly, and fall in love with another.

Time is the beſt cure for Faction, for it will at length (like a ſpreading Leproſie) infect the whole body of the Kingdome, and make it ſo odious, that at laſt they will hate themſelves for love of that, and, like the Fiſh, for love of the bait, be catch'd with the hook.

I once more declare to all My loving Subjects, and God knows

whether or no this may be My laſt, that I have earneſtly laboured for Peace, and that My thoughts were ſincere and abſolute, without any ſiniſter ends, and there was nothing left undone by Me that My Conſcience would permit Me to doe. And I call God to witneſs, that I do firmly conceive that the interpoſition of the Army (that cloud of Malice) hath altogether eclipſed the glory of that Peace which began again to ſhine in this Land: And let the World judge, whether it be expedient for an Army to contradict the Votes of a Kingdom, endeavouring, by pretending Laws and Liberties, to ſubvert both. Such Actions as theſe muſt produce ſtrange conſequences, and ſet open the floud-gates of ruine, to overflow this Kingdom in a moment. Had this Treaty been onely Mine own ſeeking, then they might have had fairer pretences to have ſtopt the courſe of it; but I being importun'd by My two Houſes, and they by moſt part of the Kingdom, could not but with a great deal of alacrity concurre with them in their deſires, for the performance of ſo commodious a work: and I hope by this time that the hearts and eyes of My People are opened ſo much, that they plainly diſcover who are the underminers of this Treaty.

For Mine own part, I here proteſt before the face of Heaven, that Mine own Afflictions (though they need no addition) afflict Me not ſo much as My Peoples ſufferings; for I know what to truſt to already, and they know not. God comfort both them and Me, and proportion our Patience to our Sufferings.

And when the Malice of Mine Enemies is ſpun out to the ſmalleſt thred, let them know that I will, by the grace of God, be as contented to ſuffer, as they are active to advance My ſufferings: and Mine own Soul tells Me, that the time will come, when the very clouds ſhall drop down vengeance upon the heads of thoſe that barricado themſelves againſt the Proceedings of Peace: for if God hath proclaimed a bleſsing to the Peace-makers, needs muſt the Peace-breakers draw down curſes upon their heads.

I thank My God, I have armed My ſelf againſt their fury: and now let the arrows of their Envy fly at Me, I have a breaſt to receive them, and a heart poſſeſt with patience to ſuſtain them; for God is My Rock and My Shield, therefore I will not fear what man can doe unto Me. I will expect the worſt; and if any thing happen beyond My expectation, I will give God the glory, for vain is the help of man.

Queries

Queries propounded by His MAJESTY, *when the Armies Remonſtrance was read unto Him at* NEWPORT, *concerning the intended Trial of His* MAJESTY.

I. WHether this Remonſtrance be agreeable to the former Declarations of the Army: and if not, whether the Parliament would make good their Votes, that after He had conſented to what they deſired, He ſhould be in a capacity of Honor, Freedome and Safety.

II. Whether His acknowledgment of the bloud that hath been ſpilt in the late Warres (nothing being as yet abſolutely concluded or binding) could be urged ſo far as to be made uſe of by way of Evidence againſt Him, or any of His Party.

III. Whether the Arguments that He hath uſed in a free and Perſonal Treaty, to leſſen or extenuate, and avoid the exactneſs of any of the Conditions, though in manner and form only, might be charged againſt Him as an act of Obſtinacy, or wilful perſiſtance in what is alledged againſt Him, in that He goes on in a deſtructive courſe of enmity againſt the People and the Laws of the Land, when He hath declared, that His Conſcience was ſatisfied concerning divers particulars in the Propoſitions.

IV. Whereas by the letter of the Law all perſons charged to offend againſt the Law ought to be tried by their Peers or Equals, what the Law is, if the Perſon queſtioned is without a Peer. And if the Law (which of it ſelf is but a dead letter) ſeems to condemn Him, by what power ſhall Judgement be given, and who ſhall give it? or from whence ſhall the adminiſtrators of ſuch Judgement derive their power, which may (by the ſame Law) be deemed the ſupreme power, or authority of Magiſtracy in the Kingdome?

HIS MAJESTIES LETTERS.

I.

To the Houſe of Peeres, about the Reprieve of the Earl of STRAFFORD: *Sent by the* PRINCE.

From White-Hall, May 11. M DC XLI.

My Lords,

I Did yeſterday ſatisfy the Juſtice of the Kingdome, by paſsing the Bill of Attainder againſt the Earl of *Strafford*: But Mercy being as inherent and inſeparable to a King as Juſtice, I deſire at this time in ſome meaſure to ſhew that likewiſe, by ſuffering that unfortunate man to fulfil the natural courſe of his life in a cloſe Impriſonment; yet ſo, that if ever he make the leaſt offer to eſcape, or offer directly or indirectly to meddle in any ſort of publick buſineſs, eſpecially with Me, either by Meſſage or Letter, it ſhall coſt him his Life without further Proceſs. This, if it may be done without the diſcontentment of My People, will be an unſpeakable contentment to Me.

To which end, as in the firſt place I by this Letter do earneſtly deſire your approbation, and to endear it the more, have choſen Him to carry it that of all your Houſe is moſt dear unto Me: So I deſire, that by a Conference you will endeavour to give the Houſe of Commons contentment; likewiſe aſſuring you, that the exerciſe of Mercy is no more pleaſing to Me, then to ſee both Houſes of Parliament content for My ſake, that I ſhould moderate the ſeverity of the Law in ſo important a caſe.

I will

I will not ſay that your complying with Me in this My intended Mercy ſhall make Me more willing, but certainly it will make Me more chearful, in granting your juſt Grievances. But if no leſs then his Life can ſatisfie My People, I muſt ſay, *Fiat Juſtitia.*

Thus again recommending the conſideration of My intentions to you, I reſt,

Your unalterable and
affectionate Friend,
C. R.

White-Hall May 11. 1641.

If he muſt die, it were charity to reprieve him till *Saturday.*

II.

To the QUEEN.

OXFORD, *January* 23. MDC XLII. III.

Dear Heart,

SAturday and Sunday laſt I received two from Thee, of the 29. of *December*, 9. of *January*, both which gave Me ſuch contentment, as Thou mayſt better judge then I deſcribe: the which that Thou maiſt the better doe, know, I was full three weeks, wanting but one day, without hearing from Thee; beſide ſcurvy *London* newes of Thy ſtay and lameneſs, which though I did not believe, yet it vext Me ſo much the more, that I could not prove them lyers. So now I conjure Thee by the affection Thou beareſt Me, not onely to judge, but likewiſe participate with Me in the contentment Thou haſt given Me by aſſuring Me of Thy health and ſpeedy return.

Concerning 45. 31. 7. 4. 132. 300. I will anſwer Thee in Thy own words, *Je le remetteray a vous reſpondre per bouche*, being confident that way to give Thee contentment: In the mean time aſſure Thy ſelf, that I neither have nor will loſe any time in that buſineſs, and that I have not contented My ſelf with generals.

And though I hope ſhortly to have the happineſs of Thy company, yet

yet I muſt tell Thee of ſome particulars in which I deſire both Thy opinion and aſsiſtance. I am perſecuted concerning Places, and all deſire to be put upon Thee, for the which I cannot blame them; and yet Thou knoweſt I have no reaſon to doe it. *Newark* deſireth *Savil*'s place, upon condition to leave it when his Father dieth; *Carenworth* the ſame, being contented to pay for it, or give the profit to whom or how I pleaſe: *Digby* and *Dunſmore* for to be Captain of the Penſioners; *Hartford* once looked after it, but now I believe he expects either to be Treaſurer, or of My Bed-chamber; I incline rather to the latter, if Thou like it, for I abſolutely hold *Cottington* the fitteſt man for the other. There is one that doth not yet pretend, that doth deſerve as well as any, I mean *Capel*; therefore I deſire Thy aſsiſtance to find ſomewhat for him before he ask. One place I muſt fil before I can have Thy opinion; it is the Maſter of the Wards. I have thought upon *Nicholas*, being confident that Thou wilt not miſlike My choice: and if he cannot perform both, *Ned Hyde* muſt be Secretary, for indeed I can truſt no other.

Now I have no more time to ſpeak of more, but to deſire Thee not to engage Thy ſelf for any. So I reſt, Eternally thine,

C. R.

Oxford, 2. *Feb.* 23. *Jan.*

III.

To the QUEEN.

OXFORD, *February* 13. MDCXLIII.

Dear Heart,

I Never till now knew the good of Ignorance, for I did not know the danger that Thou wert in by the ſtorm, before I had certain aſſurance of Thy happy eſcape; we having had a pleaſing falſe report of Thy ſafe landing at *Newcaſtle*, which Thine of the 19. *Jan.* ſo con-

firmed us in, that we at leaſt were not undeceived of that hope, till we knew certainly how great a danger Thou haſt paſt, of which I ſhall not be out of apprehenſion, until I may have the happineſs of Thy company; for indeed I think it not the leaſt of My misfortunes, that for My ſake Thou haſt run ſo much hazard: In which Thou haſt expreſſed ſo much love to Me, that I confeſs it is impoſsible to repay by any thing I can doe, much leſs by words; but My heart being full of affection for Thee, admiration of Thee, and impatient paſsion of gratitude to Thee, I could not but ſay ſomething, leaving the reſt to be read by Thee out of Thine own noble heart.

* 23. Jan. 2 Feb. The intercepting of Mine to Thee of the * 23. *February* has bred great diſcourſe in ſeveral perſons, and of ſeveral kinds: as My ſaying I was perſecuted for places, is applied to all and only thoſe that I there name to be Suitors; whereas the truth is, I meant thereby the importunity of others whom at that time I had not time to name, as well as ſome there mentioned: for I confeſs 174. and 133. are not guilty of that fault. Some find fault with too much kindneſs to Thee (Thou mayſt eaſily vote from what Conſtellation that comes) but I aſſure ſuch, that I want expreſsion, not will, to doe it ten times more to Thee on all occaſions. Others preſs Me, as being brought upon the Stage: but I anſwer, that having profeſt to have Thy advice, it were a wrong to Thee to doe any thing before I had it.

As for our Treaty (leaving the particulars to this incloſed) I am confident Thou wilt be content with it as concerning My part in it; for all the Souldiers are well pleaſed with what I have done: but expect no Ceſſation of Armes, for the lower Houſe will have none without a disbanding, and I will not disband till all be agreed.

Laſtly, for our Military affairs, I thank God that here and in the Weſt they proſper well: as for the North I referre Thee to 226. 140. information.

So daily expecting and praying for good newes from Thee——

Copy to My Wife, *February* 1643.

Oxford 13. *Feb.* 1643.

T

IV.

To the QUEEN.

OXFORD, *Mar.* 2.12. MDCXLII.

Dear Heart,

THough ever ſince Sunday laſt I had good hopes of Thy happy landing, yet I had not the certain news thereof before yeſterday; when I likewiſe underſtood of Thy ſafe coming to *York*. I hope Thou expecteſt not welcome from Me in words; but when I ſhall be wanting in any other way (according to My wit and power) of expreſsing My Love to Thee, then let all honeſt men hate and eſchew Me like a Monſter: And yet when I ſhall have done My part, I confeſs that I ſhall come ſhort of what Thou deſerveſt of Me.

H.3.189. e.3.42. 17. 25.27. 39. 21.66.a.1.45. 31.7. 4.32. 18. 47. 46. 9. 3. d.4. g.4. 46. 35. 67. 48.7. 40. 5. 43. 74. 3. 41. 7. 33. 62. 8. 63. 68. 50. 64. 34. 9. 51. 45. 69. 46. 37. deer. 45. 31. 7. 1. 33. 18. 49. 47. 19. 21. 10. 70. 13. 7. 45. 58. 8. 9. 41. 10. this a. 2. 324. in the mean time 46. 31. 7. 50. e. 3. 20. 3. 6. 8. 48. 75. 41. 9. 2. upon 60. 19. 50. 61. 27. 26. 7. 69. 12. 19. 47. 45. 8. 24.

Yeſterday there were Articles of a Ceſſation brought Me from *London*, but ſo unreaſonable that I cannot grant them: Yet to undeceive the people by ſhewing it is not I, but thoſe who have cauſed and foſtered this Rebellion, that deſire the continuance of this War and univerſal diſtraction; I am framing Articles fit for that purpoſe; both which, by My next, I mean to ſend Thee.

219. b. 3. 58. 51. 75. 46. 7. 3. 45. 37. 2. 189. 46. 38. 1. g. 1. 173. 131. which I think fit to be done, a. 5. 4. 30. 3. n. 5. d. 3. 46. 31. 8. 10. 2. 32. 18. 64. 7. 3. 45. 31. 9. 66. 46. 32. 19. 41. 25. 48. k. 1. e. 4. 67. 69. 63. I am now confident that 173. is right for My Service.

Since the taking of *Ciceſter* there is nothing of note done of either ſide; wherefore that little news that is, I leave to others. Onely this I aſſure Thee, that the diſtractions of the Rebells are ſuch, that ſo

many fine designes are laid open to us, we know not which first to undertake. But certainly My first and chiefest care is and shall be to secure Thee, and hasten Our meeting.

So longing to hear from Thee, I rest, eternally Thine,

C. R.

Oxford 2. 12. *March*, 1642.

The last I received of Thine was dated the 16. 6. *Feb.* And I believe none of My four last are come to Thee. Their Dates are 13. 3. 23. 13. 25. 15. *Feb.* and 20. *Feb.* or *Mar.* 2.

V.

The QUEEN *to the* KING.

YORK, *March* 30. MDCXLIII.

My Dear Heart,

I Need not tell You from whence this Bearer comes; onely I will tell You that the Propositions which he brings You are good, but 260. I believe that it is not yet time to put them into execution: therefore find some means to send them back, which may not discontent them, and do not tell who gave You this advice.

Sir *Hugh Cholmely* is come with a Troop of Horse to kiss My Hands; the rest of his people he left at *Scarborough*, with a Ship laden with Arms, which the Ships of the Parliament had taken and brought thither: so she is ours.

The Rebells have quitted *Tadcaster* upon our sending forces to *Wetherby*, but they are returned with twelve hundred men: we send more forces to drive them out, though those we have already at *Wetherby* are sufficient: but we fear lest they have all their forces thereabout, and lest they have some design; for they have quitted *Selby* and *Cawood*, the last of which they have burnt. Between this and to morrow night we shall

ſhall know the iſſue of this buſineſs, and I will ſend You an expreſs. I am the more careful to advertiſe You of what we doe, that You and we may find means to have paſs-ports, to ſend: And I wonder that upon the Ceſſation You have not demanded that You might ſend in ſafety. This ſhews My Love.

I underſtand to day from *London*, that they will have no Ceſſation, and that they treat at the beginning of the two firſt Articles, which is of the Forts, Ships and Ammunition; and afterwards of the diſbanding of the Army. Certainly, I wiſh a Peace more then any, and that with greater reaſon; but I would the disbanding of the perpetual Parliament firſt, and certainly the reſt will be eaſily afterwards. I do not ſay this of My own head alone; for generally both thoſe who are for You and againſt You in this country wiſh an end of it: And I am certain that if You demand it at the firſt, in caſe it be not granted, *Hull* is ours, and all *Yorkſhire*, which is a thing to conſider of. And for My particular, if You make a Peace, and disband Your Army before there is an end to this perpetuall Parliament, I am abſolutely reſolved to goe into *France*, not being willing to fall again into the hands of thoſe People, being well aſſured, that if the power remain with them, it will not be well for Me in *England*. Remember what I have written to You in three precedent Letters, and be more carefull of Me then You have been, or at leaſt diſſemble it, to the end that no notice be taken of it. Adieu. The man haſtens Me, ſo that I can ſay no more.

York, this 30. of *March*.

VI.

The QUEEN *to the* KING.

YORK, *Apr.* 3. MDCXLIII.

THIS Letter ſhould have gone by a man of Mr *Denedſdale*, who is gone, and all the beginning of this Letter was upon this ſubject; and therefore by this man it ſignifies nothing: But the end was ſo pleaſing that I do not forbear to ſend it to You.

You now know by *Elliot* the iſſue of the buſineſs of *Tadcaſter*: Since we had almoſt loſt *Scarborough*; whilſt *Cholmely* was here, *Brown Buſhell* would have rendred it up to the Parliament; but *Cholmely* having had notice of it, is gone with our forces, and hath re-taken it, and hath deſired to have a Lieutenant and forces of ours to put in it, for which we ſhould take his. He hath alſo taken two Pinnaces from *Hotham*, which brought 44. men to put within *Scarborough*, 10. peeces of Canon, 4. Barrels of Powder, 4. of Bullet. This is all our news. Our Army marches to morrow to put an end to *Fairfax*'s Excellency. And I will make an end of this Letter, this third of *April*. I have had no news of You ſince *Parſons*.

30. *March*. 3. *April*.

VII.

The QUEEN *to the* KING.

NEWARK, *June* 27. MDCXLIII.

My Dear Heart,

I Received juſt now Your Letter by My Lord *Savile*, who found Me ready to goe away, ſtaying but for one thing, for which You will well pardon two days ſtop; It is to have *Hull* and *Lincoln*. Young *Hotham* having been put in priſon by Order of Parliament, is eſcaped, and hath ſent to 260. that he would caſt himſelf into His arms,

arms, and that *Hull* and *Lincoln* ſhould be rendred. He is gone to his Father, and 260. writes for Your anſwer. So that I think I ſhall goe hence Friday or Saturday, and ſhall goe lye at *Werton*, and from thence to *Aſhby*, where we will reſolve what way to take; and I will ſtay there a day, becauſe that the march of the day before will have been ſomewhat great, and alſo to know how the enemy marches, all their forces of *Nottingham* at preſent being gone to *Leiceſter* and *Derby*, which makes us believe that it is to intercept our paſſage. As ſoon as we have reſolved, I will ſend You word. At this preſent I think it fit to let You know the ſtate in which we march, and what I leave behind Me for the ſafety of *Lincolneſhire* and *Nottinghamſhire*. I leave 2000. foot, and wherewithall to arm 500. more; 20 Companies of Horſe: all this to be under *Charles Cavendiſh*, whom the Gentlemen of the Countrey have deſired Me not to carry with Me againſt his will, for he deſired extremely not to goe. The Enemies have left within *Nottingham* 1000. I carry with Me 3000. Foot, 30. Companies of Horſe and Dragoons, 6. peeces of Canon, and two Morters. *Harry Jermyn* commands the forces which goe with Me, as Colonel of My Guard, and Sir *Alexander Leſley* the Foot under Him, and *Gerard* the Horſe, and *Robin Legg* the Artillery, and Her She-Majeſtie Generaliſsima, and extremely diligent with 150. Wagons of Baggage to govern in caſe of a Battell. Have a care that no Troup of *Eſſex*'s Army incommodate us, for I hope that for the reſt we ſhall be ſtrong enough, for at *Nottingham* we have had the experience, one of our Troups having beaten ſix of theirs, and made them fly.

I have received Your Proclamation or Declaration, which I wiſh had not been made, being extremely diſadvantagious for You; for You ſhew too much fear, and doe not what You had reſolved upon.

Farewell, My Dear Heart.

27. *Jun.* 1643.

VIII.

The QUEEN to the KING.

BATH, *Apr.* 21. MDCXLIV.

My Dear Heart,

FRed. *Cornwallis* will have told You all our voyage as farre as *Adbury*, and the ſtate of My health. Since My coming hither I find My ſelf ill, as well in the ill reſt that I have, as in the increaſe of My Rheum. I hope that this days reſt will doe Me good. I goe to morrow to *Briſtol*, to ſend You back the Carts; many of them are already returned.

My Lord *Dillon* told Me, not directly from You, though he ſayes You approve it, that it was fit I ſhould write a Letter to the Commiſsioners of *Ireland* to this effect, That they ought to deſiſt from thoſe things for the preſent which they had put in their Paper; and to aſſure them, that when You ſhall be in another condition then You are now, that You will give them contentment.

I thought it to be a matter of ſo great engagement, that I dare not doe it without Your command: Therefore if it pleaſe You that I ſhould doe ſo, ſend Me what You would have Me write, that I may not doe more then what You appoint; and alſo that it being Your command, You may hold to that which I promiſe: for I ſhould be very much grieved to write any thing which I would not hold to; and when You have promiſed it Me, I will be confident. I believe alſo, that to write to My Lord *Muſkery* without the reſt will be enough, for the Letter which I ſhall write to him ſhall be with My own hand; and if it be to all Your Commiſsioners, it ſhall be by the Secretary.

Farewel, My Dear Heart; I cannot write any more, but that I am abſolutely Yours.

IX.

To the Earl of ESSEX *at* LESTITHIEL.

LISKARD, *August* 6. MDC XLIV.

Essex,

I Have been very willing to believe, that whenever there should be such a conjuncture as to put it in your power to effect that happy settlement of this miserable Kingdome which all good men desire, you would lay hold of it. That season is now before you; you have it at this time in your power to redeem your Countrey and the Crown, and to oblige your King in the highest degree, (an Action certainly of the greatest Piety, Prudence and Honour) such an opportunity as perhaps no Subject before you hath ever had, or after you shall have. To which there is no more required but that you joyn with Me heartily and really in the setling of those things which we have both professed constantly to be our onely aimes. Let us doe this: and if any shall be so foolishly unnatural as to oppose their Kings, their Countries, and their own good, we will make them happy (by God's blessing) even against their wils.

The only impediment can be want of mutual confidence. I promise it you on My part, as I have endeavoured to prepare it on yours, by My Letter to *Hertford* from *Evesholm*. I hope this will perfect it, when (as here I doe) I shall have engaged unto you the word of a King, that you joyning with Me in that blessed work, I shall give both to you and your Army such eminent marks of My Confidence and value, as shall not leave a room for the least distrust amongst you, either in relation to the Publick, or your self, unto whom I shall then be

Your faithful Friend,

Liskard, Aug. 6. 1644. C. R.

If you like of this, hearken to this bearer, whom I have fully instructed in particulars: But this will admit of no delay.

To

X.

To the Prince ELECTOR.

TAVESTOCK, *September* 17. MDC XLIV.

Nephew,

IT being a Natural curioſity in Me to know the reaſon of your Actions, I had never ſo much reaſon as now to deſire it. As I wondered at, ſo as yet I never knew the reaſon of your journey from *York* to *Holland*: But your coming at this time into the Kingdome is in all reſpects much more ſtrange unto Me; yet 'tis poſsible that the latter may interpret the former. And believe Me, the conſideration of your Mothers Son is the chief, I may ſay the onely, cauſe of My curioſity: For as to My Affairs, your being here in the way you are, is not of that importance as to make Me curious to inquire upon your Actions. But the great affection I bear My Siſter, being a ſufficient reaſon for Me to deſire that all who appertain to Her ſhould give a fair account of their Actions, makes Me now ask you, firſt upon what invitation you are come, then the deſign of your coming: wiſhing by your Anſwer I may have the ſame cauſe and comfort I have heretofore had to be

Your Loving Uncle
and faithful Friend,

Taveſtock Sept. 17. 1644. C. R.

XI.

To the Marqueſs of ORMOND.

OXFORD, *December* 15. MDCXLIV.

Ormond,

I Am ſorry to find by Colonel *Barry* the ſad condition of your particular fortune, for which I cannot find ſo good and ſpeedy remedy as the Peace of *Ireland*, it being likewiſe moſt neceſſary to redreſs affairs here: wherefore I command you to diſpatch it out of hand, for the doing of which I hope My publick Diſpatch will give you ſufficient Inſtruction and Power; yet I have thought it neceſſary, for your more encouragement in this neceſſary work, to make this addition with My own hand.

As for *Poinings Act*, I refer you to My other Letter: And for matter of Religion, though I have not found it fit to take publick notice of the Paper which *Brown* gave you, yet I muſt command you to give him, My L. *Muskery* and *Plunket* particular thanks for it, aſſuring them that without it there could have been no Peace; and that ſticking to it, their Nation in general and they in particular ſhall have comfort in what they have done. And to ſhew that this is more then words, I do hereby promiſe them, (and command you to ſee it done) that the Penal Statutes againſt Roman Catholicks ſhall not be put in execution, the Peace being made, and they remaining in their due obedience: and further, that when the *Iriſh* give Me that aſsiſtance which they have promiſed for the ſuppreſsion of this Rebellion, and I ſhall be reſtored to My Rights, then I will conſent to the Repeal of them by a Law; but all thoſe againſt Appeals to *Rome* and *Præmunire* muſt ſtand.

All this in Cypher you muſt impart to none but thoſe three already named, and that with injunction of ſtricteſt ſecrecy. So again recommending to your care the ſpeedy diſpatch of the Peace of *Ireland*, and My neceſſary ſupply from thence, as I wrote to you in My laſt private Letter, I reſt:

XII.

The QUEEN *to the* KING.

PARIS, *January* 6. *December* 27. M DC XLIV. V.

Paris, January.

I Have received one of Your Letters dated from *Marleborow* of an old date, having received many others more freſh, to which I have made anſwer. I will ſay nothing concerning this, but onely concerning the affair of *Gor*. If it be not done, it is time, being very ſeaſonable at this time, which I did not believe before.

I underſtand that the Commiſsioners are arrived at *London*. I have nothing to ſay, but that You have a care of Your Honour; and that if You have a Peace, it may be ſuch as may hold; and if it fall out otherwiſe, that You do not abandon thoſe who have ſerved You, for fear they do forſake You in Your need. Alſo I do not ſee how You can be in ſafety without a Regiment of Guard; for My ſelf, I think I cannot be, ſeeing the malice which they have againſt Me and My Religion, of which I hope You will have a care of both. But in My opinion Religion ſhould be the laſt thing upon which You ſhould treat: for if You do agree upon ſtrictneſs againſt the Catholicks, it would diſcourage them to ſerve You; and if afterwards there ſhould be no Peace, You could never expect ſuccours either from *Ireland* or any other Catholick Prince, for they would believe, You would abandon them after You had ſerved Your ſelf.

I have diſpatched an Expreſs into *Scotland* to *Montroſs*, to know the condition he is in, and what there is to be done. This week I ſend to Mr of *Lorrain*, and into *Holl*. I loſe no time. If I had more of Your newes, all would goe better. Adieu, My Dear Heart.

My Wife, *Dec.* 27. *Jan.* 6. 1644. 5.

To

XIII.

To the QUEEN.

OXFORD, *Decemb.* MDCXLIV.

Dear Heart,

I Know Thy affection to Me ſo truly grounded that Thou wilt be in as much (if not more) trouble to find My Reputation, as My Life in danger: Therefore leſt the falſe ſound of My offering a Treaty to the Rebels upon baſe and unſafe terms ſhould diſturb Thy thoughts, I have thought it neceſſary (to aſſure Thy mind from ſuch rumors) to tell Thee the ways I have uſed to come to a Treaty, and upon what grounds. I ſhall firſt ſhew Thee My grounds, to the end Thou maieſt the better underſtand and approve of My ways.

Then know (as a certain truth) that all, even My party, are ſtrangely impatient for Peace, which obliged Me ſo much the more (at all occaſions) to ſhew My reall intentions to Peace: And likewiſe I am put in very good hope (ſome hold it a certainty) that if I could come to a fair Treaty, the ring-leading Rebels could not hinder Me from a good Peace; Firſt, becauſe their own party are moſt weary of the War, and likewiſe for the great diſtractions which at this time moſt aſſuredly are amongſt themſelves, as Presbyterians againſt Independents in Religion, and General againſt General in point of Command.

Upon theſe grounds a Treaty being moſt deſireable (not without hope of good ſucceſs) the moſt probable means to procure it was to be uſed, which might ſtand with Honour and Safety. Amongſt the reſt (for I will omit all thoſe which are unqueſtionably councelable) the ſound of My return to *London* was thought to have ſo much force of popular Rhetorick in it, that upon it a Treaty would be had, or if refuſed, it would bring much prejudice to them, and be advantageous to Me. Yet leſt fooliſh or malicious people ſhould interpret this as to proceed from fear or folly, I have joyned Conditions with the

Propoſition (without which this ſound will ſignifie nothing) which Thou wilt find to be moſt of the chief ingredients of an honorable and ſafe Peace. Then obſerve, If a Treaty at *London* with Commiſsioners for both ſides may be had without it, it is not to be uſed; nor in caſe they will treat with no body but My ſelf: ſo that the Conditions ſave any aſperſion of diſhonour, and the treating at *London* the malignity which our factious ſpirits here may infuſe into this Treaty upon this ſubject.

This I hope will ſecure Thee from the trouble which otherwiſe may be cauſed by malicious rumors: and though I judge My ſelf ſecure in Thy thoughts from ſuſpecting Me guilty of any baſeneſs; yet I held this account neceſſary, to the end Thou maieſt make others know as well as Thy ſelf this certain truth, That no danger of death or miſery (which I think much worſe) ſhall make Me doe any thing unworthy of Thy Love.

For the ſtate of My preſent affairs, I referre Thee to 92. concluding (as I did in My laſt to Thee) by conjuring Thee, as Thou loveſt Me, that no appearance of Peace (and I now adde) nor hopeful condition of Mine, make Thee neglect to haſt ſuccour for Him who is eternally Thine.

Copy to My Wife, *Decemb.* 1644. by *Tom. Elliot.*

XIV.

To the QUEEN.

OXFORD, *Jan.* 1. MDCXLIV. V.

Dear Heart,

I Receive it as a good Augurie thus to begin this New year, having newly received Thine of the 30. *Decemb.* which I cannot ſtay to decipher, for not loſing this opportunity, it likewiſe being a juſt excuſe for this ſhort account. This day I have diſpatched *Digbie's* Sec. fully relating the ſtate of our affairs; therefore I ſhall only now tell Thee, That the Rebells are engaged into an equal Treaty, without any of thoſe diſadvantages which might have been apprehended when *Tom. Elliot* went hence; and that the diſtractions of *London* were

were never so great, or so likely to bring good effect, as now; lastly, that assistance was never more needfull, never so likely as now to doe good to Him who is eternally Thine.

Copy to My Wife, 1. *Jan.* 1644. by *P. A.*

XV.

To the QUEEN.

OXFORD, 2. *Jan.* MDCXLIV.V.

Dear Heart,

HAving decyphered Thine which I received yesterday, I was much surprized to find Thee blame Me for neglecting to write to Thee, for indeed I have often complained for want, never mist any occasion of sending to Thee; and I assure Thee, never any Dispatch went from either of My Secretaries without one from Me, when I knew of it.

As for My calling those at *London* a Parliament, I shall referre Thee to *Digby* for particular satisfaction: this in general, If there had been but two (besides My self) of My opinion, I had not done it; and the Argument that prevailed with Me was, that the calling did no ways acknowledge them to be a Parliament; upon which condition and construction I did it, and no otherways, and accordingly it is registred in the Councel-Books, with the Councels unanimous approbation. But Thou wilt find that it was by misfortune, not neglect, that Thou hast been no sooner advertised of it.

As for the Conclusion of Thy Letter, it would much trouble Me, if Thou didst not know Thy desire granted before it was asked; yet I wonder not at it, since that which may bear a bad construction hath been presented to Thee in the uglyest form, not having received the true reason and meaning of it. The fear of some such mischance made Me the more carefull to give Thee a full account by *Tom. Elliot* of the reasons of the D. of *R.* and E. of *S.* journey to *London*, which if it come soon enough, I am confident will free Thee from much trouble: But if Thou hast not the patience to forbear judging harshly

of My Actions before Thou heareſt the reaſons of them from Me, Thou maieſt be often ſubject to be doubly vext, firſt with ſlanders, then with having given too much ear unto them. To conclude, eſteem Me as Thou findeſt Me conſtant to thoſe grounds Thou lefteſt Me withall. And ſo farewell, Dear Heart.

Copy to My Wife, $\frac{21.}{2.}$ *Jan.* 1645. by $\overset{13.}{P.}$ *A.*

XVI.

Copy to the D. of R.

Richmond,

I Thank you for the accompt you ſent Me by this Bearer, and have nothing of new to direct you in, but onely to remember you, that My going to *Weſtm.* is not to be mentioned but upon probable hopes of procuring a Treaty with Com. there or thereabouts, and that you mention the ſecurity I aſk with My coming to *Weſtm.* And I hope I need not remember you to cajole well the Independents and *Scots.* This Bearer will tell you how well our Weſtern and Northern Aſſociations goe on; to whom I referre you for other things. I reſt.

XVII.

To the Marqueſs of Ormond.

OXFORD, 7. *Jan.* MDCXLIV.V.

Ormond,

UPON the great rumors and expectations which are now of Peace, I think it neceſſary to tell you the true ſtate of it, leſt miſtaken reports from hence might trouble My affairs there.

The Rebels here have agreed to Treat; and moſt aſſuredly one of the firſt and chief Articles they will inſiſt on will be, to continue the

Iriſh

Iriſh warre; which is a point not Popular for Me to break on: of which you are to make a double uſe. Firſt, to haſten (with all poſſible diligence) the Peace there, the timely concluſion of which will take off that inconvenience which otherwiſe I may be ſubject to by refuſal of that Article, upon any other reaſon: Secondly, by dextrous conveying to the *Iriſh* the danger there may be of their total and perpetual excluſion from thoſe favours I intend them, in caſe the Rebels here clap up a Peace with Me upon reaſonable termes, and onely exclude them; which poſsibly were not counſelable for Me to refuſe, if the *Iriſh* Peace ſhould be the only difference betwixt us, before it were perfected there. Theſe I hope are ſufficient grounds for you to perſwade the *Iriſh* diligently to diſpatch a Peace upon reaſonable termes, aſſuring them, that you having once fully engaged to them My word, (in the Concluſion of a Peace) all the Earth ſhall not make Me break it.

But not doubting of a Peace, I muſt again remember you to preſs the *Iriſh* for their ſpeedy aſsiſtance to Me here, and their friends in *Scotland*; My intention being to draw from thence into *Wales* (the Peace once concluded) as many as I can of My Armed Proteſtant Subjects, and deſire that the *Iriſh* would ſend as great a Body as they can to land about *Cumberland*, which will put thoſe Northern Counties in a brave condition. Wherefore you muſt take ſpeedy order to provide all the Shipping you may, as well *Dunkirk* as *Iriſh* Bottomes; and remember that after *March* it will be moſt difficult to tranſport men from *Ireland* to *England*, the Rebels being Maſters of the Seas. So expecting a diligent and particular account in anſwer to this Letter, I reſt,

Your moſt aſſured conſtant Friend,

CHARLES R.

XVIII.

To the QUEEN.

OXFORD, *January* 9. MDC XLIV. V.

Dear Heart,

SInce My laſt, which was by *Talbot*, the *Scots* Commiſsioners have ſent to deſire Me to ſend a Commiſsion to the General Aſſembly in *Edinburgh*, which I am reſolved not to doe; but to the end of making ſome uſe of this occaſion, by ſending an honeſt man to *London*, and that I may have the more time for the making an handſome negative, I have demanded a paſſeport for *Philip Warwick*, by whom to return My anſwer.

I forgot in My former to tell Thee, that *Lenthall* the Speaker brags that Cardinal *Mazarin* keeps a ſtrict intelligence with him. Though I will not ſwear that *Lenthall* ſayes true, I am ſure it is fit for Thee to know.

As for *Sabrian*, I am confident that either he or his inſtructions are not right for Him who is eternally Thine.

Even now I am advertiſed from *London*, that there are three or four Lords and eight Commons (beſides four *Scotch* Commiſsioners) appointed to treat, and they have named *Uxbridge* for the place, though not yet the particular perſons.

I am likewiſe newly advertiſed, that General *Goring* proſpers well where he is, and ſince Monday laſt hath taken 80. of the Rebels Horſe: and upon his advance they have quitted *Peterfield* and *Coudry*.

POSTSCRIPT.

The ſetling of Religion and the Militia are the firſt to be treated on: And be confident that I will neither quit Epiſcopacy, nor that Sword which God hath given into My hands.

Copy to My Wife, 9. 19. *January*, 1644. 5. by *P. A.*

The

XIX.

The QUEEN *to the* KING.

PARIS *January* 17.27. MDC XLIV. V.

Paris, January 17. 27.

MY Dear Heart, *Tom Eliot* two daies ſince hath brought Me much joy and ſorrow: the firſt, to know the good eſtate in which You are; the other, the fear I have that You goe to *London.* I cannot conceive where the wit was of thoſe who gave You this Counſel, unleſs it be to hazard Your Perſon to ſave theirs. But thanks be to God, to day I received one of Yours by the Ambaſſadour of *Portugal*, dated in *January*, which comforted Me much, to ſee that the Treaty ſhall be at *Uxbridge.* For the Honour of God truſt not Your ſelf in the hands of theſe people: And if ever You goe to *London* before the Parliament be ended, or without a good Army, You are loſt. I underſtand that the Propoſitions for the Peace muſt begin by disbanding the Army. If You conſent to this You ſhall be loſt, they having the whole power of the Militia, they have done and will doe whatſoever they will.

I received yeſterday letters from the Duke of *Lorraine*, who ſends Me word, if his ſervice be agreeable to You, he will bring You ten thouſand men. Dr. *Goffe*, whom I have ſent into *Holland*, ſhall treat with him in his paſſage upon this buſineſs; and I hope very ſpeedily to ſend good news of this, as alſo of the Money. Aſſure Your ſelf, I will be wanting in nothing You ſhall deſire, and that I will hazard My Life, that is, to dye by famine, rather then not to ſend to You. Send Me word alwaies by whom You receive My Letters, for I write both by the Ambaſſadour of *Portugal* and the Reſident of *France.* Above all, have a care not to abandon thoſe who have ſerved You, as well the Biſhops, as the poor Catholicks. Adieu. You will pardon Me if I make uſe of another to write, not being able to doe it; yet My ſelf in cyphers ſhew to my Nephew *Rupert*, that I intreat You

to impart all that I write to You, to the end that he may know the reaſon why I write not to him. I know not how to ſend great Packets.

My Wife, 17. 27. *Jan.* 1644. 5.

XX.

To My Wife, 14. *January* M DC XLIV. V. by CHOQUEN.

Dear Heart,

Pooly came the 12. 22. *Jan.* to whoſe great Diſpatch though for ſome dayes I cannot give a full anſwer, I cannot but at this opportunity reply to ſomething in Thy Letter, not without relating to ſomething of his diſcourſe.

As I confeſs it a misfortune (but deny it a fault) Thy not hearing oftner from Me, ſo excuſe Me to deny that it can be of ſo ill conſequence as Thou mentioneſt, if their affections were ſo real as they make ſhew to Thee; for the difficulty of ſending is known to all, and the numbers of each letter will ſhew My diligence; and certainly there goes no great wit to find out waies of ſending: wherefore if any be neglected more, then our wits are faulty. But to imagine that it can enter into the thought of any fleſh living, that any body here ſhould hide from Thee what is deſired that every one ſhould know, (Excuſe Me to ſay it) is ſuch a folly, that I ſhall not believe that any can think it, though he ſay it. And for My affection to Thee, it will not be the miſcarrying of a Letter or two that will call it in queſtion. But take heed that theſe diſcourſes be not rather the effect of their wearineſs of Thy company, then the true image of their thoughts: and of this is not the propoſal of Thy journey to *Ireland* a pretty inſtance? for ſeriouſly of it ſelf, I hold it one of the moſt extravagant propoſitions that I have heard; Thy giving ear to it being moſt aſſuredly onely to expreſs Thy love to Me, and not Thy judgement in My affairs. As for the buſineſs it ſelf, (I mean the Peace of *Ireland*) to ſhew Thee the care I have had of it, and the fruits I hope to receive from it, I have ſent Thee the laſt Diſpatches

I have

I have ſent concerning it, earneſtly deſiring Thee to keep them to Thy ſelf: onely Thou maieſt in general let the Queen Regent and Miniſters there underſtand, that I have offered My *Iriſh* Subjects ſo good ſatisfaction, that a Peace will ſhortly enſue, which I really believe. But for God's ſake let none know the particulars of My Diſpatches.

I cannot but tell Thee, that I am much beholding to the *Portugal* Agent (and little to the *French*) it being by his means that I have ſent Thee all My Letters (beſides Expreſſes) ſince I came hither, though I expected moſt from *Sabran.*

I will not trouble Thee with repetitions of Newes, *Digbie's* diſpatch, which I have ſeen, being ſo full. Yet I cannot but paraphraſe a little upon that which he calls his ſuperſtitious obſervation: It is this; Nothing can be more evident then that *Strafford's* innocent blood hath been one of the great cauſes of God's juſt Judgments upon this Nation by a furious civil Warre, both ſides hitherto being almoſt equally puniſhed, as being in a manner equally guilty; but now this laſt crying blood being totally theirs, I believe it is no preſumption hereafter to hope that his hand of Juſtice muſt be heavier upon them, and lighter upon us, looking now upon our Cauſe, having paſſed by our Faults.

XXI.

The QUEEN *to the* KING.

PARIS, *March* 13. MDC XLIV. V.

Paris this 13. *of March.*

MY Dear Heart, ſince My laſt I have received one of Your Letters marked 16. by which You ſignifie the receipt of My Letters by *Pooly*, which hath a little ſurprized Me, ſeeming to Me that You write as if I had in My Letter ſomething which had diſpleaſed You. If that hath been, I am very innocent in My intention; I only did believe that it was neceſſary You ſhould know all.

There

There is one other thing in Your letter which troubles Me much, where You would have Me keep to My ſelf Your Diſpatches, as if You believe that I ſhould be capable to ſhew them to any, onely to Lord *Jer.* to uncypher them, My Head not ſuffering Me to doe it My ſelf; but if it pleaſe You I will doe it, and none in the world ſhall ſee them. Be kind to Me, or You kill Me; I have already affliction enough to bear, which without You I could not doe, but Your ſervice ſurmounts all. Farewell, My Deart Heart: Behold the mark which You deſire to have, to know when I deſire any thing in earneſt.† And I pray begin to remember what I ſpake to You concerning *Jack Barkly* for Maſter of the Wards. I am not engaged, nor will not, for the places of L. *Per.* and others: Doe You accordingly.

13. *March* 1644.

XXII.

To the QUEEN.

OXFORD, *Jan.* 22. MDCXLIV.V.

Dear Heart,

SInce My laſt by *Choquen* I have had no means of writing, and as little new matter. That which is now, is the progreſs of the Treaty, of which theſe encloſed Papers will give Thee a full accompt; but if Thou have them ſooner from *London* then Me, Thou haſt no reaſon to wonder, conſidering the length and uncertainty of the way I am forced to ſend by, in reſpect of the other. For the buſineſs it ſelf, I believe Thou wilt approve of My choice of Treaters, and for My Propoſitions, they differ nothing in ſubſtance (very little in words) from thoſe which were laſt; wherefore I need to ſay nothing of them: and for My Inſtructions, they are not yet made, but by the next I hope to ſend them.

Now upon the whole matter, I deſire Thee to ſhew the Queen and Miniſters there the improbability that this preſent Treaty ſhould produce a Peace, conſidering the great ſtrange difference (if not contrariety

trariety) of grounds that are betwixt the Rebels Propoſitions and Mine, and that I cannot alter Mine, nor will they ever theirs, untill they be out of hope to prevaile by force, which a little aſsiſtance by Thy means will ſoon make them be; for I am confident, if ever I could put them to a defenſive (which a reaſonable ſumme of money would doe) they would be eaſily brought to reaſon.

Concerning our interferings here at *Oxford*, I deſire Thee to ſuſpend Thy Judgement, (for I believe few but partial relations will come to Thee) untill I ſhall ſend ſome whom I may truſt by word of mouth; it being too much trouble to Us both to ſet them down in paper.

Copy to My Wife, 22. *Jan.* 1644.

XXIII.

To the QUEEN.

OXFORD, *Jan.* 30. MDCXLIV.V.

Dear Heart,

SUnday laſt I received three Letters from Thee, one a Duplicate of the 30. *Decemb.* another of the 6. *Jan.* and the laſt of the 14. *Jan.* and even now one *Petit* is come with a Duplicate of the laſt: wherein as I infinitely joy in the expreſsions of Thy confident love of Me, ſo I muſt extremely wonder that any who pretend to be a friend to Our Cauſe (for I believe Thou wouldſt not mention any information from the other ſide) can invent ſuch lyes, that Thou haſt had ill offices done to Me by any, or that Thy care for My aſsiſtance hath been the leaſt ſuſpected; it being ſo far from truth, that the juſt contrary is true. For I proteſt to God I never heard Thee ſpoken of, but with the greateſt expreſsions of eſtimation for Thy love to Me; and particularly for Thy diligent care for My aſsiſtance: But I am confident that it is a branch of that root of knavery which I am now digging at; and of this I have more then a bare ſuſpicion. And indeed if I were to find fault with Thee, it ſhould be for not taking ſo much care of Thine Own health as of My aſsiſtance, at leaſt not giving Me ſo often account of it as I deſire; theſe three laſt making no mention of Thy ſelf.

Now

Now as for the Treaty (which begins this day) I desire Thee to be confident, that I shall never make a Peace by abandoning My Friends, nor such a one as will not stand with My Honour and Safety : Of which I will say no more, because, knowing Thy Love, I am sure Thou must believe Me, and make others likewise confident of Me.

I send Thee herewith My Directions to My Commissioners : But how I came to make them My self, without any others, *Digby* will tell Thee, with all the News as well concerning Military as Cabalistical matters. At this time I will say no more, but that I shall in all things (only not answering for words) truly shew My self to be eternally Thine.

The *Portugall* Agent hath made Me two Propositions : first, concerning the release of his Masters Brother, for which I shall have 50000. l. if I can procure his liberty from the King of *Spain* ; the other is for a Marriage betwixt My Son *Charles* and his Masters Eldest Daughter. For the first, I have freely undertaken to doe what I can ; and for the other, I will give such an Answer as shall signifie nothing.

I desire Thee not to give too much credit to *Sabran*'s Relations, nor much countenance to the *Irish* Agents in *Paris* ; the particular reasons Thou shalt have by *Pooly* (whom I intend for My next Messenger.)

In the last place I recommend to Thee the care of *Jersey* and *Gernsey*, it being impossible for us here to doe much, though we were rich, being weak at Sea.

To My Wife, 30. *Jan.* 1644. 5. by *Legge.*

Directions for My Uxbridge *Commissioners.*

First, concerning Religion.

In this, the Government of the Church (as I suppose) will be the chief question : wherein two things are to be considered, Conscience, and Policy.

For the first, I must declare unto you, that I cannot yield to the change of the Government by Bishops : not only as I fully concurre with the most

moſt generall opinion of Chriſtians in all Ages, as being the beſt; but likewiſe I hold My ſelf particularly bound by the Oath I took at My Coronation, not to alter the Government of this Church from what I found it. And as for the Churches Patrimony, I cannot ſuffer any diminution or alienation of it, it being without peradventure Sacrilege, and likewiſe contrary to My Coronation Oath. But whatſoever ſhall be offered for rectifying of abuſes, if any have crept in, or yet for the eaſe of tender Conſciences (ſo that it endamage not the foundation) I am content to hear, and will be ready to give a gracious Anſwer thereunto.

For the ſecond, As the King's duty is to protect the Church, ſo it is the Churches to aſsiſt the King in the maintenance of His juſt Authority. Wherefore My Predeceſſors have been always carefull (and eſpecially ſince the Reformation) to keep the dependency of the Clergy intirely upon the Crown; without which it will ſcarcely ſit faſt upon the King's Head. Therefore you muſt doe nothing to change or leſſen this neceſſary dependency.

Next, concerning the *Militia*.

After Conſcience, this is certainly the fitteſt ſubject for a King's Quarrel, for without it the Kingly Power is but a ſhadow; and therefore upon no means to be quitted, but to be maintained according to the antient known Laws of the Land. Yet becauſe (to attain to this ſo much wiſhed Peace by all good men) it is in a manner neceſſary, that ſufficient and real ſecurity be given for the performance of what ſhall be agreed upon, I permit you, either by leaving ſtrong Towns or other Military force in the Rebells poſſeſsion (untill Articles be performed) to give ſuch aſſurance for performance of Conditions as you ſhall judge neceſſary for to conclude a Peace: Provided alwaies, that ye take (at leaſt) as great care, by ſufficient ſecurity, that Conditions be performed to Me; and to make ſure that, the Peace once ſetled, all things ſhall return into their antient Chanels.

Thirdly, for *Ireland.*

I confeſs, they have very ſpecious popular Arguments to preſs this point, the gaining of no Article more conducing to their ends then this; and I have as much reaſon, both in Honour and Policy, to take care how to anſwer this as any. All the world knows the eminent inevitable neceſsity which cauſed Me to make the *Iriſh* Ceſſation, and there remain yet as ſtrong reaſons for the concluding of that Peace: Wherefore ye muſt conſent to nothing to hinder Me therein, until a clear way be ſhewn Me, how My Proteſtant Subjects there may probably (at leaſt) defend themſelves; and that I ſhall have no more need to defend My Conſcience and Crown from the injuries of this Rebellion.

Oxford, *Feb.* 1644.

Memorials for Secretary Nicholas *concerning the Treaty at* Uxbridge.

I. For Religion and Church-Government, I will not goe one jot further then what is offered by you already.

II. And ſo for the *Militia*, more then what ye have allowed by Me: but even in that you muſt obſerve, that I muſt have free nomination of the full half; as if the totall number, *Scots* and all, be thirty, I will name fifteen. Yet if they (I mean the *Engliſh* Rebells) will be ſo baſe as to admit of ten *Scots* to twenty *Engliſh*, I am contented to name five *Scots* and ten *Engliſh*; and ſo proportionably to any number that ſhall be agreed upon.

III. As for gaining of particular perſons, beſides ſecurity, I give you power to promiſe them rewards for performed ſervices, not ſparing to engage for places, ſo they be not of great truſt, or be taken away from honeſt men in poſſeſsion, but as much profit as you will. With this laſt you are onely to acquaint *Richmond*, *Southampton*, *Culpepper* and *Hide*.

To

XXIV.

To the QUEEN.

OXFORD, 15. 25. *Feb.* MDC XLIV. V.

Dear Heart, 20.

THE expectation of an Expreſs from Thee (as I find by Thine of the 4. *Febr.*) is very good news to Me, as likewiſe that Thou art now well ſatisfied with My diligence in writing.

As for our Treaty, there is every day leſs hopes then other that it will produce a Peace: But I will abſolutely promiſe Thee, that if we have one, it ſhall be ſuch as ſhall invite Thy return; for I avow that without Thy company I can neither have peace nor comfort within My ſelf. The limited days for treating are now almoſt expired without the leaſt agreement upon any one Article: wherefore I have ſent for enlargement of days, that the whole Treaty may be laid open to the world. And I aſſure Thee, that Thou needeſt not doubt the iſſue of this Treaty, for My Commiſsioners are ſo well choſen (though I ſay it) that they will neither be threatned nor diſputed from the grounds I have given them; which (upon My word) is according to the little Note Thou ſo well remembreſt: And in this not onely their obedience, but their judgments concurre.

I confeſs in ſome reſpects Thou haſt reaſon to bid Me beware of going too ſoon to *London*; for indeed ſome amongſt us had a greater mind that way then was fit: of which perſwaſion *Percy* is one of the chief, who is ſhortly like to ſee Thee; of whom having ſaid this, is enough to ſhew Thee how he is to be truſted, or believed by Thee concerning our proceedings here.

In ſhort, there is little or no appearance but that this Summer will be the hotteſt for Warre of any that hath been yet. And be confident, that in making Peace I ſhall ever ſhew My conſtancy in adhering to Biſhops and all our Friends, and not forget to put a ſhort

period to this perpetual Parliament. But as Thou loveſt Me, let none perſwade Thee to ſlacken Thine aſsiſtance for Him who is eternally Thine. C. R.

Oxford, 15. 25. *Feb.* 1644.5.

3. 20.
To My Wife, 15. *Feb.* 1645. by *P. A.*

XXV.

To the Marqueſs of ORMOND.

OXFORD, 16. *Feb.* MDCXLIV.

Ormond,

I Should wrong My own ſervice, and this Gentleman Sir *Timothy Fetherſton*, if I did not recommend him and his buſineſs to you; for the particulars of which I referre you to *Digby*.

And now again I cannot but mention to you the neceſsity of haſtening of the *Iriſh* Peace, for which I hope you are already furniſhed by Me with materials ſufficient: But in caſe (againſt all expectation and reaſon) Peace cannot be had upon thoſe terms, you muſt not by any means fall to a new rupture with them, but continue the Ceſſation (according to a Poſtſcript in a Letter by *Jack Barry*, a Copy of which Diſpatch I herewith ſend you.) So I reſt.

POSTSCRIPT.

In caſe upon particular mens fancies the *Iriſh* Peace ſhould not be procured upon powers I have already given you, I have thought good to give you this further Order (which I hope will prove needleſs) to ſeek to renew the Ceſſation for a year; for which you ſhall promiſe the *Iriſh* (if you can have it no cheaper) to joyn with them againſt the *Scots* and *Inchequin*: for I hope by that time My condition may be ſuch, as the *Iriſh* may be glad to accept leſs, or I be able to grant more.

To

XXVI.

To the QUEEN.

OXFORD, 19. *Feb.* MDC XLIV. V.

21.

Oxford, 19. *Feb.* Old ſtyle.

DEAR Heart, I cannot yet ſend Thee any certain word concerning the iſſue of our Treaty; onely, the unreaſonable ſtubbornneſs of the Rebels gives daily leſs and leſs hopes of any accommodation this way: wherefore I hope no rumors ſhall hinder Thee from haſtning all Thou maieſt all poſsible aſsiſtance to Me, and particularly that of the D. of *Lorrain*'s, concerning which I received yeſterday good news from Dr *Goffe*, that the P. of *Orange* will furniſh Shipping for his Tranſportation; and that the reſt of his Negotiation goes hopefully on: by which, and many other ways, I find Thy affection ſo accompanied with dexterity, as I know not whether (in their ſeveral kinds) to eſteem moſt. But I will ſay no more of this, leſt Thou maieſt think that I pretend to doe this way, what is but poſsible to be done by the continued actions of My Life.

Though I leave news to others, yet I cannot but tell Thee that even now I have received certain intelligence of a great defeat given to *Argyle* by *Montroſe*, who upon ſurprize totally routed thoſe Rebels, killed 1500. upon the place.

Yeſterday I received Thine of 27. *Jan.* by the *Portugal* Agent, the only way (but Expreſſes) I am confident on, either to receive Letters from Thee, or to ſend them to Thee. Indeed *Sabrian* ſent Me word yeſterday, beſides ſome Complements, of the Imbargo of the Rebels Ships in *France* (which I likewiſe put upon Thy ſcore of kindneſs) but is well enough content that the *Portugal* ſhould be charged with Thy Diſpatches.

As for truſting the Rebels, either by going to *London*, or disbanding My Army before a Peace, do no ways fear My hazarding ſo cheaply or fooliſhly; for I eſteem the intereſt Thou haſt in Me at a farre dearer rate, and pretend to have a little more wit (at leaſt by the Sympathy that is betwixt Us) then to put My ſelf into the reverence of

perfidious Rebels. So impatiently expecting the Expreſs Thou haſt promiſed Me, I reſt eternally Thine.

I can now aſſure Thee that *Hertogen* the *Iriſh* Agent is an arrant knave, which ſhall be made manifeſt to Thee by the firſt opportunity of ſending Pacquets.

11. 21.
To My Wife, 19. *Feb.* 1645. by *P. A.*

XXVII.

To the Marqueſs of ORMOND.

OXFORD, *Feb.* 27. MDC XLIV.V.

Ormond,

THE impoſsibility of preſerving My Proteſtant Subjects in *Ireland* by a continuation of the Warre, having moved Me to give you thoſe powers and directions which I have formerly done for the concluding of a Peace there, and the ſame growing daily much more evident, that alone were reaſon enough for Me to enlarge your powers, and to make My commands in the point more poſitive. But beſides theſe conſiderations, it being now manifeſt that the *Engliſh* Rebels have (as far as in them lies) given the command of *Ireland* to the *Scots*, that their aim is a total ſubverſion of Religion and Regal Power, and that nothing leſs will content them, or purchaſe Peace here; I think My ſelf bound in Conſcience not to let ſlip the means of ſetling that Kingdome (if it may be) fully under My obedience, nor to loſe that aſsiſtance which I may hope from My *Iriſh* Subjects, for ſuch ſcruples as in a leſs preſsing condition might reaſonably be ſtuck at by Me. For their ſatisfaction, I do therefore command you to conclude a Peace with the *Iriſh* whatever it coſt, ſo that My Proteſtant Subjects there may be ſecured, and My Regal Authority preſerved. But for all this, you are to make Me the beſt bargain you can, and not diſcover your inlargement of power till you needs muſt. And though I leave the managing of this great and neceſſary work entirely to you; yet I cannot but tell you, that if the ſuſpenſion of *Poinings* Act for ſuch Bils

as ſhall be agreed upon between you there, and the preſent taking away of the Penal Laws againſt Papiſts by a Law, will doe it, I ſhall not think it a hard bargain; ſo that freely and vigorouſly they engage themſelves in My aſsiſtance againſt My Rebels of *England* and *Scotland*, for which no conditions can be too hard, not being againſt Conſcience or Honour.

Copie to *Ormond*, 27. *February* 1644. 5.

XXVIII.
To the QUEEN.

OXFORD, *Mar.* 5. MDCXLIV. V.

Dear Heart,

NOW is come to paſs what I foreſaw, the fruitleſs end (as to a preſent Peace) of this Treaty; but I am ſtill confident that I ſhall find very good effects of it: For beſides that My Commiſsioners have offered, to ſay no more, full-meaſured reaſon, and the Rebels have ſtucken rigidly their demands, which I dare ſay had been too much, though they had taken Me priſoner, ſo that aſſuredly the breach will light foully upon them; We have likewiſe at this time diſcovered, and ſhall make it evidently appear to the world, that the *Engliſh* Rebels (whether baſely or ignorantly will be no very great difference) have, as much as in them lies, tranſmitted the Command of *Ireland* from the Crown of *England* to the *Scots*, which (beſides the reflection it will have upon theſe Rebels) will clearly ſhew, that Reformation of the Church is not the chief, much leſs the only end of the *Scotch* Rebellion.

But it being preſumption, and no piety, ſo to truſt to a good Cauſe, as not to uſe all lawful means to maintain it, I have thought of one means more to furniſh Thee with for My aſsiſtance then hitherto Thou haſt had. It is, that I give Thee power to promiſe in My Name (to whom Thou thinkeſt moſt fit) that I will take away all the Penal Laws againſt the *Roman* Catholicks in *England*, as ſoon as God ſhall make Me able to doe it; ſo as by their means, or in their favours, I

may have ſo powerfull aſsiſtance as may deſerve ſo great a favour, and enable Me to doe it. But if Thou ask what I call that aſsiſtance, I anſwer, that when Thou knoweſt what may be done for it, it will be eaſily ſeen if it deſerve to be ſo eſteemed. I need not tell Thee what ſecrecy this buſineſs requires; yet this I will ſay, that this is the greateſt point of confidence I can expreſs to Thee: for it is no thanks to Me to truſt Thee in any thing elſe but in this, which is the only thing of difference in opinion betwixt Us. And yet I know Thou wilt make as good a bargain for Me, even in this; I truſting Thee (though it concern Religion) as if Thou wert a Proteſtant, the viſible good of My affairs ſo much depending on it.

I have ſo fully inſtructed this Bearer *Pooly*, that I will not ſay more to Thee now, but that herewith I ſend Thee a new Cypher, aſſuring Thee that none hath or ſhall have any copy of it but My ſelf, to the end Thou maieſt uſe it when Thou ſhalt find fit to write any thing which Thou wilt judge worthy of Thy pains to put in Cypher, and to be decyphered by none but Me; and ſo likewiſe from Him to Thee, who is eternally Thine.

20. 23.
To My Wife, the 5. *March*, 1644. 5. by *Pooly*.

XXIX.

To the QUEEN.

OXFORD, 13 *March*, Old ſtyle.

Dear Heart,

WHAT I told Thee laſt week concerning a good parting with our Lords and Commons here, was on *Monday* laſt handſomely performed: and now if I doe any thing unhandſome or diſadvantageous to My ſelf or Friends in order to a Treaty, it will be merely My own fault. For I confeſs, when I wrote laſt, I was in fear to have been preſſed to make ſome mean overtures to renew the Treaty, (knowing that there were great labourings to that purpoſe:) but now I promiſe Thee, if it be renewed, (which I believe will not, without ſome eminent good

ſucceſs

ſucceſs on My ſide) it ſhall be to My honour and advantage, I being now as well freed from the place of baſe and mutinous motions (that is to ſay, our Mungrel Parliament here) as of the chief cauſers, for whom I may juſtly expect to be chidden by Thee, for having ſuffered Thee to be vexed by them, *Wilmot* being already there, *Percy* on his way, and *Suſſex* within few daies taking his journey to Thee; but that I know Thou careſt not for a little trouble to free Me from great inconveniences. Yet I muſt tell Thee, that if I knew not the perfect ſtedineſs of Thy love to Me, I might reaſonably apprehend that their repair to Thee would rather prove a change then an end of their villanies; and I cannot deny but My confidence in Thee was ſome cauſe of this permiſsive trouble to Thee.

I have received Thine of the third of *March*, by which Thou putteſt Me in hope of aſsiſtance of men and money; and it is no little expreſsion of Thy love to Me, that (becauſe of My buſineſs) Feſtivals are troubleſome to Thee: but I ſee that Aſſemblies in no Countries are very agreeable to Thee, and it may be done a purpoſe to make Thee weary of their companies: and excuſe Me to tell Thee in earneſt, that it is no wonder that mere Stateſmen ſhould deſire to be rid of Thee. Therefore I deſire Thee to think whether it would not advantage Thee much to make a perſonal Friendſhip with the Queen Regent (without ſhewing any diſtruſt of Her Miniſters, though not wholly truſting to them) and to ſhew Her, that when Her Regency comes out (and poſsibly before) She may have need of Her Friends; ſo that She ſhall but ſerve Her ſelf by helping of Thee: and to ſay no more, but certainly, if this Rebellion had not begun to oppreſs Me when it did, a late great Queen had ended more glorious then She did.

In the laſt place, I deſire Thee to give Me a weekly account of Thy health, for I fear leſt in that alone Thou takeſt not care enough to expreſſe Thy kindneſs to Him who is eternally Thine.

The Northern news is rather better then what we firſt heard; for what by Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*'s and *Montroſe*'s victories *Carliſle* and the reſt of our Northern Garriſons are relieved, and we hope for this year ſecured: and beſides all this, the Northern Horſe are already returned and joyned with My Nephew *Rupert*.

To My Wife, 13. *March* 1644. 5. by *P. A.*

XXX.

To the QUEEN.

OXFORD, Thurſday, 20. *March.*

Dear Heart,

UPON Saturday laſt I wrote to Thee by *Sabran* (but this, I believe, may come as ſoon to Thee) and I have received Thine of the ſeventh upon Monday laſt, which gave Me great contentment both in preſent and expectation, (the quick paſſage being likewiſe a welcome circumſtance:) and yet I cannot but find a fault of omiſsion in moſt of Thy latter Diſpatches, there being nothing in them concerning Thy health: for though I confeſs that in this no news is good news, yet I am not ſo ſatisfied without a more perfect aſſurance; and I hope Thou wilt by ſatisfying Me confeſs the juſtneſs of this My exception.

I am now full fraught with expectation, (I pray God ſend Me a good unlading) for I look daily for ſome blow of importance to be given about *Taunton* or *Shrewsbury*: And I am confidently aſſured of a conſiderable and ſudden ſupply of men from *Ireland*. Likewiſe the Refractary Horſe (as the *London* Rebels call them) may be reckoned in, for yet it is not known what fomenters they have, or whether they have none; if the latter, there is the more hope of gaining them to Me: howſoever I doubt not but, if they ſtand out (as it is probable) good uſe may be made of them. Of this I believe to give Thee a perfecter account next week, having ſent to try their pulſes.

Petit came yeſterday, but he having at *London* thruſt his Diſpatches into the *States* Ambaſſadours Pacquets, I have not yet received them; and I would not ſtay to lengthen this in anſwer of them, nor give Thee half hopes of good Weſtern news, knowing of an opportunity for writing to Thee within theſe three or four days: Only I congratulate with Thee for the ſafe arrival of Thy Tinne-adventure at *Calis*. And ſo farewell, Sweet heart.

Thine of the 10. I have newly received, whereby I find that Thou much miſtakeſt Me concerning *Ir.* for I deſire nothing more then a

Peace

Peace there, and never forbad Thy commerce there: Only I gave Thee warning of ſome *Iriſh* in *France*, whom I then thought, and now know to be Knaves.

To My Wife, 20. of *March*, 1644. 5. by *P. A.*

XXXI.

To the QUEEN.

OXFORD, Thurſday, 27. *March.*

Dear Heart,

I Wrote to Thee yeſterday by *Sakefield*, the ſubject of it was only kindneſs to Thee, which, I aſſure Thee, ſhall ever be viſible in all My actions. And now I come to *Jermin*'s account, given Me by Thy command, which is very clear, hopefull in moſt particulars, and abſolutely ſatisfactory as concerning Thy care and induſtry. As for the main impediment in the D. of *Lorrain*'s buſineſs (which is his paſſage) why maieſt not Thou procure him paſſage through *France*? (if that of *Holland* be ſtuck at.) It will much facilitate the ſea-tranſportation in reſpect of landing on the Weſtern Coaſt, which I believe will be found the beſt, there being not ſo many places to chuſe on any where elſe. But this is an opinion, not a direction.

The general face of My affairs Me thinks begins to mend, the diſſenſions at *London* rather increaſing then ceaſing, *Montroſs* daily proſpering, My Weſtern buſineſs mending apace, and hopefull in all the reſt: So that if I had reaſonable ſupplies of Money and Powder (not to exclude any other) I am confident to be in a better condition this year then I have been ſince this Rebellion began, and poſsibly I may put faire for the whole, and ſo enjoy Thy company again, without which nothing can be a contentment unto Me. And ſo Farewel, Dear Heart.

I intend (if Thou like it) to beſtow *Percie*'s place upon the M. of *Newcaſtle*, to whom yet I am no ways engaged, nor will be before I have Thy anſwer. As for *Jack Barclay*, I do not remember that I gave Thee any hope of making him Maſter of the Wards; for *Cotting-*

ton

ton had it long agoe before Thou wenteſt hence, and I intended it to Secr. *Nich.* if he then would have received it: and I am deceived if I did not tell Thee of it.

I deſire Thee to command Lo. *Jer.* to read to Thee the D^s Letter which goes herewith, and in it to mark well that part concerning the tranſportation of the D. of *Lorrain*'s Army.

23. 30.

To My Wife, 27. *Mar.* 1645. by *P. A.*

XXXII.

To the QUEEN.

31.

Oxford, Sunday, 30. *March.*

DEAR Heart, Since My laſt (which was but 3. days agoe) there are no alterations happened of moment, preparations rather then actions being yet our chiefeſt buſineſs; in which we hope that we proceed faſter then the Rebels, whoſe levies both of men and money (for certain) goe on very ſlowly; and I believe they are much weaker then is thought even here at *Oxford*. For inſtance; A very honeſt Servant of Mine, and no fool, ſhewed Me a Propoſition from one of the moſt conſiderable *London* Rebels, who will not let his name be known until he have hope that his Propoſition will take effect: It is this, That ſince the Treaty is ſo broken off, that neither the Rebels nor I can reſume it without at leaſt a ſeeming totall yielding to the other, the Treaty ſhould be renewed upon Thy motion, with a pre-aſſurance that the Rebels will ſubmit to reaſon. The anſwer that I permitted My Servant to give was, That Thou art much the fitteſt perſon to be the means of ſo happy and glorious a work as is the Peace of this Kingdom: but that upon no terms Thy name was to be prophaned, therefore he was to be ſatisfied of the Rebels willingneſs to yield to reaſon, before he would conſent that any ſuch intimation ſhould be made to Thee; and particularly concerning Religion and the Militia, that nothing muſt be inſiſted upon, but accor-

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ding to My former offers. This I believe will come to nothing, yet I cannot but advertiſe Thee of any thing that comes to My knowledge of this conſequence.

I muſt again tell Thee, that moſt aſſuredly *France* will be the beſt way for tranſportation of the D. of *Lorrain*'s Army, there being divers fit and ſafe places of landing for them upon the Weſtern coaſts, beſides the Ports under My Obedience, as *Shelſey* near *Chicheſter*, and others, of which I will advertiſe Thee when the time comes.

By My next I think to tell Thee when I ſhall march into the Field, for which Money is now His greateſt want (I need ſay no more) who is eternally Thine.

18. 31.

To My Wife, 30. *March* 1645. by *Petit*.

XXXIII.

To the QUEEN.

The little that is here in Cypher is in that which I ſent to Thee by *Pooly*.

33.

OXFORD, Wedneſday, 9. *April*, MDCXLV.

Dear Heart,

THough it be an uncomfortable thing to write by a ſlow Meſſenger, yet all occaſions of this (which is now the only) way of converſing with Thee is ſo welcome to Me, as I ſhall be loth to loſe any; but expect neither news nor publick buſineſs from Me by this way of conveyance: yet judging Thee by My ſelf, even theſe nothings will not be unwelcome to Thee, though I ſhould chide Thee, which if I could I would doe, for Thy too ſudden taking Alarms. I pray Thee conſider, ſince I love Thee above all earthly things, and that My contentment is unſeparably conjoyned with Thine, muſt not all My actions tend to ſerve and pleaſe Thee? If Thou kneweſt what a life I lead (I ſpeak not in reſpect of the common diſtractions) even in point of converſation, which, in My mind, is the chief joy or vexation of ones life, I dare ſay Thou wouldeſt pity Me;

for ſome are too wiſe, others too fooliſh, ſome too buſie, others too reſerved, many fantaſtick. In a word, when I know none better (I ſpeak not now in relation to buſineſs) then 359. 8. 270. 55. 5. 7. 67. 18. 294. 35. 69. 16. 54. 6. 38. 1. 67. 68. 9. 66. Thou maieſt eaſily judge how My converſation pleaſeth Me. I confeſs Thy company hath perhaps made Me in this hard to be pleaſed, but not leſs to be pitied by Thee, who art the only cure for this diſeaſe.

The end of all is this, to deſire Thee to comfort Me as often as Thou canſt with Thy Letters: and doſt not Thou think, that to know particulars of Thy health, and how Thou ſpendeſt the time, are pleaſing ſubjects to Me, though Thou haſt no other buſineſs to write of? Believe Me, Sweet Heart, Thy kindneſs is as neceſſary to comfort My heart, as Thy aſſiſtance is for My affairs.

To My Wife, 9. *April* 1645. by *Binion.*

XXXIV.

To the Lord JERMIN.

Oxford, Thurſday, 24. *April.*

HArry, Leſt My Wife ſhould not yet be fit for any buſineſs, I write this to you, not to excuſe My pains, but eaſe Hers: and that She may know, but not be troubled with My kindneſs, I referre to your diſcretion how farre to impart My Letter to Her, or any other buſineſs, that ſo Her health in the firſt place be cared for, then My affairs. And now I muſt tell you, that undoubtedly if you had not truſted to *Digbie*'s ſanguine complection (not to be rebated from ſending good news) you would not have found fault with him for ſending miſtaken intelligence; for if he ſhould ſtrictly tye himſelf to certain truths in this kind, you muſt have nothing from him but My Proclamations, or Ordinances from the pretended Houſes. But tell Me, can you not diſtinguiſh between what we ſend you upon certainty, and what upon uncertain reports, without making an oath the mark of diſtinction? And are you obliged to publiſh all the news we ſend you? Seriouſly I think news may be ſometimes too good to be told in the *French* Court; and certainly there is as much dexterity

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in publiſhing of news, as in matters which at firſt ſight may ſeem of greater difficulty: for as I would not have them think that all aſsiſtance beſtowed upon Me were in vain; ſo I would not have them believe that I needed no help, leſt they ſhould underhand aſsiſt any Rebels, to keep the balance of diſſention amongſt us equal.

For matter of News and preſent ſtate of My affairs I referr you to *Digby*; only this in general, that if it pleaſe God to aſsiſt us this year but half ſo miraculouſly as He did the laſt (My preſent ſtate compared with what it was this time twelve-month) I am very hopefull to ſee a joyful harveſt before next Winter. Nor do I think this in any humane probability poſsible, except My Wife can procure Me conſiderable aſsiſtance both of men and money; of which I conceive little reaſon to deſpair, your laſt giving Me good hope concerning *Lorrain*: and though I ſay not that for the other I have ſo good an Author as 196. yet I hope you will not much blame My confidence, when 149. in hers the 10. of March ſays, *J'ay une Affaire aſſures, que vous donnere* 40000. *Piſtols, que Je vous euſſi envoye ſi J'euſsi lu mon navier revenu avec l'eſtain.*

In the laſt place, I will impoſe that upon you that is not reaſonable to expect from My Wife, which is, to give Me a continuall account what Letters She receives from Me, and what miſcarrie or come ſlowly; to which end take notice, that all My Letters to Her are numerarily marked on the top, as this with 37. and likewiſe I now begin the ſame with you. So farewel.

In your next let Me know particularly how My Wife is: which though it be not as I would have it, yet the perfect knowledge will hinder Me to imagine Her worſe then She is; if well, then every word will pleaſe Me.

I have commanded *Digby* to write to you freely concerning *Will Murry*, which I hold to be neceſſary as concerning *Montroſs*'s buſineſs.

To the L. *Jermin*, 24. *April* 1645. concerning *France*.

XXXV.

To the QUEEN.

39.

Oxford, Sunday, 4. *May.*

DEAR Heart, The Rebels new brutiſh General hath refuſed to meddle with forein Paſſes, ſo as yet I cannot diſpatch *Adrian May* to Thee by the way of *London*; which if I cannot very ſhortly, I will ſend him by the Weſt.

And now, if I could be aſſured of Thy recovery, I would have but few melancholy thoughts, for I thank God My Affairs begin to ſmile upon Me again; *Wales* being well ſwept of the Rebels, *Farrington* having relieved it ſelf, and now being ſecured by *Goring*'s coming, My Nephews likewiſe having brought Me a ſtrong party of Horſe and Foot, theſe quarters are ſo free, that I hope to be marching within three or four daies, and am ſtill confident to have the ſtart of the Rebels this year. I am likewiſe very hopeful that My Son will ſhortly be in the head of a good Army; for this I have the chearful aſſurance of *Culpepper* and *Hyde*.

Of late I have been much preſſed to make *Southampton* Maſter of My Horſe, not more for good will to him, as out of fear that *Hamilton* might return to a capacity of re-cozening Me; wherein if I had done nothing, both jealouſie and diſcontents were like to ariſe: wherefore I thought fit to put My Nephew *Rupert* in that place, which will both ſave Me charge, and ſtop other mens grumblings.

I have now no more to ſay, but praying for, and impatiently expecting of good news from Thee, I reſt, eternally Thine.

39.

To My Wife, 4. *May* 1645. by *Malin S. Ravy.*

XXXVI.

To the QUEEN.

Droitwich, Wedneſday, 14. *May.*

DEAR Heart, Marching takes away the conveniency of ſending My letters ſo ſafe and quick to Thee as when I was at *Oxford*, however I ſhall not fail to doe what I can to ſend often to Thee. There is ſo little news for the preſent, as I will leave that ſubject for others; only upon Saturday laſt I received a Diſpatch from *Montroſs*, which aſſures Me his condition to be ſo good, that he bids Me be confident that his Countrymen ſhall doe Me no great harm this year; and if I could lend him but 500. Horſe, he would undertake to bring Me 20000. men before the end of this Summer.

For the general ſtate of My affairs, we all here think it to be very hopeful; this Army being of a good ſtrength, well ordered, and increaſing; My Sons ſuch, that *Fairfax* will not be refuſed to be fought with, of which I hope Thou wilt receive good ſatisfaction from himſelf. It's true that I cannot brag of ſtore of money, but a ſharp ſword alwaies hinders ſtarving at leaſt; and I believe the Rebels Coffers are not very full (and certainly we ſhall make as good ſhift with empty purſes as they) or they muſt have ſome greater defect, elſe their Levies could not be ſo backward as they are; for I aſſure Thee that I have at this inſtant many more men in the Field then they. I am not very confident what their Northern Forces are, but except they are much ſtronger then I am made believe, I may likewiſe include them.

Now I muſt make a complaint to Thee of My Son *Charles*, which troubles Me the more, that Thou maieſt ſuſpect I ſeek by equivocation to hide the breach of My word, which I hate above all things, eſpecially to Thee. It is this, He hath ſent to deſire Me, that Sir *John Greenvil* may be ſworn Gentleman of his Bed-chamber, but is already ſo publickly ingaged in it, that the refuſal would be a great diſgrace both to my Son and the young Gentleman, to whom it is not fit to give a juſt diſtaſt, eſpecially now, conſidering his Fathers merits, his

own hopefulneſs, beſides the great power that Family has in the Weſt. Yet I have refuſed the admitting of him until I ſhall hear from Thee. Wherefore I deſire Thee, firſt to chide My Son for ingaging himſelf without one of Our conſents; then, not to refuſe Thy own conſent; and laſtly, to believe that directly or indirectly I never knew of this while yeſterday at the delivery of My Sons Letter. So farewel, Sweet heart, and God ſend Me good news from Thee.

To My Wife, *May* 14. 1645.

XXXVII.

To the QUEEN.

Daintry, Sunday, 9. *June.*

DEAR Heart, *Oxford* being free, I hope this will come ſooner to Thee then otherwiſe I could have expected, which makes Me believe that My good news will not be very ſtale, which in ſhort is this: Since the taking of *Leiceſter*, My marching down hither to relieve *Oxford* made the Rebels raiſe their ſiege before I could come near them, having had their Quarters once or twice beaten up by that Garriſon, and loſt four hundred men at an aſſault before *Boſtol*-Houſe. At firſt I thought they would have fought with Me, being marched as far as *Brackly*, but they are ſince gone aſide to *Brickhill*, ſo as I believe they are weaker then they are thought to be; whether by their diſtractions, (which are certainly very great, *Fairfax* and *Brown* having been at Cudgels, and his men and *Cromwel*'s likewiſe at blows together, where a Captain was ſlain) or waſting their men, I will not ſay. Beſides *Goring* hath given a great defeat to the Weſtern Rebels, but I do not yet know the particulars. Wherefore I may (without being too much ſanguine) affirm, that (ſince this Rebellion) My Affairs were never in ſo fair and hopeful a way; though among our ſelves we want not our own follies, which is needleſs, and I am ſure tedious, to tell Thee, but ſuch as I am confident ſhall doe no harm, nor much trouble Me. Yet I muſt tell Thee, that it is Thy Letter by *Fitz-Williams*, aſſuring Me of Thy perfect recovery, with Thy wonted kindneſs, which makes Me capable of taking

content-

contentment in these good successes: For as divers men propose severall recompences to themselves for their pains and hazard in this Rebellion, so Thy Company is the only reward I expect and wish for.

To My Wife, 9. *June* 1645.

XXXVIII.

To Prince RUPERT.

CAERDIFFE, *Aug.* 3. MDCXLV.

C. R.

NEphew, This is occasioned by a Letter of yours which the Duke of *Richmond* shewed Me yesterday. And first I assure you, I have been (and ever will be) very careful to advertise you of My resolutions so soon as they were taken; and if I enjoyned silence to that which was no secret, it was not My fault, for I thought it one, and I am sure it ought to have been so.

Now as for your opinion of My Business, and your Counsel thereupon, If I had any other quarrell but the defence of My Religion, Crown and Friends, you had full reason for your advice: For I confess that speaking either as a mere Souldier or Statesman, I must say there is no probability but of My Ruine; yet as a Christian I must tell you, that God will not suffer Rebels and Traitors to prosper, nor this Cause to be overthrown. And whatsoever personal punishment it shall please Him to inflict upon Me, must not make Me repine, much less give over this quarrel: and there is as little question, that a composition with them at this time is nothing else but a submission, which by the grace of God I am resolved against, whatsoever it cost Me; for I know My obligation to be, both in Conscience and Honour, neither to abandon God's Cause, injure My Successors, nor forsake My Friends. Indeed I cannot flatter My self with expectation of good success more then this, to end My daies with Honour and a good Conscience, which obligeth Me to continue My endeavours, in not despairing that God may yet in due time avenge His own Cause; though I must averre to all My Friends, that he that will

ſtay with Me at this time, muſt expect and reſolve either to dye for a good Cauſe, or (which is worſe) to live as miſerable in maintaining it as the violence of inſulting Rebels can make him.

Having thus truly and impartially ſtated My Caſe unto you, and plainly told you My reſolutions, which by the grace of God I will not alter, they being neither lightly nor ſuddenly grounded, I earneſtly deſire you not in any wiſe to hearken now after Treaties, aſſuring you, that as low as I am, I will doe no more then was offered in My Name at *Uxbridge*; confeſsing that it were as great a miracle that they ſhould agree to ſo much reaſon, as that I ſhould be within a month in the ſame condition that I was immediately before the Battel at *Naſeby*. Therefore for God's ſake let us not flatter our ſelves with theſe conceits. And believe Me, your very imagination that you are deſirous of a Treaty will but loſe Me ſo much the ſooner: wherefore as You love Me, whatſoever you have already done, apply your diſcourſe hereafter according to My reſolution and judgement.

As for the *Iriſh*, I aſſure you they ſhall not cheat Me; but it is poſſible they may cozen themſelves: for be aſſured, what I have refuſed to the *Engliſh*, I will not grant to the *Iriſh* Rebels, never truſting to that kind of people (of what Nation ſoever) more then I ſee by their Actions. And I am ſending to *Ormond* ſuch a Diſpatch, as I am ſure will pleaſe you and all honeſt men; a copy whereof by the next opportunity you ſhall have.

Laſtly, be confident I would not have put you nor My ſelf to the trouble of this long Letter, had I not a great eſtimation of you, and a full confidence of your Friendſhip too.

C. R.

Caerdiffe, Auguſt 3. 1645.

To

XXXIX.

To Secretary NICHOLAS,

CAERDIFFE, *Aug.* 4. MDC XLV.

Nicholas,

HAving commanded your fellow-Secretary to give you a full account as well of our proceedings here as resolutions, I will neither trouble you nor My self with repetitions. Onely for My self, I must desire you to let every one know, that no distresses of Fortune whatsoever shall make Me, by the grace of God, in any thing recede from those grounds I laid down to you who were My Commissioners at *Uxbridge*, and which (I thank them) the Rebels have published in print. And though I could have wished their pains had been spared, yet I will neither deny that those things are Mine which they have set out in My Name (only some words here and there are mistaken, and some Commas misplaced, but not much materiall) nor, as a good Protestant or honest man, blush for any of those Papers. Indeed as a discreet man I will not justifie My self; and yet I would fain know him who would be willing that the freedom of all his private Letters were publickly seen, as Mine have now been. However, so that one clause be rightly understood, I care not much though the rest take their fortune: It is concerning the Mungrel Parliament. The truth is, that *Sussex*'s factiousness at that time put Me somewhat out of patience, which made Me freely vent My displeasure against those of his party to My Wife; and the intention of that phrase was, that his Faction did what they could to make it come to that, by their raising and fomenting of base Propositions. This is clearly evidenced by My following excuse to Her, for suffering those people to trouble Her, the reason being, to eschew those greater inconveniences which they had, and were more likely to cause here then there. I am now going to supper, and so I rest,

Your most assured Friend,

C. R.

For

XL.

For My Son the PRINCE.

Charls,

THis is rather to tell you where I am, and that I am well, then at this time to direct you any thing, I having wrote fully to your Mother what I would have you to doe; whom I command you to obey in every thing, except in Religion, concerning which I am confident She will not trouble you; and see that you goe not any whither without Her or My particular directions. Let Me hear often from you; and so God bless you.

Your loving Father,

Newcastle, June 2. 1646. CHARLES R.

If *Jack Ashburnham* come where you are, command him to wait upon you as he was wont, untill I shall send for him, if your Mother and you be together; if not, he must wait on Her.

XLI.

To the Duke of YORK.

CAVERSHAM, *July* 4. MDCXLVII.

C. R.

I *Ames*, I am in hope that you may be permitted, with your Brother and Sister, to come to some place betwixt this and *London*, where I may see you. To this end therefore I command you to ask leave of the two Houses, to make a journey (if it may be) for a night or two. But rather then not to see you, I will be content that ye come to some convenient place to dine, and goe back at night.

And foreseeing the fear of your being brought within the power of the Army, as I am, may be objected to hinder this My desire; I have full assurance from Sir *Thomas Fairfax* and the Chief Officers, that

that there will be no interruption or impediment made by them for your return, how and when you pleaſe. So God bleſs you.

Your loving Father,

Caſam, July 4. 1647. CHARLES R.

POSTSCRIPT.

Send Me word as ſoon as you can, of the time and place where I ſhall have the contentment of ſeeing you, your Brother and Siſter.

XLII.

To Colonel WHALEY.

HAMPTON-COURT, *Nov.* 11. MDCXLVII.

COlonel *Whaley*, I have been ſo civilly uſed by you and Major *Huntington*, that I cannot but by this parting farewell acknowledge it under My Hand; as alſo to deſire the continuance of your courteſie, by your protecting of My Houſehold-ſtuffe and Moveables of all ſorts which I leave behind Me in this Houſe, that they be neither ſpoiled nor imbeſeled. Only there are three Pictures here which are not Mine, that I deſire you to reſtore: to wit, My Wifes Picture in blew, ſitting in a Chair, you muſt ſend to M^ris *Kirke*; My Eldeſt Daughters Picture copied by *Belcam*, to the Counteſs of *Angleſey*; and My Lady *Stanhop*'s Picture to *Carey Raleigh*. There is a fourth which I had almoſt forgot, it is the original of My Eldeſt Daughter (it hangs in this Chamber over the Board next the chimney) which you muſt ſend to My Lady *Aubigney*.

So being confident that you wiſh My preſervation and reſtitution, I reſt,

Your Friend, CHARLES R.

I aſſure you it was not the Letter you ſhewed Me yeſterday that made Me take this reſolution, nor any advertiſement of that kind: But I confeſs that I am loath to be made a cloſe Priſoner, under pretence of ſecuring My life.

I had almoſt forgot to deſire you to ſend the black Grew-Bitch to the D. of *Richmond*.

To

XLIII.

To the Lord MOUNTAGUE.

HAMPTON-COURT, *Nov.* 11. MDCXLVII.

Mountague,

FIRST I do hereby give you and the reſt of your fellows thanks for the civilities and good converſation that I have had from you. Next I command you to ſend this My Meſſage (which you will find upon this Table) to the two Houſes of Parliament, and likewiſe to give a Copy of it to Colonel *Whaley* to be ſent to the General. Likewiſe I deſire you to ſend all My Saddle-Horſes to My Son the Duke of *York*.

As for what concerns the reſolution that I have taken, My Declaratory Meſſage ſaies ſo much, that I refer you to it; and ſo I reſt,

Your aſſured Friend, CHARLES R.

XLIV.

For Sir THOMAS FAIRFAX *General.*

C. R.

HAving left order at Our remove from *Hampton-Court*, that a Copy ſhould be given you of what We had then written to both Houſes of Parliament touching the cauſes of Our withdrawing, and the continuance of Our reſolutions to improve every occaſion of the ſatisfaction of all chief Intereſts, that ſo a happy Peace may be ſetled in Our Dominions; in purſuance whereof We have lately ſent a Meſſage to both Houſes from this place, and a Copy of it to you; and being deſirous, in order to that bleſſed work, to give you Our preſent ſenſe upon the condition of affairs as they now ſtand: We have thought fit to appoint Sir *John Barkley* to repair unto you, and to communicate the ſame to you: And We ſhall be glad by him to receive a mutual communication of your ſenſe alſo upon this ſubject; not doubting but you eaſily perceive by the late diſor-

ders,

ders, into what a depth of confuſion the Army and the Nation will fall, if timely and effectuall preventions be not uſed. And therefore We have now again propoſed (as the only expedient) a Perſonal Treaty, for the compoſing of all differences, and fulfilling the deſires of all Intereſts. To which if you will employ your credit, as you cannot but expect the bleſsings of God upon your endeavours therein; ſo may you juſtly look for the beſt return that ever Our condition ſhall be able to make you.

Given at *Carisbrook*-Caſtle, *Novemb.* 26. 1647.

XLV.

For Sir THOMAS FAIRFAX, *Generall.*

C. R.

THE free liberty which you willingly afforded Us to have the uſe of Our Chaplains, makes Us at this time not onely to acknowledge your former Civilities, but likewiſe now to acquaint you that three of Our Chaplains, to wit, Dr *Shelden*, Dr *Holdſworth* and Dr *Haywood*, are newly landed in this Iſle, not doubting but they ſhall have the ſame protection that formerly they had; which ſtill will ſhew the continuation of your good reſpect unto Us, which We upon all fitting occaſions ſhall not be backward to acknowledge. So We bid you heartily farewel.

Given at *Carisbrook*-Caſtle, *Novemb.* 27. 1647.

XLVI.

To the Lords, Gentlemen, and Committee of the Scotch Parliament, together with the Officers of the Army:

CARISBROOK, *July* 31. MDCXLVIII.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

IT is no ſmall comfort to Me, that My Native Country hath ſo true a ſenſe of My preſent condition, as I find expreſſed by your Letter of the eighth of this Moneth, and your Declaration, both which I received upon Friday laſt. And the very ſame reaſon which

makes you diſcreetly and generouſly at this time forbear to preſs any thing to Me, hinders Me likewiſe to make any particular profeſsions unto you, leſt it may be imagined that deſire of Liberty ſhould now be the only Secretary to My thoughts. Yet thus much I cannot but ſay, that as in all humane reaſon nothing but a free Perſonal Treaty with Me can ſettle the unhappy diſtractions of theſe diſtreſſed Kingdomes; ſo, if that could once be had, I would not doubt but that (by the grace of God) a happy Peace would ſoon follow: Such force (I believe) true reaſon has in the hearts of all men, when it may be clearly and calmly heard; and I am not aſhamed at all times to profeſs that it hath, and ſhall be alwaies want of underſtanding, not of will, if I do not yield to reaſon, whenſoever and from whomſoever I hear it: and it were a ſtrange thing, if reaſon ſhould be leſs eſteemed becauſe it comes from Me; which (truly) I do not expect from you, your Declaration ſeeming to Me (and I hope your Actions will prove that I am not deceived) to be ſo well grounded upon Honour and Juſtice, that albeit, by way of opinion, I cannot give a *Placet* to every Clauſe in it, yet I am confident upon a calm and friendly debate we ſhall very well agree.

To conclude, I cannot (for the preſent) better ſhew My thankfulneſs to you for the generous and loyall expreſsions of your Affections to Me, then by giving you My honeſt and ſincere advice; which is, really and conſtantly, without ſeeking private ends, to purſue the publick profeſsions in your Declaration, as ſincere Chriſtians and good Subjects ought to doe, always remembring, that as the beſt foundation of Loyalty is Chriſtianity, ſo true Chriſtianity teaches perfect Loyalty; for without this reciprocation neither is truly what they pretend to be. But I am both confident that needs not to you, as likewiſe, that you will rightly underſtand this which is affectionately intended by your aſſured Friend,

C. R.

Carisbrook, Monday, 31. *July*, 1648.

To

XLVII.

To the PRINCE.

NEWPORT, *Nov.* 29. MDC XLVIII.

SON,

BY what hath been said, you may see how long We have laboured in the search of Peace: Do not you be discouraged to tread those ways in all worthy means to restore your self to your Right, but preferre the way of Peace. Shew the greatness of your Mind, rather to conquer your Enemies by pardoning, then by punishing. If you saw how unmanly and unchristianly this implacable disposition is in Our ill-willers, you would avoid that spirit. Censure Us not for having parted with too much of Our Own Right; the price was great, the commodity was, Security to Us, Peace to Our People: And We are confident another Parliament would remember how usefull a King's Power is to a Peoples Liberty; of how much We have devested Our self, that We and they might meet again in a due Parliamentary way, to agree the bounds for Prince and People. And in this give belief to Our experience, never to affect more Greatness or Prerogative then what is really and intrinsecally for the good of your Subjects, (not satisfaction of Favourites.) And if you thus use it, you will never want means to be a Father to all, and a bountiful Prince to any you would be extraordinarily gracious unto. You may perceive all men trust their treasure where it returns them interest: And if Princes, like the Sea, receive and repay all the fresh streams and rivers trust them with, they will not grudge, but pride themselves to make them up an Ocean. These considerations may make you a great Prince, as your Father is now a low one: and your state may be so much the more established, as Mine hath been shaken. For Subjects have learnt (We dare say) that victories over their Princes are but triumphs over themselves, and so will be more unwilling to hearken to changes hereafter. The *English* Nation are a sober People, however at present under some infatuation. We know not but this may be the last time We may speak to you or the world publickly: We are sensible into what hand We are fallen; and yet We bless God We

have thoſe inward refreſhments that the malice of Our enemies cannot perturb. We have learnt to own Our ſelf by retiring into Our ſelf, and therefore can the better digeſt what befalls Us, not doubting but God can reſtrain Our enemies malice, and turn their fierceneſs unto His praiſe.

To conclude, If God give you ſucceſs, uſe it humbly, and far from revenge: If he reſtore you to your Right upon hard conditions, whatever you promiſe, keep. Thoſe men which have forced Laws which they were bound to obſerve, will find their triumphs full of troubles. Do not think any thing in this world worth obtaining by foul and unjuſt means. You are the Son of Our love; and as We direct you to what We have recommended to you, ſo We aſſure you, We do not more affectionately pray for you, (to whom We are a natural Parent) then We do that the ancient glory and renown of this Nation be not buried in irreligion and fanatick humour; and that all Our Subjects (to whom We are a Politick Parent) may have ſuch ſober thoughts, as to ſeek their Peace in the Orthodox Profeſsion of the Chriſtian Religion as it was eſtabliſhed ſince the Reformation in this Kingdome, and not in new Revelations; and that the ancient Laws, with the interpretation according to the known practices, may once again be an hedge about them, that you may in due time govern, and they be governed, as in the fear of the Lord.

C. R.

The Commiſsioners are gone, the Corn is now in the ground, We expect the harveſt: if the fruit be Peace, We hope the God of Peace will in time reduce all to Truth and Order again: which that he may doe, is the prayer of

C. R.

For

XLVIII.

For the KING.

SIR,

HAving no means to come to the knowledge of Your Majesties present condition but such as I receive from the Prints, or (which is as uncertain) Report, I have sent this Bearer *Seamour* to wait upon Your Majesty, and to bring me an account of it; that I may withall assure Your Majesty, I do not only pray for Your Majesty, according to my Duty, but shall alwaies be ready to doe all that which shall be in my power, to deserve that Blessing which I now humbly beg of Your Majesty upon,

Sir, Your Majesties most humble and
most obedient Son and Servant,

Hague, January 23. 1648. CHARLES.

HIS MAJESTIES SPEECHES: WITH THE HISTORIE OF HIS TRIAL.

HIS MAJESTIES SPEECHES.

I.

To the Lords and Commons, at the opening of His First Parliament, at WESTMINSTER, *June* 18. MDCXXV.

I Thank God that the buſineſs to be treated on at this time is of ſuch a nature, that it needs no Eloquence to ſet it forth; for I am neither able to doe it, neither doth it ſtand with My Nature to ſpend much time in words. It is no new buſineſs, being already happily begun by My Father of bleſſed memory, who is with God; therefore it needeth no Narrative: I hope in God you will goe on to maintain it as freely as you adviſed My Father to it.

It is true, He may ſeem to ſome to have been ſlack to begin ſo juſt and ſo glorious a Work; but it was His Wiſdome that made Him loth to begin a work, until He might find means to maintain it: But after that He ſaw how much He was abuſed in the confidence He had with other States, and was confirmed by your advice to run the courſe we are in, with your Engagement to maintain it, I need not preſs to prove how willingly He took your Advice; for the preparations that are made are better able to declare it then I to ſpeak it: The aſsiſtance of thoſe in *Germanie*, the Fleet that is ready for action, with the reſt of the Preparations which I have onely followed My Father in, do ſufficiently prove that He entred into this Action.

My Lords and Gentlemen, I hope that you do remember that you were pleaſed to imploy Me to adviſe My Father to break off thoſe two Treaties that were on foot; ſo that I cannot ſay I came hither a free unengaged man. It's true, I came into this buſineſs willingly and freely, like a young man, and conſequently raſhly; but it was by your intereſt, your engagement: So that though it were done like a

Young

Young man, yet I cannot repent Me of it; and I think none can blame Me for it, knowing the love and fidelity you have born to your King, having My ſelf likewiſe ſome little experience of your affections.

I pray you remember that this being My firſt Action, and begun by your advice and intreaty, what a great diſhonor it were to you and Me, if this Action ſo begun ſhould fail for that aſsiſtance you are able to give Me. Yet knowing the conſtancy of your love both to Me and this Buſineſs, I needed not to have ſaid this, but only to ſhew what care and ſenſe I have of your Honors and Mine Own. I muſt intreat you likewiſe to conſider of the Times we are in, how that I muſt adventure your lives (which I ſhould be loth to doe) ſhould I continue you here long; and you muſt venture the Buſineſs, if you be ſlow in your reſolutions. Wherefore I hope you will take ſuch grave Counſel, as you will expedite what you have in hand to doe; which will doe Me and your ſelves an infinite deal of Honor: You, in ſhewing your love to Me; and Me, that I may perfect that Work which My Father hath ſo happily begun.

Laſt of all, becauſe ſome malitious men may, and, as I hear, have given out, that I am not ſo true a Keeper and Maintainer of the true Religion that I profeſs; I aſſure you that I may with Saint *Paul* ſay, that I have been trained up at *Gamaliel*'s feet: and although I ſhall never be ſo arrogant as to aſſume unto My ſelf the reſt, I ſhall ſo far ſhew the end of it, that all the World may ſee that none hath been, nor ever ſhall be, more deſirous to maintain the Religion I profeſs then I ſhall be.

Now becauſe I am unfit for much ſpeaking, I mean to bring up the faſhion of My Predeceſſors, to have My Lord Keeper ſpeak for Me in moſt things: Therefore I have commanded him to ſpeak ſomething unto you at this time, which is more for formality, then any great matter he hath to ſay unto you.

II.

To the Lords and Commons, in the Hall at CHRISTS-CHURCH *in* OXFORD, *Aug.* 4. MDCXXV.

MY Lords, and you of the Commons, We all remember that from your Desires and Advice My Father, now with God, brake off those two Treaties with *Spain* that were then in hand. Well you then foresaw, that as well for regaining My dispossessed Brothers Inheritance, as Home defence, a War was likely to succeed; and that as your Counsels had led My Father into it, so your assistance in a Parliamentary way to pursue it should not be wanting. That Aid you gave Him by Advice was for succour of His Allies, the guarding of *Ireland* and the home part, supplie of Munition, preparing and setting forth of His Navy. A Councel you thought of and appointed for the War, and Treasurers for issuing of the Moneys. And to begin this Work of your Advice, you gave three Subsidies and as many Fifteens, which with speed were levied, and by direction of that Councel of War (in which the preparation of this Navy was not the least) disbursed.

It pleased God at the entrance of this Preparation (by your Advice begun) to call My Father to His Mercy, whereby I entred as well to the care of your Designe as His Crown. I did not then, as Princes doe, of Custom & Formalitie re-assemble you, but that by your further Advice and Aid I might be able to proceed in that which by your Counsels My Father was ingaged in. Your love to Me and forwardness to further those Affairs you expressed by a grant of two Subsidies yet ungathered; although I must assure you, by My self and others upon credit taken up, and aforehand disbursed, and farre short as yet to set forth that Navy now preparing; as I have lately the estimate of those of care, and who are still employed about it, whose particular of all expences about this Preparation shall be given you when you please to take an accompt of it.

Another

Another contracted Copy of the two foregoing Speeches.

Other Copies having contracted the ſubſtance of both theſe Speeches foregoing into one, ſuppoſed to be ſpoken at Weſtminſter *at the Opening of the Parliament, it was thought fit to repreſent both Copies, leaving it to the Memory of ſuch as were then preſent to decide which is the true.*

MY Lords and Gentlemen, You are not ignorant that at your earneſt intreaty, the twenty third of *March* ſixteen hundred twenty three, My Father (of Happy Memory) firſt took up arms for the recovery of the *Palatinate*; for which purpoſe, by your aſsiſtance, He began to form a conſiderable Army, and to prepare a goodly Armado and Navy Royall. But Death intervening between Him and the atchievement, the War, with the Crown, is devolved upon Me. To the proſecution whereof as I am obliged both in Nature and Honor; ſo I queſtion not but, the ſame neceſsity continuing, you will cheriſh the Action with the like affection, and further it with a ready Contribution.

True it is, You furniſhed My Father with affectionate Supplies; but they held no ſymmetrie or proportion with the charge of ſo great an Enterpriſe: for thoſe your Donatives are all disburſt to a peny; and I am inforced to ſummon you hither, to tell you, that neither can the Army advance nor the Fleet ſet forth without farther Aid.

Conſider, I pray you, the eyes of all *Europe* are defixt upon Me; to whom I ſhall appear ridiculous, as though I were unable to outgoe Muſter and Oſtentation, if you now deſert Me. Conſider, it is My firſt attempt; wherein if I ſuſtain a foile, it will blemiſh all My future Honor.

If Mine cannot, let your own Reputation move you: Deliver and expedite Me fairly out of this War wherewith you have incumbred (let it never be ſaid, whereinto you have betrayed) Me.

I deſire therefore your ſpeedy Supplie: Speedy I call it, for elſe it will prove no Supply. The Sun, you know, is entring into his declining point; ſo it will be ſoon too late to ſet forth, when it will be rather not too ſoon to return. Again, I muſt mind you of the Mortality now regnant in this City, which ſhould it (as ſo it may, and no breach

breach of Privilege neither) arreſt any one Member of either Houſe, it ſoon would put a period both to Conſultation and Seſsion: ſo that your own Periclitation neceſsitates an early Reſolution.

In ſumme, Three of the beſt Rhetoricians, Honor, Opportunity, and Safety, are all of a Plot, and plead, you ſee, for Expedition.

Perhaps it may be expected I ſhould ſay ſomething in way of account of My Religion, as alſo of the temper and tenor of My future Government: But as I hope I have not been guilty of any thing which may juſtly ſtart the leaſt queſtion in either; ſo I deſire you would repoſe in this aſſurance, that I will in neither vary from thoſe Principles wherein I have been inſtituted at the feet of that eminent *Gamaliel*, My late Father.

III.

To the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons of His Second Parliament, M DC XXV. VI.

MAſter Speaker, The Anſwer of the Commons delivered by you I like well of, and do take it for a full & ſatisfactory Anſwer, and I thank them for it; and I hope you will with all expedition take a courſe for performance thereof, the which will turn to your own good as well as Mine. But for your Clauſe therein of preſenting of Grievances, I take that but for a Parentheſis in your Speech, and not a Condition · and yet, for anſwer to that part, I will tell you, I will be as willing to hear your Grievances as My Predeceſſors have been, ſo that you will apply your ſelves to *redreſs* Grievances, and not to *inquire* after Grievances.

I muſt let you know, that I will not allow any of My Servants to be queſtioned among you; much leſs ſuch as are of eminent place and near unto Me. The old queſtion was, *What ſhall be done to the man whom the King will honor?* but now it hath been the labour of ſome, to ſeek what may be done againſt him whom the King thinks fit to honor. I ſee you ſpecially aim at the Duke of *Buckingham*: I wonder what hath ſo altered your affections toward him. I do well remember that in the laſt Parliament in My Father's time, when he was an

Inſtrument to break the Treaties, all of you (and yet I cannot ſay all, for I know ſome of you are changed, but yet the Houſe of Commons is alwaies the ſame) did ſo much honor and reſpect him, that all the honor conferred on him was too little:) and what he hath done ſince to alter or change your minds I wote not; but can aſſure you, he hath not medled or done any thing concerning the Publick or Commonwealth but by ſpeciall directions and appointment, and as My Servant; and is ſo far from gaining or improving his Eſtate thereby, that I verily think he hath rather impaired the ſame.

I would you would haſten for My Supplie, or elſe it will be worſe for your ſelves; for if any ill happen, I think I ſhall be the laſt ſhall feel it.

IV.

To the Lords and Commons, at WHITE-HALL, *Mar.* 29. MDCXXVI.

MY Lords and Gentlemen, I have called you hither to day, I mean both Houſes of Parliament; but it is for ſeveral and diſtinct reaſons.

My Lords, you of the Upper Houſe, to give you thanks for your Care of the ſtate of the Kingdom now; and not only for the care of your own Proceedings, but for inciting your Fellow-Houſe of the Commons to take that into their conſideration. Therefore, My Lords, I muſt not only give you thanks, but I muſt alſo avow, that if this Parliament do not redound to the good of this Kingdom, which I pray God it may, it is not your faults.

And you, Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons, I am ſorry that I may not juſtly give the ſame thanks to you; but I muſt tell you, that I am come here to ſhew you your Errors, and, as I may call it, Unparliamentarie Proceedings in this Parliament. But I do not deſpair, becauſe you ſhall ſee your faults ſo clearly by the Lord Keeper, that you may ſo amend your Proceeding, that this Parliament ſhall end comfortably and happily, though at the beginning it hath had ſome rubs.

After

After the Lord Keeper had declared His MAJESTIES pleasure to them, Himself added,

I must withall put you in mind a little of times past. You may remember that in the time of My Blessed Father you did with your Counsel and perswasion prevail with My Father and Me to break off the Treaties. I confess I was your Instrument for two Reasons: One was, the fitness of the time; the other, because I was seconded by so great and worthy a Body as the whole Body of Parliament. Then there was no body in so great favour with you as this man whom you seem now to touch, but indeed, My Father's Government and Mine. Now that you have all things according to your wishes, and that I am so farre ingaged that you think there is no retreat, now you begin to set the Dice, and make your own Game. But I pray you be not deceived; it is not a Parliamentarie way, nor is it a way to deal with a King.

Master *Coke* told you, *It was better to dye by a Forein Enemie then to be destroyed at home.* Indeed I think it is more Honor for a King to be invaded and almost destroyed by a forein Enemie, then to be despised by His Own Subjects.

Remember that Parliaments are altogether in My Power for their Calling, Sitting, and Dissolution; therefore as I find the fruits of them good or evil, they are to continue, or not to be. And remember that if in this time instead of mending your Errors, by delay you persist in your Errors, you make them greater and irreconcileable: whereas, on the other side, if you do goe on chearfully to mend them, and look to the distressed state of Christendom, and the Affairs of the Kingdom as it lyeth now by this great Engagement, you will doe your selves honor, you shall incourage Me to goe on with Parliaments, and I hope all Christendom shall feel the good of it.

V.

To the Houſe of Lords, at WESTMINSTER,

May 11. M DC XXVI.

MY Lords, The Cauſe and only Cauſe of My coming to you this day is, to expreſs the ſenſe I have of all your Honors; for he that toucheth any of you, toucheth Me in a very great meaſure.

I have thought fit to take order for the puniſhing ſome inſolent ſpeeches lately ſpoken: I have been too remiſs heretofore in puniſhing ſuch ſpeeches as concern My ſelf. Not that I was greedy of their Monies, but that *Buckingham* through his importunity would not ſuffer Me to take notice of them, leſt he might be thought to have ſet Me on, and that he might come the forwarder to his Trial. And to approve his Innocency as touching the matters againſt him, I My ſelf can be a Witneſs to clear him in every one of them.

I ſpeak not this to take any thing out of your hands, but to ſhew the reaſon why I have not hitherto puniſhed thoſe inſolent ſpeeches againſt My ſelf. And now I hope you will be as tender of My Honor, when time ſhall ſerve, as I have been ſenſible of yours.

VI.

To the French Servants of the QUEEN, *at* Somerſet Houſe,

July 1. M DC XXVI.

GEntlemen and Ladies, I am driven to that extremity, as I am perſonally come to acquaint you that I very earneſtly deſire your return into *France*.

True it is, the deportment of ſome amongſt you hath been very inoffenſive to Me: But others again have ſo dallied with My Patience, and ſo highly affronted Me, as I cannot, I will no longer indure it.

VII.

To the Lords and Commons, at the opening of His Third Parliament, at WESTMINSTER, *Mar.* 17. M DCXXVII. VIII.

MY Lords and Gentlemen, The Times are now for Action: for Action, I say, not for Words; therefore I shall use but a few: And (as Kings are said to be exemplarie to Their Subjects, so) I wish you would imitate Me in this, and use as few, falling upon speedy Consultation.

No man is, I conceive, such a Stranger to the Common Necessity as to expostulate the cause of this Meeting, and not to think Supply to be the end of it. And as this Necessity is the product and consequent of your Advice; so the true Religion, the Laws and Liberties of this State, and just Defence of our Friends and Allies, being so considerably concerned, will be, I hope, arguments enough to perswade Supplie: For if it be, as most true it is, both My Duty and yours to preserve this Church and Common-wealth, this Exigency certainly requires it.

In this time of Common danger I have taken the most antient, speedy and best way for Supply, by calling you together. If (which God forbid) in not contributing what may answer the quality of My occasions you doe not your duties, it shall suffice I have done Mine; in the Conscience whereof I shall rest content, and take some other course, for which God hath impowered Me, to save that which the folly of particular men might hazard to lose.

Take not this as a Menace, (for I scorn to threaten any but My Equals,) but as an Admonition from Him who is tied both by Nature and Dutie to provide for your preservations. And I hope, though I thus speak, your Demeanures will be such as shall not only make Me approve your former Counsels, but oblige Me in thankfulness to meet you oftner; then which nothing can be more pleasing to Me.

I will only adde one thing more, and then leave My Lord Keeper to make a short Paraphrase upon the Text I have delivered you; which is, to *Remember a thing to the end we may forget it.* Remembring the Distractions of our last Meeting, you may suppose I have no

Confidence of good ſucceſs at this time. But be aſſured, I ſhall freely forget and forgive what is paſt, hoping you will follow that ſacred advice lately inculcated, to *maintain the unity of the Spirit in the bond of Peace.*

VIII.

To the Lords and Commons, at WHITE-HALL, *April* 4. MDCXXVIII.

MY Lords and Gentlemen, I do very well approve the Method of your Proceedings in this Parliament, *A Jove Principium*, hoping that the reſt of your Conſultations will ſucceed the happier: And I like the Preamble of My Lord Keeper, otherwiſe I ſhould a little have ſuſpected that you thought Me not ſo careful of Religion as I have and ever ſhall be, wherein I am as forward as you can deſire.

As for your Petition, I anſwer firſt in generall, that I like that well; and will uſe theſe as well as all other means for the maintenance and propagation of that Religion wherein I have lived, and do reſolve to dye. But for the particulars, you ſhall receive more full Anſwer hereafter.

And now I will only adde this, That as we pray to God to help us, ſo we muſt help our ſelves; for we can have no aſſurance of his aſſiſtance, if we do lye in a Bed and only pray, without uſing other means: And therefore I muſt remember you, that if we do not make proviſion ſpeedily, we ſhall not be able to put a Ship to Sea this year. *Verbum ſat ſapienti eſt.*

IX.

To the Speaker and Houſe of Commons, April 14. MDCXXVIII.

MAſter Speaker, and you Gentlemen, When I ſent to you My laſt Meſſage, I did not expect a Replie; for I intended to haſten you, not to find fault with you. I told you, at your firſt meeting, that this time was not to be ſpent in Words; and I am ſure

it

it is leſs fit for Diſputes: which if I had a deſire to entertain, Maſter Speaker's Preamble might have given Me ground enough.

The Queſtion is not now, What Liberty you have in diſpoſing of matters handled in the Houſe; but rather, at this time what is fit to be done. Therefore I hope you will follow My example in eſchewing Diſputations, and fall to your important buſineſs.

You make a Proteſtation of your affection and zeal to My Prerogative, grounded upon ſo good and juſt reaſons, that I muſt believe you: But I look that you uſe Me with the like charitie, to believe what I have declared more then once ſince your meeting, which is, that I am as forward as you for the preſervation of your true Liberties. Let us not ſpend ſo much time in this that may hazard both My Prerogative and your Liberties to our Enemies.

To be ſhort, Goe on ſpeedily with your buſineſs, without any fear or more Apologies, for time calls faſt upon you, which will neither ſtay for you nor Me: Wherefore it is My Duty to preſs you to haſten, as knowing the neceſsity of it; and yours to give credit to what I ſhall ſay, as to Him that ſits at the Helm.

For what concerns your Petition, I ſhall anſwer it in a convenient time.

X.

To the Lords and Commons, in Anſwer to their Petition of Right, June 11. M DC XXVIII.

GEntlemen, I am come hither to perform My Duty; and I think no man can think it long, ſince I have not taken ſo many daies in anſwering of the Petition as you have ſpent weeks in framing it: And I am come hither to ſhew you, that as well in formal things as in eſſential I deſire to give you as much content as in Me lieth.

The Lord Keeper having added ſomewhat in explanation and purſuance of the former, the Petition was read, and the King's Anſwer.

The King willeth that Right be done according to the Laws and Cuſtoms of the Land, and that the Statutes be put in due execution, that the Subjects may have

no cauſe to complain of any wrong or oppreſsion, contrary to their juſt Rights and Liberties, to the preſervation whereof He holdeth Himſelf obliged as well as of His Prerogative.

XI.

To the Lords and Commons; His ſecond Anſwer to their Petition, in the Houſe of Lords, June 7. M DC XXVIII.

MY Lords and Gentlemen, The Anſwer I have already given you was made with ſo good deliberation, and approved by the judgements of ſo many wiſe men, that I could not have imagined but that it ſhould have given you full ſatisfaction: But to avoid all ambiguous interpretations, and to ſhew you that there is no doubleneſs in My meaning, I am willing to pleaſe you in words as well as in ſubſtance.

Read your Petition, and you ſhall have an Anſwer that I am ſure will pleaſe you.

The Petition being read by the Clerk of the Crown, the Clerk of the Parliament read the King's Anſwer;

LE DROICT SOIT FAIT COMME IL EST DESIRE.

C. R.

Which done, His Majeſtie added,

This I am ſure is full, yet no more then I granted you in My firſt Anſwer: for the meaning of that was, to confirm all your Liberties; knowing, according to your own Proteſtations, that you neither meant nor can hurt My Prerogative: And I aſſure you, My Maxime is, The Peoples Libertie ſtrengthens the King's Prerogative, and that the King's Prerogative is to defend the Peoples Liberties.

You ſee now how ready I have ſhewed My ſelf to ſatisfie your Demands; ſo that I have done My part: Wherefore if this Parliament have not an happy Concluſion, the ſin is yours, I am free of it.

XII.

To the Houſe of Commons, at the reading of their Remonſtrance, in the Banquetting-Houſe at WHITE-HALL, *June* 11. MDCXXVIII.

GEntlemen, Upon My Anſwer to your Petition of Right I expected no ſuch Declaration from you, which containeth divers points of State touching the Church and Commonwealth; and I do conceive, you do believe I underſtand them better then your ſelves. But ſince the Reading thereof, I perceive you underſtand theſe things leſs then I imagined: Notwithſtanding I will take them into My Conſideration as they deſerve.

XIII.

To the Lords and Commons, at the Prorogation of His Third Parliament, June 26. M DC XXVIII.

MY Lords and Gentlemen, It may ſeem ſtrange that I come ſo ſuddenly to end this Seſsion; therefore before I give My Aſſent to the Bills, I will tell you the cauſe; though I muſt avow, I ow an account of My Actions to none but God alone.

It is known to every one, that a while agoe the Houſe of Commons gave Me a Remonſtrance, how acceptable every man may judge; and for the merit of it I will not call that in queſtion, for I am ſure no wiſe man can juſtifie it.

Now ſince I am certainly informed that a ſecond Remonſtrance is preparing for Me, to take away My profit of Tonnage and Poundage, (one of the chief Maintenances of the Crown) by alleging, that I have given away My Right thereof by My Anſwer to your Petition: This is ſo prejudicial unto Me, that I am forced to end this Seſsion ſome few houres before I meant it; being not willing to receive any more Remonſtrances, to which I muſt give a harſh Anſwer.

And ſince I ſee that even the Houſe of Commons begins already

to

to make falſe conſtructions of what I granted in your Petition, leſt it be worſe interpreted in the Countrey, I will now make a Declaration concerning the true intent thereof.

The Profeſsion of both Houſes, in the time of hammering this Petition was, no waies to trench upon My Prerogative, ſaying, they had neither intention nor power to hurt it.

Therefore it muſt needs be conceived that I have granted no New, but only confirmed the Antient Liberties of My Subjects.

Yet to ſhew the clearneſs of My intentions, that I neither repent nor mean to recede from any thing I have promiſed you, I do here declare, that thoſe things which have been done, whereby men had ſome cauſe to ſuſpect the Liberty of the Subject to be intrench'd upon (which indeed was the firſt and true ground of the Petition) ſhall not hereafter be drawn into example to your prejudice: and in time to come, in the word of a King, you ſhall not have the like cauſe to complain.

But as for Tonnage and Poundage, it is a thing I cannot want, and was never intended by you to ask, never meant (I am ſure) by Me to grant.

To conclude, I command you all that are here to take notice of what I have ſpoken at this time, to be the true intent and meaning of what I granted you in your Petition: but eſpecially you, My Lords the Judges; for to you only, under Me, belongs the Interpretation of the Laws: For none of the Houſes of Parliament, joynt or ſeparate, (what new Doctrine ſoever may be raiſed) have any power either to make or declare a Law, without My Conſent.

XIV.

To the Lords and Commons, in the Banquetting-Houſe at WHITE-HALL, *January* 24. MDC XXVIII. IX.

MY Lords and Gentlemen, The care I have to remove all obſtacles that may hinder the good correſpondencie between Me and this Parliament, is the cauſe I have called you hither at this time; the particular occaſion being a complaint lately made in the Lower Houſe. And for you, My Lords, I am glad to take this

this and all other occaſions whereby you may clearly underſtand both My Words and Actions: for as you are neareſt in degree, ſo are you the fitteſt witneſſes for Kings.

The Complaint I ſpeak of is, for ſtaying mens Goods that denied Tonnage and Poundage: And this may have an eaſy and ſhort Concluſion, if My Words and Actions be rightly underſtood. For by paſsing the Bill, as Mine Anceſtors have had it, My by-paſt Actions will be included, and My future Actions authorized: Which certainly would not have been ſtuck upon, if men had not imagined that I had taken this duty as appertaining to My Hereditary Prerogative: In which they are much deceived; for it ever was and ſtill is My meaning, by the gift of My People to enjoy it; and My intent in My Speech at the end of the laſt Seſsion was, not to challenge Tonnage and Poundage as of Right, but *de bene eſſe*, ſhewing You the Neceſsity, not the Right, by which I was to take it, untill I had it granted unto Me, aſſuring My ſelf (according to your general profeſsions) that you wanted time, not will, to grant it unto Me.

Wherefore now having opportunity, I expect that without loſs of time you make good your profeſsions, and ſo by paſsing the Bill, put an end to all Queſtions ariſing from this ſubject; eſpecially ſince I have cleared all ſcruples that may trouble you in this buſineſs.

To conclude, Let us not be jealous of one anothers Actions; for if I had been eaſily moved at every occaſion, the Order made on Wedneſday laſt might have made Me ſtartle, there being ſome ſhew to ſuſpect that you had given your ſelves the liberty to be Inquirers after Complaints, the words of your Order being ſomewhat largely penned: but looking into your Actions, I find you here only Complainers, not ſeeking Complaints; for I am certain you neither intend nor deſire the liberty to be Inquiſitors after mens Actions, before particular Complaints be made.

This I have ſpoken, to ſhew how ſlow I am to believe harſhly of your Proceedings: likewiſe to aſſure you, that the Houſes Reſolution, not particular mens ſpeeches, ſhall make Me judge well or ill: Not doubting but, according to mine example, you will be deaf to ill reports concerning Me, untill My Words and Actions ſpeak for themſelves; but, this Seſsion beginning with Confidence one towards the other, it may end with a perfect good underſtanding between us; which God grant.

To

XV.

To the Lords and Commons, in Answer to their Petition for a Publick Fast, Jan. 31. M DC XXVIII. IX.

MY Lords and Gentlemen, The chiefest motive of your Fast being the deplorable estate of the Reformed Churches abroad, is too true; and our duties are (so much as in us possibly lyeth) to give them help: But certainly Fighting will doe them more good then Fasting. Though I do not wholly disallow the latter, yet I must tell you, that this Custome of Fasts every Session is but lately begun, and I confess I am not so fully satisfied with the necessity of it at this time. Yet to shew you how smoothly I desire our business to goe on, eschewing (as much as I can) Questions and Jealousies, I do willingly grant your request herein. But with this note, that I expect that this shall not hereafter be brought into Precedent for frequent Fasts, except upon great occasions.

As for the Form and Time, I will advise with My Lords the Bishops, and then send you a particular to both Houses.

XVI.

To the House of Commons, in Answer to their Declaration concerning Tonnage and Poundage, Feb. 3. M DC XXVIII. IX.

YOur Declaration being somewhat long, may by reason require some time to replie unto it, since (as most of you cannot but judge) that this giveth Me no satisfaction. Therefore I shall give you some short Notes upon it.

I cannot think that, whereas you allege that the Bill of Tonnage and Poundage was brought in against the Privilege of your House, that you will offer to take so much Privilege from any one of your Members, as not to allow them the libertie to bring in any Bill whatsoever; though it be in your power when it is brought in, to doe with it what you think good. And I cannot imagine how, coming hi-

ther

ther only by My Power, and to treat of things I propound unto you, you can deny Me that Prerogative to recommend or offer any Bill unto you. Though in this particular I must profess, that this Bill was not to have been offered you in My Name, as that Member of your House can bear Me witness.

As for the cause of delay of My business being Religion, there is none of you shall have a greater care for the true preservation of it then My self; which since it is confessed by your Answer, ye must either think I want Power, (which cannot be) or that I am very ill-counselled, if it be in such danger as you affirm. Though I may say much of this point, I will say no more, but that for all this I shall not stop My Ears unto you upon this subject, so that in form and matter you transgress not your limits.

As for Tonnage and Poundage, I do not desire it out of greedines (being perswaded you will make no stop in it when you take it in hand) as out of a desire to put an end to all Questions that daily arise between Me and some of My Subjects; thinking it a strange thing, if you should give ear unto those Complaints, and not take the sure and speedy way to decide them.

Besides, I must think it strange, that this business of Religion should be only a hinderer of My Affairs, whereas I am certainly informed, that all other things goe on according to their ordinarie course. Therefore I must still be instant with you, that you proceed with this business of Tonnage and Poundage with diligence; not looking to be denied in so just a desire. And you must not think it much, if finding you slack, I shall give you such further quickening as I find cause.

XVII.

To the House of Lords, at the Dissolving of His Third Parliament, at WESTMINSTER, *Mar.* 10. MDCXXVIII. IX.

MY Lords, I never came here upon so unpleasing an occasion, it being the Dissolution of a Parliament. Therefore men may have some cause to wonder, why I should not rather chuse to doe this by Commission, it being a general Maxime of Kings,

to leave harſh Commands to their Miniſters, Themſelves only executing pleaſing things. Yet conſidering that Juſtice as well conſiſts in reward and praiſe of Vertue as puniſhing of Vice, I thought it neceſſary to come here to day, to declare to you, My Lords, and all the world, That it was merely the undutifull and ſeditious carriage of the Lower Houſe that hath cauſed the Diſſolution of this Parliament; and that you, My Lords, are ſo farre from being cauſes of it, that I take as much Comfort in your dutiful demeanures as I am juſtly diſtaſted with their Proceedings.

Yet to avoid miſtakings, let Me tell you, that it is ſo farre from Me to adjudge all that Houſe guilty, that I know there are many there as dutifull Subjects as any in the world; it being but ſome few Vipers among them that caſt this Miſt of undutifulneſs over moſt of their Eyes. Yet to ſay truth, there was a good number there that would not be infected with this Contagion: inſomuch that ſome did expreſs their duties in ſpeaking, which was the general fault of the Houſe the laſt day.

To conclude, As theſe Vipers muſt look for their reward of puniſhment; ſo you, My Lords, may juſtly expect from Me that Favour and Protection that a Good King oweth to His loving and dutifull Nobilitie.

And now, My Lord Keeper, doe what I have commanded you.

XVIII.

To the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons,
April, M DC XL.

MAſter Speaker, I will onely ſay one word to you; Now that you are the Speaker, I command you to doe the office of a Speaker, which is, faithfully to report the great Cauſe of the Meeting, that My Lord Keeper in My Name did repreſent unto you the laſt day: with this aſſurance, That you giving Me your timely help in this great Affair, I ſhall give a willing eare to all your juſt Grievances.

XIX.

To the Houſe of Lords, at WESTMINSTER.

April 24. M DC XL.

His Majeſty ſaid,

THAT *the cauſe of His coming was to put them in mind of what had been delivered by the Lord Keeper, in His Name, unto both Houſes the firſt day of the Parliament, and after at* White-Hall.

How, contrary to His expectation, the Houſe of Commons having held Conſultation of matter of Religion, Property of Goods, and Liberty of Parliament, and voted ſome things concerning thoſe three Heads, had therefore given them the precedence before the matter of His Supply. That His Neceſsities were ſuch, they could not bear delay. That whatſoever He had by the Lord Keeper promiſed, He would perform, if the Houſe of Commons would truſt Him.

For Religion, that His Heart and Conſcience went together with the Religion eſtabliſhed in the Church of England; *and He would give order to His Arch-Biſhops and Biſhops, that no Innovation in matter of Religion ſhould creep in.*

For the Ship-money, that He never made or intended to make any profit to Himſelf of it, but onely to preſerve the Dominion of the Seas; which was ſo neceſſary, that without it the Kingdome could not ſubſiſt: But for the way and means, by Ship-money or otherwiſe, He left it to them.

For Property of Goods, and Liberty of Parliament, He ever intended His People ſhould injoy them, holding no King ſo Great as he that was King of a rich and free People; and if they had not Property of Goods and Liberty of Perſons, they could be neither rich nor free.

That if the Houſe of Commons would not firſt truſt Him, all His Affairs would be diſordered, and His buſineſs loſt. That though they truſted Him in part at firſt, yet before the Parliament ended He muſt totally truſt them; and in concluſion, they muſt, for execution of all things, wholly truſt Him. Therefore ſince the matter was no more then who ſhould be firſt truſted, and that the truſt of Him firſt was but a truſt in part; He deſired the Lords to take into their conſideration His and their own Honour, the Safety and Welfare of this Kingdome, with the great Danger it was in, and that they would by their Advice diſpoſe the Houſe of Commons to give His Supply the precedence before the Grievances.

XX.

To the Lords and Commons, at the Diſſolving of His Fourth Parliament, at WESTMINSTER, *May* 5. MDCXL.

MY Lords, There can no occaſion of My coming to this Houſe be ſo unpleaſing to Me as this is at this time. The fear of doing that which I am to doe at this day made Me not long agoe come to this Houſe, where I expreſſed as well My fears, as the remedies I thought neceſſary for the eſchewing of it. Unto which I muſt confeſs and acknowledge that you, My Lords of the Higher Houſe, did give Me ſo willing an ear, and with ſuch affection did ſhew your ſelves thereafter, that certainly I may ſay, if there had been any means to have given an happy end to this Parliament, you took it: So that it was neither your Lordſhips fault nor Mine, that it is not ſo. Therefore in the firſt place I muſt give your Lordſhips thanks for your good endeavours.

I hope you remember what My Lord Keeper ſaid to you the firſt day of the Parliament, in My Name; what likewiſe he ſaid in the Banquetting-Houſe in *White-Hall*; and what I lately ſaid to you in this place My ſelf. I name all this unto you, not in doubt that you do not well remember it, but to ſhew, that I never ſaid any thing in way of favour to My People, but that, by the Grace of God, I will really and punctually perform it.

I know that they have inſiſted very much on Grievances, and I will not ſay but that there may be ſome; though I will confidently affirm, that there are not by many degrees ſo many as the publick voice doth make them. Wherefore I deſire you to take notice, now eſpecially at this time, that out of Parliament I ſhall be as ready (if not more willing) to hear and redreſs any juſt Grievances as in Parliament.

There is one thing which is much ſpoken of, though not ſo much inſiſted on as others, and that is Religion: Concerning which albeit I expreſſed My ſelf fully the laſt day in this place to your Lordſhips, yet I think it fit again on this occaſion to tell you, that as I am moſt concerned, ſo I ſhall be moſt careful to preſerve that purity of Religion which, I thank God, is ſo well eſtabliſhed in the Church of *England*; and that as well out as in Parliament.

My

My Lords, I ſhall not trouble you long with words, it being not My faſhion: wherefore to conclude, What I offered the laſt day to the Houſe of Commons I think is well known to you all, as likewiſe how they accepted it; which I deſire not to remember, but wiſh that they had remembred, how at firſt they were told, in My Name, by My Lord Keeper, That Delay was the worſt kind of Denial. Yet I will not lay this fault on the whole Houſe, for I will not judge ſo uncharitably of thoſe whom for the moſt part I take to be Loyal and well-affected Subjects; but that it hath been the malicious cunning of ſome few ſeditiouſly-affected men that hath been the cauſe of this Miſunderſtanding.

I ſhall now end as I began, in giving your Lordſhips thanks for your affection ſhewed to Me at this time; deſiring you to goe on to aſsiſt Me in the maintaining of that Regal Power that is truly Mine. And as for the Liberty of the People, that they now ſo much ſeem to ſtartle at, know, My Lords, that no King in the World ſhall be more carefull to maintain them in the Property of their Goods, Liberty of their Perſons, and true Religion, then I ſhall be.

And now, My Lord Keeper, doe what I have commanded you.

XXI.

To the Great Council of Lords at YORK,

September 24. MDCXL.

MY Lords, Upon ſuddain Invaſions, where the dangers are near and inſtant, it hath been the cuſtome of My Predeceſſors to aſſemble the Great Council of the Peers, by their Advice and Aſsiſtance to give a timely remedy to ſuch evils as cannot admit a delay ſo long as muſt of neceſsity be allowed for the aſſembling the Parliament. This being our condition at this time, and an Army of Rebels lodged within the Kingdome, I thought it moſt fit to conform My ſelf to the practice of My Predeceſſors in like caſes, that with your advice and aſsiſtance we might joyntly proceed to the chaſtiſement of their Inſolencies, and ſecuring of Our good Subjects.

In the firſt place I muſt let you know, that I deſire nothing more

then to be rightly understood of My People; and to that end I have of My self resolved to call a Parliament, having already given order to My Lord Keeper to issue out the Writs instantly, so that the Parliament may be assembled by the third of November next: Whither if My Subjects bring the like good affections as I do, it shall not fail on My part to make it a happy Meeting.

In the mean time there are two points to be considered, wherein I shall desire your Advice, which indeed is the chief cause of your Meeting.

First, What Answer to give to the Petition of the Rebels, and in what manner to treat with them. Of which that you may give a sure judgment, I have ordered that your Lordships shall be clearly and truly informed of the state of the whole business; and upon what reasons the Advices that My Privy Counsel unanimously gave Me were grounded.

Secondly, How My Army shall be kept on foot and maintained till the supplies of a Parliament may be had. For so long as the *Scots* Army remains in *England*, I think no man will counsel Me to disband Mine: for that would be an unspeakable loss to all this part of the Kingdome, by subjecting them to the greedy appetite of the Rebels; beside the unspeakable dishonour that would thereby fall upon this Nation.

XXII.

To the Lords and Commons, at the Opening of His Fifth Parliament, at WESTMINSTER, *November* 3. MDCXL.

MY Lords, The knowledge that I had of the Designes of My *Scotish* Subjects was the cause of My calling the last Assembly of Parliament; wherein had I been believed, I sincerely think that things had not fallen out as now we see. But it is no wonder that men are so slow to believe that so great a Sedition should be raised on so little ground.

But now, My Lords and Gentlemen, the Honour and Safety of this Kingdom lying so nearly at stake, I am resolved to put My self

ſelf freely and clearly on the love and affections of My *Engliſh* Subjects, as thoſe of My Lords that did wait on Me at *York* very well remember I there declared. Therefore, My Lords, I ſhall not mention Mine own Intereſt, or that Support I might juſtly expect from you, till the Common Safety be ſecured: Though I muſt tell you, I am not aſhamed to ſay, thoſe charges I have been at have been merely for the ſecuring and good of this Kingdom, though the ſucceſs hath not been anſwerable to My deſires.

Therefore I ſhall onely deſire you to conſider the beſt way both for the ſafety and ſecurity of this Kingdom; wherein are two things chiefly conſiderable: Firſt, the chaſing out of the Rebels; and ſecondly, that other in ſatisfying your juſt Grievances; wherein I ſhall promiſe you to concurre ſo heartily and clearly with you, that all the world may ſee, My intentions have ever been, and ſhall be, to make this a glorious and flouriſhing Kingdom.

There are only Two things more that I ſhall mention to you.

The one is, to tell you, that the lone of Money which I lately had from the City of *London*, wherein the Lords that waited on Me at *York* aſsiſted Me, will only maintain My Army for two Months, from the beginning of that time it was granted. Now, My Lords and Gentlemen, I leave it to your conſiderations, what diſhonor and miſchief it might be, in caſe for want of Money My Army be disbanded before the Rebels be put out of this Kingdom.

Secondly, the ſecuring the Calamities the Northern People indure at this time, and ſo long as the Treaty is on foot: And in this I may ſay, not only they, but all this Kingdom will ſuffer the harm. Therefore I leave this alſo to your Conſideration.

For the ordering of theſe Great Affairs whereof you are to treat at this time, I am ſo confident of your love to Me, and that your care is ſuch for the Honor and Safety of the Kingdom, that I ſhall freely and willingly leave to you where to begin: Onely this, that you may the better know the ſtate of all the Affairs, I have commanded My Lord Keeper to give you a ſhort and free account of thoſe things that have happened in this interim; with this Proteſtation, that if his account be not ſatisfactory as it ought to be, I ſhall, whenſoever you deſire it, give you a full and perfect account of every particular.

One thing more I deſire of you, as one of the greateſt means to

make this an happy Parliament, That you on your parts, as I on Mine, lay aside all suspicion one of another. As I promised My Lords at *York*, it shall not be My fault, if this be not a happy and good Parliament.

XXIII.

To the House of Lords, at WESTMINSTER, *Nov.* 5. MDCXL.

MY Lords, I do expect that you will hastily make Relation to the House of Commons of those Great Affairs for which I have called you hither at this time, and of the trust I have reposed in them, and how freely I put My self on their love and affections at this time: And that you may know the better how to doe so, I shall explain My self concerning one thing I spake the last day.

I told you, the Rebels must be put out of this Kingdom. 'Tis true, I must needs call them so so long as they have an Army that does invade us, although I am under Treaty with them, and under My Great Seal do call them Subjects; and so they are too.

But the state of My Affairs in short is this: It's true, I did expect, when I did will My Lords and Great ones to be at *York*, to have given a gracious Answer to all their Grievances; for I was in good hope by their Wisedoms and Assistances to have made an end of that business: but I must tell you that My Subjects of *Scotland* did so delay them, that it was not possible to end there. Therefore I can no waies blame My Lords that were at *Rippon*, that the Treaty was not ended; but must thank them for their pains and industrie. And certainly, had they as much power as affections, I should by this time have brought these distempers to a happy period. So that now the Treaty is transported from *Rippon* to *London*, where I shall conclude nothing without your knowledge, and I doubt not but by your approbation: for I do not desire to have this great Work done in a corner; for I shall lay open all the steps of this Misunderstanding, and the causes of the great Differences between Me and My Subjects of *Scotland*. And I doubt not

not but by your aſsiſtance to make them know their Duty, and alſo by your aſsiſtance to make them return whether they will or no.

XXIV.

To the Lords and Commons, at the Banquetting-Houſe in WHITE-HALL, *Jan.* 25. MDC XL. XLI.

MY Lords, and you the Knights, Citizens and Burgeſſes, The principal cauſe of My coming here at this time is by reaſon of the ſlow proceedings in Parliament, touching which is a great deal of inconvenience: Therefore I think it very neceſſary to lay before you the ſtate of My Affairs as they now ſtand, thereby to haſten, not to interrupt, your proceedings.

Firſt, I muſt remember you that there are two Armies in the Kingdome, in a manner maintained by you; the very naming of which doth more clearly ſhew the inconvenience thereof then a better tongue then Mine can expreſs. Therefore in the firſt place I ſhall commend unto you the quick diſpatch of that buſineſs.

In the next place, I muſt recommend unto you the ſtate of My Navy and Forts; the condition of both which is ſo well known unto you, that I need not tell you the particulars: Onely thus much, they are the walls and defence of this Kingdome, which if out of order, all men may eaſily judge what incouragement it will be to our Enemies, and what diſheartning to our Friends.

Laſt of all, and not the leaſt to be conſidered, I muſt lay before you the Diſtractions that are at this preſent occaſioned through the connivence of Parliament: for there are ſome men that, more maliciouſly then ignorantly, will put no difference between Reformation and Alteration of Government. Hence it cometh that Divine Service is irreverently interrupted; and Petitions in an ill way given in, neither diſputed nor denied.

But I will enter into no more particulars, but ſhew you a way of Remedy, by ſhewing you My clear intentions, and ſome Rocks that may hinder this Good Work.

I ſhall willingly and chearfully concurre with you for the Reformation of all Innovations both in Church and Commonwealth;

and

and consequently, that all Courts of Justice may be reformed according to Law. For My intention is clearly to reduce all things to the best and purest times, as they were in the time of Queen *Elizabeth.*

Moreover, whatsoever part of My Revenue shall be found illegal or heavy to My Subjects, I shall be willing to lay down, trusting in their Affections.

Having thus clearly and shortly set down My intentions, I will shew you some Rubs; and must needs take notice of some very strange (I know not what term to give them) Petitions, given in in the names of divers Counties against the present established Government of the Church, and of the great threatnings against the Bishops, that they will make them to be but Cyphers, or at least their Voices to be taken away.

Now I must tell you, that I make a great difference between Reformation and Alteration of Government: Though I am for the first, I cannot give way to the latter.

If some of them have overstretched their power, and incroached too much upon the Temporalty, if it be so, I shall not be unwilling these things should be redressed and reformed, as all other Abuses, according to the wisdome of former times: So farre I shall goe with you. Nay further, if upon serious debate you shall shew Me that Bishops have some Temporal Authority inconvenient to the State, and not so necessary for the Government of the Church and upholding Episcopal Jurisdiction, I shall not be unwilling to desire them to lay it down. But this must not be understood, that I shall any way consent that their Voices in Parliament should be taken away: For in all the times of My Predecessors, since the Conquest and before, they have injoyed it; and I am bound to maintain them in it, as one of the Fundamental Constitutions of this Kingdome.

There is another Rock you are on, not in Substance, but in Form; yet the Form is so essential, that unless it be reformed, it will marre the Substance.

There is a Bill lately put in concerning Parliaments. The thing I like well, to have frequent Parliaments: But to give power to Sheriffs and Constables, and I know not whom, to use My Authority, that I cannot yield unto. But to shew you that I am desirous to give you contentment in Forms which destroy not the Substance,

you

you ſhall have a Bill for this purpoſe, ſo that it trench neither againſt My Honor, nor againſt the ancient Prerogative of the Crown concerning Parliaments. To which purpoſe I have commanded My Learned Counſel to wait on you, My Lords, with ſuch Propoſitions as I hope will give you content. For I ingenuouſly confeſs that frequent Parliaments are the beſt means to keep a right underſtanding between Me and My People, which I ſo much deſire.

To conclude, I have now ſhewed you the ſtate of My Affairs, My Own clear intentions, & the Rocks I wiſh you to eſchew: in all which you may perceive the deſire I have to give you content; as you ſhall find alſo by thoſe Miniſters I have or ſhall have about Me, for the effecting of theſe My good intentions, which I doubt not will bring peace and happineſs to My Subjects, and contentment to you All.

Concerning the Conference, you ſhall have a direct Anſwer on Monday, which ſhall give you ſatisfaction.

XXV.

To the Lords and Commons, in Anſwer to their Remonſtrance about Papiſts, Feb. 3. MDCXL. XLI.

HAving taken into My ſerious Conſideration the late Remonſtrance of the Houſes of Parliament, I give you this Anſwer: That I take in good part your care of the true Religion eſtabliſhed in this Kingdom, from which I will never depart; as alſo your tenderneſs of My Safety, and the Securitie of this State and Government. It is againſt My mind that Popery or Superſtition ſhould any way increaſe within this Kingdom; I will reſtrain the ſame by cauſing the Laws to be put in execution.

I am reſolved to provide againſt the Jeſuites and Papiſts, by ſetting forth a Proclamation with all ſpeed, commanding them to depart the Kingdom within one Month: of which if they fail, or ſhall return, then they ſhall be proceeded againſt according to the Laws.

Concerning *Roſetti*, I give you to underſtand that the Queen hath alwaies aſſured Me, that to Her knowledge he hath no Commiſsion, but onely to retain a Perſonal Correſpondence between Her and the Pope in things requiſite for the exerciſe of Her Religion, which is warranted

warranted to Her by the Articles of Marriage, which gave Her a full libertie of Conſcience. Yet I have perſwaded Her, that ſince the miſunderſtanding of that Perſons condition gives offence, She will within a convenient time remove him.

Moreover, I will take a ſpecial care to reſtrain My Subjects from reſorting to Maſs at *Denmark*-Houſe, Saint *Jameſes*, and the Chappels of Ambaſſadors.

Laſtly, concerning *John Goodman* the Prieſt, I will let you know the reaſon why I reprieved him, that as I am informed, neither Queen *Elizabeth* nor My Father did ever avow, that any Prieſt in their times was executed merely for Religion, which to Me ſeems to be this particular caſe. Yet ſeeing that I am preſſed by both Houſes to give way to this, becauſe I will avoid the inconvenience of giving ſo great diſcontent to My People as I conceive this Mercy may produce, therefore I do remit this particular caſe to both the Houſes. But I deſire them to take into their Conſiderations the inconveniences (as I conceive) that may upon this occaſion fall upon My Subjects and other Proteſtants abroad, eſpecially ſince it may ſeem to other States to be a ſeverity. Which having thus repreſented, I think My ſelf diſcharged from all ill conſequences that may enſue upon the Execution of this perſon.

XXVI.

To the Houſe of Lords, at WESTMINSTER, *Feb.* 10. MDCXL.XLI.

MY Lords, That freedom and confidence which I expreſſed at the beginning of this Parliament to have of your love and fidelity towards My Perſon and Eſtate, hath made Me at this time come hither to acquaint you with that Alliance and Confederacy which I intend to make with the Prince of *Orange* and the States; which before this time I did not think expedient to doe, becauſe that part I do deſire your Advice and Aſſiſtance upon was not ready to be treated on.

I will not trouble you with a long digreſsion, by ſhewing the ſteps of this Treaty, but leave you to be ſatisfied in that by thoſe who under

Me

Me do manage that Affair. Onely I shall shew you the reasons which have induced Me to it, and in what I expect your Assistance and Counsel.

The Considerations that have induced Me to it are these.

First, the matter of Religion: Here needs no Dispensation; no fear that My Daughters Conscience may be any way perverted.

Secondly, I do esteem that a strict Alliance and Confederacy with the States will be as usefull to this Kingdom as that with any of My Neighbours; especially considering their Affinity, Neighbourhood, and way of their Strength.

And lastly, (which I must never forget in these occasions) the use I may make of this Alliance towards the establishing of My Sister and Nephews.

Now to shew you in what I desire your Assistance, You must know that the Articles of Marriage are in a manner concluded, but not to be totally ratified untill that of Alliance be ended and agreed; which before I demanded your assistance, I did not think fit to enter upon. And that I may not leave you too much at large how to begin that Counsel, I present you here the Propositions which are offered by Me to the States Ambassadours for that intent.

And so, My Lords, I shall onely desire you to make as much expedition in your Counsels as so great a business shall require, and shall leave your Lordships to your own free debate.

XXVII.

To the Lords and Commons, at His Passing the Bill for Triennial Parliaments, at WESTMINSTER, *Feb.* 15. MDCXL. XLI.

MY Lords, and you the Knights, Citizens and Burgesses of the House of Commons, You may remember, when both Houses were with Me at the Banquetting-House at *White-Hall*, I did declare unto you two Rocks I wished you to eschew: This is one of them, and of that consequence, that I think never Bill passed here in this House of more favour to the Subject then this is. And if the other Rock be as happily passed over as this shall be at this time,

I do not know what you can ask, for ought I can ſee, at this time, that I can make any queſtion to yield unto.

Therefore I mention this, to ſhew unto you the ſenſe that I have of this Bill, and the Obligation, as I may ſay, that you have to Me for it. For hitherto, to ſpeak freely, I had no great incouragement to doe it: if I ſhould look to the outward face of your Actions or Proceedings, and not to the inward Intentions of your hearts, I might make queſtion of doing it.

Hitherto you have gone on in that which concerns your ſelves to amend, and not in thoſe things that nearly concern the ſtrength of this Kingdom, neither for the State, nor My Own particular.

This I mention, not to reproach you, but to ſhew you the ſtate of things as they are. You have taken the Government all in pieces, and I may ſay it is almoſt off the Hinges: A skilfull Watch-maker, to make clean his Watch, will take it aſunder, and when it is put together it will goe the better; ſo that he leave not out one pin of it.

Now as I have done all this on My part, you know what to doe on yours: And I hope you ſhall ſee clearly, that I have performed really what I expreſſed to you at the beginning of this Parliament, of the great truſt I have of your affections to Me. And this is the great expreſsion of truſt, that before you doe any thing for Me, I do put ſuch a Confidence in you.

XXVIII.

To the Lords and Commons, about Disbanding the Armies in Ireland *and* England, *at the Banquetting-Houſe in* WHITE-HALL, *April* 28. MDCXLI.

MY Lords and Gentlemen, For Anſwer to your Deſires, I ſay,

Firſt, Concerning the removal of Papiſts from Court, I am ſure you all know what legal truſt the Crown hath in this particular: and therefore I need not ſay any thing to give you aſſurance that I ſhall uſe it ſo that there ſhall be no juſt cauſe of Scandal.

Secondly, For diſarming of Papiſts, I am very well content it ſhall be done according to Law.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, For the *Iriſh* Army, you muſt underſtand, I am already upon Conſultation how to disband it; but I find many difficulties in it: therefore I hold it not onely fit to wiſh it, but to ſhew the way how it may be conveniently done.

This is not all I deſire; but ſince you have mentioned the diſbanding of Armies, it is My Duty to My Countrey, to wiſh for disbanding of all Armies, and to reſtore the ſame Peace to all My three Kingdoms that the King My Father did leave them in: And I conjure you, as you will anſwer the ſame to God and to your Countrey, to joyn with Me heartily and ſpeedily for the disbanding of the two Armies in *England*.

This is a very good time to ſpeak of it; and there are but two waies to doe it. One is, to anſwer their Petitions: and the ſecond is, to provide Moneys. You are Maſters of the one, and, with Me, you are Judges of the other. And you ſhall not be readier (nor ſo ready) to bring this to a happy Concluſion, then I My ſelf ſhall be.

XXIX.

To the Houſe of Lords, concerning the Bill of Attainder of the Earl of STRAFFORD, *at* WESTMINSTER, *May* 1. MDCXLI.

MY Lords, I had no intention to have ſpoken to you of this buſineſs this day, which is the great buſineſs concerning My Lord of *Strafford*, becauſe I would doe nothing that might ſerve to hinder your occaſions. But now it comes ſo to paſs, that ſeeing of neceſsity I muſt have part in the Judgment, I think it moſt neceſſary for Me to declare My Conſcience therein.

I am ſure you all know, I have been preſent at the hearing of this great Caſe from the one end to the other: And I muſt tell you, that in My Conſcience I cannot condemn him of High Treaſon.

It is not fit for Me to argue this buſineſs; I am ſure you will not expect that: A Poſitive Doctrine beſt becomes the Mouth of a Prince. Yet I muſt tell you three Truths, which I am ſure no man can tell ſo well as My ſelf.

Firſt, That I had never any intention of bringing over the *Iriſh* Army into *England*, nor ever was adviſed by any body ſo to doe.

Secondly, That there was never any debate before Me, either in Publick Counſel or Private Committee, of the diſloyalty of My *Engliſh* Subjects, nor ever had I any ſuſpicion of them.

Thirdly, That I never was counſelled by any to alter the leaſt of any of the Laws of *England*, much leſs to alter all the Laws. Nay, I tell you this, I think no body durſt ever be ſo impudent as to move Me to it: For if they had, I ſhould have made them ſuch an Example, and put ſuch a mark upon them, that all Poſterity ſhould know My intentions by it; for My intention was ever to govern by the Law, and no otherwiſe.

I deſire to be rightly underſtood: for though I tell you in My Conſcience I cannot condemn him of High Treaſon, yet I cannot ſay I can clear him of Miſdemeanures. Therefore I hope you may find out a way to ſatisfie Juſtice and your own fears, and not oppreſs My Conſcience.

My Lords, I hope you know what a tender thing Conſcience is; and I muſt declare unto you, that to ſatisfie the People I would doe great matters: but in this of Conſcience, neither Fear nor any other reſpect whatſoever ſhall ever make Me goe againſt it.

Certainly I have not deſerved ſo ill of this Parliament at this time, that they ſhould preſs Me in this tender; therefore I cannot ſuſpect you will goe about it. Nay, for Miſdemeanures I am ſo clear in them, that, though I will not chalk out the way, yet I will ſhew you, that I think My Lord of *Strafford* is not fit hereafter to ſerve Me or the Commonwealth in any place of Truſt, no not ſo much as a Conſtable. Therefore I leave it to you, My Lords, to find out ſome ſuch way as to bring Me out of this Streight, and keep your ſelves and the Kingdome from ſuch inconveniences.

XXX.

To the Lords and Commons, at His paſſing the Bill of Tonnage and Poundage, Jun. 22. MDCXLI.

I Do very willingly accept your offer made at this time as a teſtimony of your Love and beginning of your dutiful affections to Me; and I no waies doubt but that you will perform that which you

you have intimated unto Me, and that in due time you will perform the reſt, when you have leiſure.

I do not doubt likewiſe, but that in paſsing this Bill you will ſee a teſtimony of the truſt and confidence I have in your affections; as alſo that I omit no occaſion whereby I may ſhew that affection to My People that I deſire My People would ſhew to Me: as in this Parliament hitherto, no body can ſay but that I have ſought occaſions both to ſhew My affections unto them, and to remove diſputes.

And therefore in this particular Bill I hope you will know, that I do freely and frankly give over the Right that My Predeceſſors have ever challenged unto Them, though, I confeſs, diſputed, but yet they did never yield in Their times. Therefore you will underſtand this but a mark of My confidence, to put My ſelf wholly upon the love and affection of My People for My Subſiſtence. And therefore I hope that in proſecution of this you will goe on as you have ſaid; and that though you have rumours of jealouſies and ſuſpitions, by flying and idle diſcourſes that have come to My ears, concerning the extraordinary way, I confeſs I never underſtood it otherwiſe then as having relation to the *Scotiſh* Army and preventing inſurrection, which vaniſhed as ſoon as they were born.

And therefore now you ſee My clearneſs, I leave that to you, and will not meddle with it one way or other; for I never had other deſign, but to win the affections of My People by My Juſtice in My Government.

XXXI.

To the Lords and Commons, at His paſsing the Bills for taking away the High Commiſsion and Starre-Chamber, and Regulating the Councel-Table, July 5. MDCXLI.

I Come to doe the Office which I forbore to doe on Saturday laſt, to give determination to theſe two Bills. But before I doe it, I muſt tell you, that I cannot but be very ſenſible of thoſe reports of diſcontent that I hear ſome have taken for not giving My conſent on Saturday. Me thinks it ſeems ſtrange that any one ſhould think, I could paſs two Bills of that importance that theſe were without

taking ſome fit time to conſider of them; for it is no leſs then to alter, in a great meaſure, thoſe Fundamental Laws, Eccleſiaſtical and Civil, which many of My Predeceſſors have eſtabliſhed.

If you conſider what I have done this Parliament, diſcontent will not ſit in your hearts: For I hope you remember that I have granted, That the Judges hereafter ſhall hold their places *quam diu ſe bene geſſerint*; I have bounded the Forreſts, not according to My Right, but according to late Cuſtomes; I have eſtabliſhed the Property of the Subjects, witneſs the free giving, not taking away, the Ship-money; I have eſtabliſhed by Act of Parliament the Property of the Subject in Tonnage and Poundage, which never was done in any of My Predeceſſors times; I have granted a Law for Triennial Parliaments, and given way to an Act for the ſecuring of moneys advanced for the disbanding of the Armies; I have given free courſe of Juſtice againſt Delinquents; I have put the Law in execution againſt Papiſts:

Nay, I have given way to every thing that you have asked of Me; and therefore Me thinks you ſhould not wonder if in ſome things I begin to refuſe. But I hope it ſhall not hinder your progreſs in your great affairs, and I will not ſtick upon trivial matters to give you content. I hope you are ſenſible of theſe beneficial favours beſtowed on you at this time.

To conclude, You know that by your conſent there is a prefixed time ſet for My going into *Scotland*, and there is an abſolute neceſsity for it; I do not know but that things may ſo fall that it may be ſhortned: Therefore I hope you will haſten the diſpatching of thoſe great buſineſſes that now are neceſſary to be done, and leave trivial and ſuperficial matters to another meeting.

For My part, I ſhall omit nothing that may give you juſt contentment, and ſtudy nothing more then your happineſs, and thereof I hope you ſhall ſee a very good teſtimony by paſsing theſe two Bills.

LE ROY LE VEULT.

I have one word more to ſpeak to you, and I take now an occaſion to preſent it unto both Houſes, that thereby all the world ſhall ſee that there is a good underſtanding between Me and My People.

It

It is concerning My Nephew the Prince Elector Palatine, who having desired Me and the King of *Denmark* to give way to a Writing concerning the Diet at *Ratisbone* with the Emperour, I could not but send My Ambassador to assist him, though I am afraid I shall not have so good an Answer as I expect; which My Nephew foreseeing, hath desired Me, for the better countenance of the same, to make a Manifesto in My Name: which is a thing of great consequence, and should I doe it alone, without the advice of My Parliament, it would rather be a scorn then otherwise: Therefore I do propose it unto you, that if you will advise Me to it, I think it were very fit to be published in My Name.

XXXII.

To the Scotish Parliament, at EDINBURGH, *Aug.* 19. MDCXLI.

MY Lords and Gentlemen, There hath nothing been so displeasing to Me as those unlucky Differences which have happened between Me and My People; and nothing that I have more desired then to see this day, wherein I hope not only to settle these unhappy mistakings, but rightly to know and to be known of My Native Countrey.

I need not tell you (for I think it is well known to most) what difficulties I have passed through and overcome to be here at this present: Yet this I will say, If Love to My Native Countrey had not been a chief motive to this journey, other respects might easily have found a shift to doe that by a Commission which I am come to perform My self. And this considered, I cannot doubt of such real testimonies of your affections for the maintenance of that Royal Power which I enjoy after an hundred and eight Descents, and which you have professed to maintain, and to which your own National Oath doth oblige you, that I shall not think any pains ill bestowed.

Now the end of My coming is shortly this, to perfect whatsoever I have promised, and withall to quiet the Distractions which have and may fall out amongst you: And this I mind not superficially, but fully and chearfully to perform. For I assure you that I can doe

nothing with more chearfulneſs then to give My People a general ſatisfaction. Wherefore not offering to endear My ſelf unto you in words (which indeed is not My way) I deſire in the firſt place to ſettle that which concerns the Religion and juſt Liberties of this My Native Countrey, before I proceed to any other Act.

XXXIII.

To the Lords and Commons, after His return out of Scotland, *at* WESTMINSTER, *Dec.* 2. MDCXLI.

MY Lords and Gentlemen, I think it fit, after ſo long abſence, at this firſt occaſion to ſpeak a few words unto you: but it is no ways in anſwer to Maſter Speaker's learned Speech.

Albeit I have ſtayed longer then I expected to have done when I went away; yet in this I have kept My promiſe with you, that I have made all the haſt back again that the ſetling of My *Scotch* affairs could any ways permit. In which I have had ſo good ſucceſs, that I will confidently affirm to you, that I have left that Nation a moſt peaceable and contented People: So that although I have a little miſreckoned in Time, yet I was not deceived in My End.

But if I have deceived your expectations a little in the time of My return, yet I am aſſured that My expectation is as much and more deceived in the condition wherein I hoped to have found ſome buſineſſes at My return. For ſince that before My going I ſetled the Liberties of My Subjects, and gave the Law a free and orderly courſe, I expected to have found My People reaping the fruits of theſe benefits, by living in quietneſs and ſatisfaction of mind: But in ſtead of this, I find them diſturbed with Jealouſies, Frights and Alarms of dangerous deſigns and plots; in conſequence of which Guards have been ſet to defend both Houſes. I ſay not this as in doubt that My Subjects affections are any way leſſened to Me in this time of My abſence, for I cannot but remember, to My great comfort, the joyfull reception I had now at My Entry into *London*; but rather, as I hope that My preſence will eaſily diſperſe theſe feares. For I bring as perfect and true affections to My People as ever Prince did, or as good Subjects can poſsibly deſire. And I am ſo farre from repenting Me

of

of any Act I have done this Sesion for the good of My People, that I protest if it were to doe again I would doe it; and will yet grant what else can be justly desired for satisfaction in point of Liberties, or in maintenance of the true Religion that is here established.

Now I have but one particular to recommend unto you at this time, It is *Ireland*; for which though I doubt not your care, yet Me thinks the preparations for it goe but slowly on. The occasion is the fitter for Me now to mention it, because of the arrival of two Lords from *Scotland*, who come instructed from My Councel there (who now by Act of Parliament have full power for that purpose) to answer that Demand which it pleased both Houses to make of Me by way of Petition that met Me at *Barwick*, and which the Duke of *Richmond* sent back by My Command to My *Scotch* Councel: Therefore My desire is, that both Houses would appoint a select Committee to end this business with these Noblemen.

I must conclude in telling you, that I seek My Peoples Happiness; for their flourishing is My greatest glory, and their affections My greatest strength.

XXXIV.

To the Lords and Commons, concerning IRELAND, *and the Bill for Pressing Souldiers, Decemb.* 14. M DC XLI.

MY Lords and Gentlemen, The last time I was in this place, and the last thing that I recommended unto you was the business of *Ireland*; whereby I was in good hope that I should not have needed again to have put you in mind of that business. But still seeing the slow proceedings therein, and the daily Dispatches that I have out of *Ireland*, of the lamentable estate of My Protestant Subjects there, I cannot but again earnestly commend the dispatch of that Expedition unto you; for it is the chief business that at this time I take to heart, and there cannot almost be any business that I can have more care of.

I might now take up some of your time in expressing My detestation of Rebellions in general, and of this in particular. But knowing that Deeds and not Declarations must suppress this great insolency,

I do

I do here in a word offer you whatsoever My power, pains, or industry can contribute to this good and necessary work of reducing the *Irish* Nation to their true and wonted obedience.

And that nothing may be omitted on My part, I must here take notice of the Bill for Pressing of Souldiers, now depending among you, My Lords: concerning which I here declare, that in case it come so to Me as it may not infringe or diminish My Prerogative, I will pass it. And further, seeing there is a dispute raised (I being little beholding to him whosoever at this time began it) concerning the bounds of this antient and undoubted Prerogative, to avoid further debate at this time, I offer that the Bill may pass with a *salvo jure* both for King and People, leaving such debates to a time that may better bear them. If this be not accepted, the fault is not Mine that this Bill pass not, but theirs that refuse so fair an offer.

To conclude, I conjure you by all that is or can be dear to you or Me, that laying away all disputes, you goe on chearfully and speedily for the reducing of *Ireland*.

XXXV.

To the House of Commons, about the Five Members, *January* 4. MDC XLII.

GEntlemen, I am sorry for this occasion of coming unto you. Yesterday I sent a Serjeant at Armes upon a very important occasion, to apprehend some that by My Command were accused of High Treason; whereunto I did expect Obedience, and not a Message. And I must declare unto you here, that albeit no King that ever was in *England* shall be more careful of your Privileges, to maintain them to the uttermost of His Power, then I shall be; yet you must know, that in cases of Treason no person hath a Privilege. And therefore I am come to know if any of those persons that were accused are here. For I must tell you, Gentlemen, that so long as those persons that I have accused (for no slight crime, but for Treason) are here, I cannot expect that this House can be in the right way that I do heartily wish it. Therefore I am come to tell you, that I must have them whereseever I find them.

Well,

Well, ſithence I ſee all the Birds are flown, I do expect from you, that you ſhall ſend them unto Me as ſoon as they return hither. But I aſſure you in the word of a King, I never did intend any force, but ſhall proceed againſt them in a legal and fair way, for I never meant any other.

And now ſithence I ſee I cannot doe what I came for, I think this no unfit occaſion to repeat what I have ſaid formerly, That whatſoever I have done in favour and to the good of My Subjects, I do mean to maintain it.

I will trouble you no more, but tell you, I do expect, as ſoon as they do come to the Houſe, you will ſend them to Me; otherwiſe I muſt take My Own courſe to find them.

XXXVI.

To the Citizens of LONDON, *at Guild-Hall,*

January 5. MDC XLI. II.

GEntlemen, I am come to demand ſuch Priſoners as I have already attainted of High Treaſon, and do believe they are ſhrowded in the City. I hope no good man will keep them from Me; their offences are Treaſon and Miſdemeanures of an high nature. I deſire your loving aſsiſtance herein, that they may be brought to a Legal Trial.

And whereas there are divers ſuſpicions raiſed that I am a favourer of the Popiſh Religion, I do profeſs in the name of a King, that I did and ever will, and that to the utmoſt of My power, be a proſecutor of all ſuch as ſhall any waies oppoſe the Laws and Statutes of this Kingdome, either Papiſt or Separatiſt; and not only ſo, but I will maintain and defend that true Proteſtant Religion which My Father did profeſs, and I will ſtill continue in during Life.

XXXVII.

To the Committee of both Houſes, at the delivery of the Petition for the Militia, *at* THEOBALDS, *Mar.* 1. MDCXLI. II.

I Am ſo amazed at this Meſſage, that I know not what to anſwer. You ſpeak of Jealouſies and Fears; lay your hands to your hearts, and ask your ſelves whether I may not likewiſe be diſturbed with Fears and Jealouſies: and if ſo, I aſſure you, this Meſſage hath nothing leſſened them.

For the *Militia*, I thought ſo much of it before I ſent that Anſwer, and am ſo much aſſured that the Anſwer is agreeable to what in juſtice or reaſon you can ask, or I in Honor grant, that I ſhall not alter it in any point.

For My reſidence near you, I wiſh it might be ſo ſafe and honorable, that I had no cauſe to abſent My ſelf from *White-Hall*: Ask your ſelves whether I have not.

For My Son, I ſhall take that care of him which ſhall juſtifie Me to God as a Father, and to My Dominions as a King.

To conclude, I aſſure you upon My Honor that I have no thought but of Peace and Juſtice to My People; which I ſhall by all fair means ſeek to preſerve and maintain, relying upon the goodneſs and providence of God for the preſervation of My ſelf and Rights.

XXXVIII.

To the Committee of both Houſes, at the preſenting of their Declaration, at NEW-MARKET, *March* 9. MDCXLI. II.

I Am confident that you expect not I ſhould give you a ſpeedy Anſwer to this ſtrange and unexpected Declaration: And I am ſorry (in the Diſtractions of this Kingdome) you ſhould think this way of Addreſs to be more convenient then that propoſed by My Meſſage of the twentieth of *January* laſt to both Houſes.

As concerning the grounds of your Fears and Jealouſies, I will take time to anſwer particularly; and doubt not but I ſhall doe it to the ſatisfaction of all the world. God in his good time will, I hope, diſcover

discover the secrets and bottoms of all Plots and Treasons; and then I shall stand right in the eyes of all My People. In the mean time I must tell you, that I rather expected a vindication from the imputation laid on Me in Master *Pym*'s Speech, then that any more general Rumors and discourses should get credit with you.

For My Fears and Doubts, I did not think they should have been thought so groundless or trivial, while so many seditious Pamphlets and Sermons are looked upon, and so great Tumults remembred, unpunished, uninquired into. I still confess My Fears, and call God to witness, that they are greater for the true Protestant Profession, My People and Laws, then for My own Rights or Safety; though I must tell you, I conceive that none of these are free from danger.

What would you have? Have I violated your Laws? Have I denied to pass any one Bill for the ease and security of My Subjects? I do not ask you what you have done for Me.

Have any of My People been transported with Fears and Apprehensions? I have offered as free and general a Pardon as your selves can devise. All this considered, There is a Judgement from Heaven upon this Nation if these Distractions continue.

God so deal with Me and Mine, as all My thoughts and intentions are upright for the maintenance of the true Protestant Profession, and for the Observation and Preservation of the Laws of this Land: And I hope God will bless and assist those Laws for My preservation.

As for the Additional Declaration, you are to expect an Answer to it when you shall receive the Answer to the Declaration it self.

*Some Passages that happened Mar.*9. *between His Majesty and the Committee of both Houses, when the Declaration was delivered.*

When His Majestie heard that part of the Declaration which mentioned Master Jermin's *Transportation, His Majestie interrupted the Earl of* Holland *in reading, and said,* That's false: *which being afterwards touch'd upon again, His Majestie then said,* 'Tis a lie. *And when He was informed, it related not to the Date, but the Execution of the warrant, His Majestie said,* It might have been better expressed then; *and that* it was a high thing to taxe a King with breach of Promise.

As for this Declaration, I could not have believed the Parliament would have sent Me such an one, if I had not seen it brought by such

persons of Honor. I am sorry for the Parliament, but glad I have it: For by that I doubt not to satisfie My People; though I am confident the greater part is so already.

Ye speak of ill Counsells; but I am confident the Parliament hath had worse Informations then I have had Counsels.

His Majestie asking what he had denied the Parliament; the Earl of Holland *instanced that of the* Militia: *His Majestie replied,* That was no Bill. *The Earl then said,* It was a necessarie request at this time: *His Majestie also replied,* He had not denied it.

What passed next day, when His Majesty delivered His Answer.

The Earl of Holland *having read His Maiesties Answer to the rest of the Committee, endeavoured to perswade His Majestie to come near the Parliament. To which His Majestie answered,* I would you had given Me cause; but I am sure this Declaration is not the way to it: and in all *Aristotle's* Rhetoricks there is no such Argument of Perswasion.

The Earl of Pembrook *thereupon telling His Majestie, that the Parliament had humbly besought His Majestie to come near them, as aforesaid; His Majestie replied,* He had learnt by their Declaration that words were not sufficient. *The Earl again moving His Majestie to express what He would have, His Majestie said,* He would whip a Boy in *Westminster*-School that could not tell that by His Answer: *and* That they were much mistaken, if they thought His Answer of that a Denial.

The Earl of Pembrook *then asking, whether the* Militia *might not be granted as was desired by the Parliament, for a time; His Majestie answered,* Not for an hour. You have ask'd that of Me in this was never ask'd of a King, and with which I will not trust My Wife and Children.

His Majestie also said, The business of *Ireland* will never be done in the way that you are in: Four hundred will never doe that work: it must be put into the hands of One. If I were trusted with it, I will pawn My Head to end that work. And though I am a Begger My self, yet (*speaking with a strong asseveration*) I can find Money for that.

To

XXXIX.

To the Gentry of Yorkshire, *when they presented their Petition, April* 5. M DC XLII.

MAster Sheriff, and Gentlemen, I believe you expect not a present and particular answer to your Petition, because it is new to Me. Only in general I must tell you, that I see by it, that I am not deceived in the Confidence I have in the affections of this County to My Person and State: And I assure you, that I will not deceive your Confidence, which at this time you have declared in your Petition to have in Me, and I am glad to see that it is not upon mistaken grounds, as other Petitions have been to Me since I came to this place. Concerning which let Me observe unto you, that My Answers were to clear those mistakings: for I never did goe about to punish or discourage them from Petitioning to Me in an humble way, though the subject did not agree with My sense; albeit within the memorie of man people have been discouraged and threatned to be punished for Petitions.

I observe that your Petition is so modest, that it doth not mention any particular for your own good; which indeed I expected, as knowing that in some particulars you have great reason to doe it. And therefore that you may not fare the worse for your Modestie, I will put you in mind of three particulars which I conceive to be for the good of this Countrey.

The first is concerning your trained Bands, to reduce them to a lesser number; for which I confess to stand ingaged by promise to you, which I had performed long since, if I had been put in mind of it. And now I tell you, shew Me but the way, and, when you shall think fit, I shall instantly reduce them to that number which I promised you two years agoe.

The second is, that which is owing to this Countrey for Billet-money. The truth is, that for the present I cannot repay it: Onely I will say this, that if all the water had gone to the right Mill, upon My word you had been long agoe satisfied in this particular. And so I leave to your discretions, which way you will advise and assist Me to complie with the engagements to you in this point.

The third is, that for which I was petitioned as I came up the laſt year both by the Lord Maior and Aldermen of this City, and likewiſe by divers others of this County as I went Southward, and that is concerning the Court of *York*. And firſt let Me tell you, that as yet I know no legal Diſſolution of it, for hitherto formally there is nothing come to Me, either directly or indirectly, for the taking of it away: therefore I may ſay, it is rather ſhaken in pieces then diſſolved. Now My deſire is, in compliance to what I anſwered the laſt year unto the ſeveral Petitions delivered to Me upon this ſubject, that you would conſult and agree among your ſelves, in what manner you would have the Court eſtabliſhed moſt to your own contentments, and to the good of all theſe Northern parts, in ſuch a Legal way as that it may not juſtly be excepted againſt; and I aſſure you in the word of an honeſt man, that you ſhall not blame Me if you have not full ſatisfaction in it.

Within a day or two ye ſhall have a particular Anſwer to your Petition, which ſhall be ſuch an one as I am confident will give you good ſatisfaction, and put you into ſuch a way as, I hope, may produce good effects to the good of all this Kingdom.

XL.

To the Gentry of Yorkſhire, *at* YORK,

May 12. MDCXLII.

GEntlemen, I have cauſe of adding, not altering what I meant to ſay, when I gave out the ſummons for this daies appearance. I little thought of theſe Meſſengers, or of ſuch a Meſſage as they brought: The which, becauſe it confirms Me in what I intend to ſpeak, and that I deſire you ſhould be truly informed of all Paſſages between Me and the Parliament, you ſhall hear read; firſt, My Anſwer to the Declaration of both Houſes concerning *Hull*; the Anſwer of the Parliament to My two Meſſages concerning *Hull*, together with My Replie to the ſame; and My Meſſage to both Houſes, declaring the Reaſons why I refuſed to paſs the Bill concerning the *Militia*.

All

All which being read, His Majesty proceeded;

I will make no Paraphrases upon what ye have heard; it is more befitting a Lawyer then a King. Only this observation, Since Treason is countenanced so near Me, it is time to look to My Safety. I avow, it was part of My wonder, that men whom I thought heretofore discreet and moderate should have undertaken this imployment; and that, since they came, I having delivered them the Answer you have heard, and commanded them to return personally with it to the Parliament, they should have flatly disobeyed Me, upon pretence of the Parliament's Command. My end in telling you this is, to warn you of them; for since these men have brought Me such a Message, and disobeyed so lawful a Command, I will not say what their intent of staying here is: Only I bid you take heed, not knowing what Doctrine of Disobedience they may preach to you, under colour of obeying the Parliament. Hitherto I have found and kept you quiet, the injoying of which was a chief cause of My coming hither, Tumults and Disorders having made Me leave the South; and not to make this a seat of Warre, as Malice would (but, I hope, in vain) make you believe. Now if Disturbances come, I know whom I have reason to suspect.

To be short, You see that My Magazine is going to be taken from Me, being My Own proper Goods, directly against My will; the *Militia*, against Law and My Consent, is going to be put in execution; and lastly, Sir *John Hotham*'s Treason is countenanced. All this considered, none can blame Me to apprehend Dangers. Therefore I have thought fit upon these real grounds to tell you, that I am resolved to have a Guard (the Parliament having had one all this while upon imaginary Jealousies) only to secure My Person. In which I desire your concurrence and assistance, and that I may be able to protect you, the Laws, and the true Protestant Profession, from any affront or injury that may be offered: which I mean to maintain My self, without charge to the Countrey; intending not longer to keep them on foot then I shall be secured of My just apprehensions, by having satisfaction in the particulars before mentioned.

XLI.

To the Inhabitants of Nottinghamſhire, *at* NEWARK, *July* 4. MDCXLII.

GEntlemen, Your honeſt Reſolutions and Affections to Me and your Countrey, for the defence of My Perſon and the Laws of the Land, have been and are ſo notable, that they have drawn Me hither onely to thank you: I goe to other places to confirm and undeceive My Subjects, but am come hither only to thank and incourage you.

You have made the beſt judgment of happineſs, by relying on that Foundation which the experience of ſo many hundred years hath given ſuch proof of, The Aſſurance and Security of the Law. And aſſure your ſelves, when Laws ſhall be altered by any other Authority then that by which they were made, your Foundations are deſtroyed: and though it ſeems at firſt but to take away My Power, it will quickly ſwallow all your Intereſt.

I ask nothing of you, though your demeanure gives Me good evidence that you are not willing to deny, but to preſerve your own affections to the Religion and Laws eſtabliſhed. I will juſtifie and protect thoſe affections, and will live and dye with you in that quarrel.

XLII.

To the Inhabitants of Lincolnſhire, *at* LINCOLN, *July* 15. MDCXLII.

GEntlemen, If I could have ſuſpected your Affections, or have cenſured the Duty of this County by ſome late Actions in it, I ſhould not have taken this pains to have given you a teſtimony of My Affection to you, and to remove thoſe Objections, which being raiſed by a Malignant party, may, by their cunning and induſtry, get credit even with honeſt minds.

The truth is, I come to you to aſſure you of My Purpoſes and Reſolutions for the defence of whatever is and ſhould be dear unto you, your

your Religion, your Liberty, your common Intereſt, and the Laws of the Land; and to undeceive you of that opinion which I hear hath miſs-led many of you, that the pretended Ordinance of the *Militia* is warranted by My Conſent and Authority. As I have already informed you by My ſeveral Declarations and Meſſages, that the ſame is againſt the known Law, and an invaſion of My unqueſtionable Right, and of your Liberty and Property; ſo I do now declare unto you, that the ſame is impoſed upon you againſt My expreſs Conſent, and in contempt of My Regal Authority: And therefore whoſoever ſhall henceforth preſume to execute or obey the ſame, I ſhall proceed againſt them as againſt ſuch who promote Rebellion, and actually levie Warre againſt Me.

And I doubt not but you will ſadly conſider, that if any Authority without and againſt My Conſent may lawfully impoſe ſuch burthens upon you, it may likewiſe take away all that you have from you, and ſubject you to their lawleſs Arbitrary Power and Government. And how far they are like to exerciſe that juriſdiction towards you, you may gueſs by the inſolence of Sir *John Hotham* at *Hull*, who, being a Subject, not only preſumes to keep his Sovereign by force of Armes out of His Town; but murthers his fellow-Subjects, impriſons them, burns their houſes, drowns their land, takes them captive, and commits ſuch Outrages and acts of Hoſtility, as the moſt unequal and outragious Enemies practiſe in any Countrey: That you may ſee how impoſsible it is for your Liberties and Properties to be preſerved, when your King is oppreſſed, and His juſt Rights taken from Him. Who hath brought theſe Calamities upon your Neighbours at *Hull* every man ſees; and they onely can bring the ſame upon you.

I will not believe you to be ſo inſenſible of the benefits you have received from Me, that I need put you in mind of the Gracious Acts paſſed by Me this Parliament on your behalfs: And if there be any thing wanting to the making you the happieſt Subjects in the world, I am ſure it is not My fault that you have not that too. Be not deceived with words and general expreſsions: It is not in your power to name one particular which might make you happy, that I have refuſed to grant.

Be not frighted with apprehenſions that this Countrey is like to

be the ſeat of Warre. The ſeat of a Warre will be only where perſons riſe in Rebellion againſt Me: that will not, I hope, be here; and then you ſhall be ſure of My Protection; I will live and dye in your defence. And that you may be in a readineſs and a poſture to defend your ſelves and Me againſt any Invaſion or Rebellion, I have armed ſeveral Perſons of Honor, Quality and Reputation amongſt you, and of your own Countrey, with a Commiſsion of Array to that purpoſe. There is no honeſt end declared in that Ordinance which is not provided for by this Commiſsion; which being according to the old known Law, is fit for your obedience, and I doubt not but you will find it.

In a word, I aſſure you upon the Faith and Honor of a Chriſtian King, I will be alwaies as tender of any thing which may advance the true Proteſtant Religion, protect and preſerve the Laws of the Land, and defend the juſt Privilege and Freedome of Parliament, as of My Life or My Crown: And when I fail in either of theſe, I will not look for your aſsiſtance. Till then you are concerned not to ſee Me ſuffer.

XLIII.

To the Inhabitants of Leiceſter, *at* LEICESTER, *July* 20. M DC XLII.

GEntlemen, Since I have found My Preſence ſo very acceptable amongſt My Good Subjects in theſe Northern parts, and that the Errors and Miſtakes among them have wholly proceeded from misinformation, and are removed with more ſatisfaction and eaſe to them then they were received; I hold it a piece of My Duty, to take the utmoſt pains I can fully to inform and undeceive My People, and rather to prevent Crimes then to puniſh them.

In this Errand I am come to you, amongſt whom there hath not been the leaſt miſunderſtanding, to ſhew you that I do not ſuſpect any malice in the Place or in the People, though perſons of as ill diſpoſitions have been buſy in it and amongſt you as in any County in *England*, and ſuch who have taken as great pains to doe miſchief and to bring confuſion, as good men ſhould for Peace and happineſs:

Though

Though 'tis as true, that very many worthier Persons amongst you have appeared of contrarie affections, which I shall always acknowlege.

I am come to you in a time too when nothing could invite Me to such a journey but My affection to & good esteem of you; having sent such Propositions of Peace and Accommodation to My two Houses of Parliament, that I hope to have no other use of your affections but in your Praiers; being sure they will submit to them with alacritie, if the unexcusable enemies of the Peace of the Kingdom be not strong enough to prevail. And then you will find your selves so much concerned (for I have required nothing that with more justice can be denied Me, if it be duely weighed, then My Crown or My Life may be taken from Me) that I shall not need to ask your assistance. I know you will bring Horse, Men, Money, and Hearts worthy such a Cause. Your Religion, your Liberties, your Laws, which I will defend with My Life, (I mean the good known Laws of the Land; not Ordinances without My Consent, which till within these twelve months were never heard of from the Foundation of this Kingdom) will be the Quarrel: and in such a Cause the taking away My Towns, Ships, Arms and Money from Me shall not dishearten Me. The concurrence and affection of My People, with God's blessing, will supplie and recover all.

XLIV.

To the Gentry of Yorkshire,

*Aug.*4. M DC XLII.

GEntlemen, When I directed that Summons should be sent out for your meeting here this day, My principal end was, That I might give you thanks for the great forwardness and expressions you have made of your affections to Me since I came into this Country; and to assure you, that as the whole Kingdom hath great reason to value you exceedingly for it, so I shall be ever unsatisfied with My self till I have found some way to fix a mark of favour and estimation upon this County and this People, which may tell Posterity how good Subjects you have been, and how much Gentlemen;

men; and I am confident the memorie of it will grow up with My Sons too in a juſt acknowledgment. This was the moſt I intended to ſay to you. But there is an unquiet ſpirit abroad, which every day throws in new accidents to diſturb and confound the publick Peace.

How I was driven from *London* when I choſe this place for My Safety, is ſo notorious, that all men know it who know any thing. With what ſtrange violence and indignities I have been purſued ſince I came hither, needs no other evidence then Sir *John Hotham*'s behaviour at *Hull*, who is now arrived to that inſolence, that he will not ſuffer his Treaſon to be longer confined within thoſe walls, but makes Sallies out of the Town upon his fellow-Subjects, drowns their land, burns and plunders their Houſes, murthers and (with unheard of cruelty) torments their perſons: and this with ſo much delight, that he would not have the patience to wait what Anſwer ſhould be ſent to My juſt Demands, though in that reſpect I ingaged My ſelf to forbear to uſe any force, and kept My word; but choſe the night before that came, as if he knew well what Anſwer I was to receive, to act thoſe outrages.

Ye ſee the ſad effects of Fears and Jealouſies, the miſeries they have produced: no man can tell you the leaſt good they have brought forth, or the leaſt evil they have prevented. What inconvenience and burthen My Preſence hath been here, what diſturbance it hath brought upon the Publick, or grievance upon any private perſon, your ſelves are beſt judges. And whatever ſcandal ſome men have pleaſed to caſt upon the Cavaliers, (which they intend ſhould reach all My Retinue, and by degrees ſhall involve all Gentlemen) I am confident there hath not been any eminent diſorder or damage befallen any man by any perſon of My Train or under My protection. I am ſure My directions have been very ſtrict in that point; and if they had not been obſerved, I think I ſhould have heard of it by nearer complaints then from *London*. I pray God the ſame care may be taken there: I am ſure it hath not been.

And to give you the fulleſt teſtimony of My affection to you and to the Peace of this County, and to ſhew you that no provocation ſhall provoke Me to make this place to be the ſeat of the Warre, I have for your ſakes paſſed over the conſiderations of Honor, and notwithſtanding the reproaches every day laid on Me, laid no ſiege to

that

that place, that they may not have the leaſt pretence of doing you miſchief, but reſolve by God's help to recover *Hull* ſome other way; for that I will ever ſit down under ſo bold and unexcuſable a Treaſon, no honeſt man can imagine.

But it ſeems other men are not of My mind, but reſolve to make a Warre at your own doors, whatſoever you doe or I ſuffer. To what purpoſe elſe is their new General armed with an Authoritie to kill and deſtroy all My good Subjects; their levies of Horſe and Foot, ſome whereof are upon their march towards you with Canon mounted; and the ſending ſo many new Souldiers into *Hull*, when there is no approach made towards it, but to ſally out, and to commit rapine, and by degrees to poure out an Army upon you? In this I muſt ask your advice, what you would doe for your ſelves, and what you would have Me doe for you. You ſee how I am ſtript of My Navy at Sea, which is imployed againſt Me; of My Forts and Towns at Land, which are filled with armed men to deſtroy Me; My Money and Proviſions of My Houſe taken from Me, and all My Subjects forbid and threatned if they come near Me, that I may by Famine or Solitarineſs be compelled to yield to the moſt diſhonorable Propoſitions, and to put My ſelf and Children into the hands of a few Malignant perſons, who have entred into a Combination to deſtroy Us. And all this done under pretence of a Truſt repoſed by the People. How farre you are from committing any ſuch Truſt, moſt of the perſons truſted by you and your own expreſsions of Duty to Me have manifeſted to all the world; and how farre the whole Kingdom is from avowing ſuch a Truſt, hath already in a great meaſure, and I doubt not will more every day appeare by the profeſsions of every County: For I am wholly caſt upon the affections of My People, and have no hope but in the bleſsing and aſsiſtance of God, the juſtneſs of My Cauſe, and the Love of My Subjects, to recover what is taken from Me and them, for I may juſtly ſay they are equal loſers with Me.

Gentlemen, I deſire you to conſider what courſe is to be taken for your own ſecurity from the excurſions from *Hull*, and the violence which threatens you from thence: I will aſsiſt you any way you propoſe.

Next, I deſire you, out of the publick proviſion or your private ſtore,

ſtore, to furniſh Me with ſuch a number of Arms (Muskets and Corſlets) as you may conveniently ſpare; which I do promiſe to ſee fully repay'd to you. Theſe Armes I deſire may be ſpeedily delivered to the cuſtody of My Lord Maior of *York* for my uſe, principally for thoſe parts which, by reaſon of their diſtance from *Hull*, are leaſt ſubject to the fear of violence from thence. And whoſoever ſhall ſo furniſh Me, ſhall be excuſed from their attendance and ſervice at Muſters, till their Armes ſhall be reſtored; which may well be ſooner then I can promiſe, or you expect.

I deſire nothing of you, but what is neceſſary to be done for the preſervation of God's true Religion, the Laws of the Land, the Liberty of the Subject, and the very Being of this Kingdome of *England*; for 'tis too evident all theſe are at ſtake.

For the compleating of My Son's Regiment for the Guard of His Perſon under the Command of My Lord of *Cumberland*, I referre it wholly to your ſelves, who have expreſſed ſuch forwardneſs in it.

XLV.

To His Army, after the Reading of His Orders, between Stafford *and* Wellington, *September* 19. M DC XLII.

GEntlemen, You have heard theſe Orders read; it is your part in your ſeveral places to obſerve them exactly. The time cannot be long before we come to Action, therefore you have the more reaſon to be carefull: And I muſt tell you, I ſhall be very ſevere in the puniſhing of thoſe, of what condition ſoever, who tranſgreſſe theſe Inſtructions.

I cannot ſuſpect your Courage and Reſolution. Your Conſcience and your Loyalty hath brought you hither to fight for your Religion, your King, and the Laws of the Land: You ſhall meet with no enemies but Traitors, moſt of them Browniſts, Anabaptiſts, and Atheiſts, ſuch who deſire to deſtroy both Church and State, and who have already condemned you to ruine for being Loyal to Us.

That you may ſee what uſe I mean to make of your Valour, if it pleaſe God to bleſs it with ſucceſs, I have thought fit to publiſh My Reſolution to you in a Proteſtation, which when you have heard

Me

Me make, you will believe you cannot fight in a better Quarrel; in which I promiſe to live and die with you.

I do promiſe in the preſence of Almighty God, and as I hope for His Bleſsing and Protection, that I will to the utmoſt of My Power defend and maintain the true Reformed Proteſtant Religion eſtabliſhed in the Church of *England*; and, by the Grace of God, in the ſame will live and die.

I deſire to govern by the known Laws of the Land; and that the Liberty and Property of the Subject may be by them preſerved with the ſame care as My Own juſt Rights. And if it pleaſe God, by his bleſsing upon this Army raiſed for My neceſſary Defence, to preſerve Me from this Rebellion, I do ſolemnly and faithfully promiſe in the ſight of God, to maintain the juſt Privileges and Freedome of Parliament, and to govern by the known Laws of the Land to My utmoſt power, and particularly to obſerve inviolably the Laws conſented to by Me this Parliament. In the mean while, if this time of Warre, and the great neceſsity and ſtreights I am now driven to, beget any violation of thoſe, I hope it ſhall be imputed by God and Man to the Authors of this Warre, and not to Me, who have ſo earneſtly laboured for the preſervation of the Peace of this Kingdome.

When I willingly fail in theſe particulars, I will expect no aide or relief from any Man, or protection from Heaven: But in this Reſolution I hope for the chearful aſsiſtance of all good men, and am confident of God's Bleſsing.

XLVI.

To the Inhabitants of Denbigh *and* Flint, *at* WREXHAM; *September* 27. MDCXLII.

GEntlemen, I am willing to take all occaſions to viſit all My good Subjects, in which number I have cauſe to reckon you of theſe two Counties, having lately had a good expreſsion of your Loyalty and Affections to Me, by thoſe Levies which at your charge have been ſent Me from your parts; which forwardneſs of

yours I ſhall alwaies remember to your advantage; and to let you know how I have been dealt with by a powerful Malignant party in this Kingdome, whoſe deſigns are no leſs then to deſtroy My Perſon and Crown, the Laws of the Land, and the preſent Government both of Church and State.

The Leaders of theſe men, by their ſubtlety and cunning practices, have ſo prevailed upon the meaner ſort of people about *London*, that they have called them up into frequent and dangerous tumults, and thereby have chaſed from thence My ſelf and the greateſt part of the Members of both Houſes of Parliament. Their Power and ſecret Plots have had ſuch influence upon the ſmall remaining part of both Houſes, that under colour of Orders and Ordinances made without the Royal Aſſent, a thing never heard of before this Parliament, I am robb'd and ſpoiled of My Towns, Forts, Caſtles and Goods, My Navy forcibly taken from Me, and imployed againſt Me, all My Revenues ſtopt and ſeiſed upon; and at this time a powerful Army is marching againſt Me.

I wiſh this were all: They have yet further laboured to alienate the affections of My good People, they have moſt injuriouſly vented many falſe reproaches againſt My Perſon and Government, they have diſperſed in print many notorious falſe ſcandals upon My actions and intentions, and in particular have laboured to caſt upon Me ſome aſperſions concerning the horrid, bloody and impious Rebellion in *Ireland*. They tell the People that I have recalled two Ships appointed for the guard of theſe Seas. 'Tis true: but they conceal that at the ſame time I ſent My Warrants to the Downs, commanding four as good Ships to attend that ſervice in ſtead of thoſe ſhould be recalled; which Warrant by their means could not find obedience. They forget that they then imployed fourty Ships (many of them My Own, and all of them ſet forth at the publick charge of this and that Kingdome) to rob and pillage Me of My Goods, to chaſe My good Subjects, and maintain My own Town of *Hull* againſt Me; and that by the abſence of thoſe Ships from the *Iriſh* Seas, the Rebells have had opportunity to bring ſtore of Arms, Ammunition and Supplies to their ſuccours, to which we may juſtly impute the Calamities which have overwhelmed My poor Proteſtant Subjects there. They cry out upon a few ſuits of cloaths appointed, as they ſay, for *Ireland*,

which

which ſome of My Forces took; but conceal that they were taken as entring into *Coventry*, then in open Rebellion againſt Me, where I had reaſon to believe they would have been diſpoſed of amongſt their Souldiers who then bore Arms againſt Me. They talk of a few horſes which I have made uſe of for My Carriages; concealing that they were certified to be uſeleſs for the ſervice of *Ireland*; when they themſelves have ſeiſed an hundred thouſand pounds particularly appointed by Act of Parliament for the relief of *Ireland*, where My Armie is ready to periſh for want of it, and imployed it, together with ſuch part of the four hundred thouſand pound Subſidie as they have received, to maintain an unnatural Civil Warre at home.

Neither have they uſed their fellow-Subjects better then they have done Me their King. By their Power the Law of the Land, your birth-right, is trampled upon, and in ſtead thereof they govern My People by Votes and arbitrary Orders. Such as will not ſubmit to their unlimited power are impriſoned, plundred, and deſtroyed: ſuch as will not pay ſuch exactions as they require toward this Rebellion, are threatned to be put out of Protection, as they call it, of the Parliament: ſuch as conſcientiouſly remember their Duty and Loyalty to Me their Sovereign, are reviled, perſecuted, and declared Traitors: ſuch as do deſire to maintain the true Proteſtant Religion as it is eſtabliſhed by the Laws of the Land, are traduced, and called Popiſh and Superſtitious; and on the contrary, ſuch as are known *Browniſts*, *Anabaptiſts*, and publick depravers of the Book of Common Prayer, are countenanced and incouraged. They exact and receive Tonnage and Poundage and other great duties upon Merchandiſes, not only without Law, but in the face of an Act of Parliament to the contrary, paſt this preſent Parliament, which puts all men into the condition of a *Præmunire* that ſhall preſume ſo to oppreſs the People.

If you deſire to know who are the Contrivers of theſe wicked deſigns, you ſhall find ſome of their names in particular, and their actions at large, in My Declaration of the twelfth of *Auguſt*, to which I ſhall referre you. I wiſh their craft and power were not ſuch, that few of thoſe Copies can come to the view of My good People. Since that time theſe men ſo thirſt after the deſtruction of this Kingdome, that they have prevailed to make all My offers of Treaty (which

might bring Peace to this Kingdom, and beget a good understanding between Me and My Parliament) fruitless.

In this distress into which these men have brought Me and this Kingdom, My confidence is in the Protection of Almighty God and the affections of My good People. And that you may clearly see what My Resolutions are, I shall cause My voluntarie Protestation lately taken to be read to you: And I desire that the Sheriffs of these two Counties will dispose Copies of that and what I now deliver unto you, having no other way to make it publick; these men having restrained the use of My Presses at *London* and the Universities.

XLVII.

To the Inhabitants of Shropshire, *at* SHREWSBURY, *Sept.* 28. MDCXLII.

GEntlemen, It is some benefit to Me from the insolencies and misfortunes which have driven Me about, that they have brought Me to so good a part of My Kingdom, and to so faithful a part of My People. I hope neither you nor I shall repent My coming hither: I will doe My part that you may not, and of you I was confident before I came.

The residence of an Army is not usually pleasant to any place; and Mine may carrie more fear with it, since it may be thought (being robbed and spoiled of all My Own, and such terror used to fright and keep all men from supplying Me) I must onely live upon the aid and relief of My People. But be not afraid; I would to God My poor Subjects suffered no more by the insolence and violence of that Army raised against Me, though they have made themselves wanton even with plenty, then you shall do by Mine. And yet I fear I cannot prevent all Disorders: I will doe My best; and this I will promise you, No man shall be a loser by Me, if I can help it.

I have sent hither for a Mint: I will melt down all My own Plate, and expose all My Land to Sale or Morgage, that, if it be possible, I may not bring the least pressure upon you.

In the mean time, I have summoned you hither, to invite you to doe that for Me and your selves, for the maintenance of your Religion,

gion, and the Law of the Land, by which you enjoy all that you have, which other men doe againſt us. Do not ſuffer ſo good a Cauſe to be loſt for want of ſupplying Me with that which will be taken from you by thoſe who purſue Me with this violence. And whilſt theſe ill men ſacrifice their Money, Plate, and utmoſt Induſtrie to deſtroy the Commonwealth, be you no leſs liberal to preſerve it. Aſſure your ſelves, if it pleaſe God to bleſs Me with ſucceſs, I ſhall remember the Aſsiſtance every particular man here gives Me, to his Advantage. However, it will hereafter, how furiouſly ſoever the minds of ſome men are now poſſeſſed, be honor and comfort to you, that with ſome charge and trouble to your ſelves, you did your part to ſupport your King, and preſerve the Kingdom.

I deſire Maſter Sheriff and the reſt of the Gentlemen to diſtribute themſelves in that method, that they may beſt receive the expreſsions which you ſhall make of your affections, the which I will have particularly repreſented to Me.

XLVIII.

To the Inhabitants of Oxfordſhire, *at* OXFORD, *Nov.* 2. MDCXLII.

GEntlemen, Though you ſee My Armie marching from hence, I do not intend to leave you; My Reſidence ſhall be ſo near, that My Power ſhall have an influence upon this place (of which I will beſides take a particular care) for your preſervation: Therefore fear not to expreſs your affections to Me with that courage which becomes you.

I know how and by whom the Countrey hath been awed; but I hope no man ſhall have more power to fright you from your Loyaltie then I have to reſtore you to it; and I ſhall gueſs by the evidence of this day at your natural diſpoſitions. In aſsiſting Me you defend your ſelves; for, believe it, the Sword which is now drawn againſt Me will deſtroy you, if I defend you not. I have and will venture My Life for you: 'twill be a ſhame for you to venture nothing. Whatſoever you ſhall be willing freely to contribute, I will take kindly of you; and whatſoever you ſhall lend Me, I will, in the word of a King, ſee juſtly repayed to you.

I appoint the Sheriff to receive ſuch Money or Plate as you, Gentlemen, ſhall be willing to aſsiſt Me with, and to return their names to Me: And you of the Clergie ſhall repair to Maſter Vice-Chancellour, who ſhall doe the like. And I expect that you ſhould advance this Service throughout the Countrey, and return your Collections ſuddenly to Me by the hand of the Sheriff. And I aſſure you, I ſhall take eſpecial notice of ſuch who ſhall be backward in this time of ſo viſible Neceſsitie.

XLIX.

To the Lords and Commons aſſembled at OXFORD, *Jan.* 22. MDCXLIII. IV.

MY Lords and Gentlemen, When I conſider your publick Intereſts and Concernments in the Happineſs and Honor of this Nation, and your particular ſufferings in this Rebellion for your affection and Loyaltie to Me, I muſt look upon you as the moſt competent Conſiderers and Counſellers how to manage and improve the Condition we are all in: for ſure our Condition is ſo equal, that the ſame Violence hath oppreſſed us all.

I have therefore called you together to be witneſses of My Actions, and privy to My Intentions: and certainly if I had the leaſt thought diſagreeing with the happineſs and ſecuritie of this Kingdom, I would not adviſe with ſuch Counſellors. And I doubt not but your Concurrence with Me will ſo farre prevail over the hearts and underſtandings of this whole Kingdom, who muſt look upon you as perſons naturally and originally truſted by and for them, that it will be above the reach and Malice of thoſe who have hitherto had too great an influence upon the People, to diſcredit My moſt intire Actions and ſincere Promiſes. You will be the beſt witneſses for the one, and ſecuritie for the other.

Very many of you can bear Me witneſs, with what unwillingneſs I ſuffered My ſelf firſt to take up theſe Defenſive Arms: indeed with ſo great, that I was firſt almoſt in the power of thoſe who in two ſet Battels have ſufficiently informed the world how tender they have been of the ſafety of My Perſon. I foreſaw not onely the rage and

oppreſsion

oppreſsion which would every day break out upon My Subjects, as the Malice of theſe ill men increaſed, and their purpoſes were detected; but alſo the great inconveniences My beſt Subjects would ſuffer even by My own Armie, raiſed and kept for their preſervation and protection. For I was not ſo ill a Souldier, as not to foreſee how impoſsible it was to keep a ſtrict diſcipline, I being to ſtruggle with ſo many defects and neceſsities: and I aſſure you, the ſenſe I have of their ſufferings who deſerve well of Me by My Forces, hath been a greater grief to Me then any thing to My Own particular. My hope was, that either by Succeſs on My part, or Repentance on theirs, God would have put a ſhort end to this great ſtorm. But guilt and deſpair have made theſe men more wicked then I imagine they at firſt intended to be: for in ſtead of removing and reconciling theſe bloudy Diſtractions, and reſtoring Peace to this languiſhing Countrey, they have invited a Forein power to invade this Kingdom, and that in your names, and challenge this Invaſion from them as a debt to the Commonwealth.

You, My Lords, have, like your ſelves, as good Patriots, expreſſed your diſſent, and vindicated your ſelves from that imputation: And I doubt not but you, Gentlemen, will let your Countreys know how farre you are from deſiring ſuch aſsiſtance; and how abſolute and peremptory a breach this raiſing of Arms of My *Scotiſh* Subjects is of that Pacification which was ſo lately and ſolemnly made by you, and can intend nothing but a conqueſt of you and your Laws. I ſhall ſend you all the advertiſements I have of that buſineſs which is threatned from *Scotland*, and what is already acted from thence; and ſhall deſire your ſpeedy advice and aſsiſtance, what is to be ſaid or done both with reference to this and that Kingdom.

Our ends being the ſame, I am ſure there will be no other difference in the way then what upon debate and right underſtanding will be eaſily adjuſted. Let our Religion, in which we are all moſt nearly concerned, and without care of which we muſt not look for God's Bleſsing, be vindicated and preſerved; let My Honor and Rights, which you find to have an inſeparable relation with your own Intereſts, be vindicated and reſtored; let your Liberties, Properties, Privileges, without which I would not be your King, be ſecured and confirmed; there is nothing you can adviſe Me to I will

not meet you in. And I doubt not but we ſhall together inform Poſterity, how much our truſt and confidence in each other is a better expedient for the Peace and preſervation of the Kingdome, then Fears and Jealouſies.

I ſhall keep you no longer from conſulting together, then in telling you that I have prepared fit places for your Meetings, to which I deſire you to repair this night; aſſuring you that I ſhall be alwaies ready to receive any thing from you, admitting you to Me, or coming to you My ſelf, whenſoever you ſhall deſire.

And ſo God direct you the beſt way.

L.

To the Lord Primate of Ireland *and the Congregation at* CHRIST-CHURCH *in* OXFORD, M DC XLIII.

HIS Majeſty being to receive the Sacrament from the hands of the Lord Archbiſhop of Armagh, *riſing up from His knees, and beckening to the Archbiſhop for a ſhort forbearance, ſaid,*

My Lord, I eſpy here many reſolved Proteſtants, who may declare to the world the Reſolution I do now make.

I have to the utmoſt of My power prepared My Soul to become a worthy Receiver: and may I ſo receive comfort by the Bleſſed Sacrament, as I do intend the eſtabliſhment of the true Reformed Proteſtant Religion as it ſtood in its beauty in the happy daies of Queen *Elizabeth*, without any connivence at Poperie.

I bleſs God, that in the midſt of theſe publick Diſtractions I have ſtill liberty to communicate: And may this Sacrament be My Damnation, if My Heart do not joyn with My Lips in this Proteſtation.

LI.

To the Lords and Commons, at OXFORD, *February* 7. MDCXLIII. IV.

MY Lords and Gentlemen, I have hardly thus long forborn to give you thanks for the care and pains you have taken for the publick ſafety ſince your coming together.

And firſt I thank you for your inclination to Peace: to which as My willingneſs of complying ſhewed the conſtancy of My endeavours in the beſt way for the publick good; ſo the Rebels, by their ſcornfully rejecting your Overtures, as they have done heretofore Mine, have ſhewed their conſtancy in their way.

Next, I muſt thank every one of you for ſo chearfully applying your ſelves to the maintenance and recruiting of My Army, which I hope God will ſo bleſs, that thereby theſe enemies of Peace ſhall have their due reward. And truely, My Lords and Gentlemen, this alacrity of yours in providing for My Army doth pleaſe Me in no conſideration ſo much, as that it is the beſt way for Peace; for certainly this ſtrange arrogance of refuſing to treat with you can proceed from nothing but their contempt of our Forces. But it is your preſent Honor, and will be more to poſterity, that God hath made you inſtruments to defend your Sovereign, and to preſerve your Countrey; to ſee that Religion and Law to flouriſh which you have reſcued from the violence of Rebellion; for which I hope in time to recompenſe every one of you: but if I ſhall not, here is one I hope will; in which He ſhall but perform My Commands: For I have no greater ſadneſs for thoſe who are My ill Subjects, then I have joy and comfort in your affections and fidelities.

And ſo God proſper your proceedings.

LII.

To the Lords and Commons, at their Receſſe,

OXFORD, *April* 16. MDCXLIV.

MY Lords and Gentlemen, I am now brought to you by your ſelves; for I ſhould not ſo ſoon have parted with you, if you had not deſired it: and I believe that the ſame zeal and affection to Me and your Countrey which hath brought and ſtai'd you here, hath cauſed you to ſeek this Receſs, that ſo by diſtributing your ſelves into your ſeveral Countries, we may all the better reap the fruits of our Conſultations. Wherefore in God's name diſpoſe of your ſelves as you think fit. I heartily thank you for what you have done, and fully approve of what you deſire.

I think moſt, if not all, of you are ingaged in My Service, either in a Civil or Martial way. To you that have charge in My Armies I recommend the diligent attendance on your Commands, that ſo by your good example and diſcipline you may ſuppreſs Licence and Diſorder, which will diſcredit, and may deſtroy the beſt Cauſe.

And to you who are ingaged in the Civil Affairs, I muſt recommend theſe few particulars: That you expedite thoſe ſupplies of Monies which, by your advice, I have ſent for, whether by Subſcription or Exciſe; remembring that Monies are the Nerves of Warre.

Likewiſe that you uſe your beſt diligence for the preſsing of men, and incouragement of Voluntiers, by ſhewing them, that now the onely way to preſerve themſelves from Slavery and their Countrey from Ruine, is freely to ingage their perſons.

But chiefly, and with all poſsible care, to inform all My Subjects of the barbarity and odiouſneſs of this Rebellion, how ſollicitous I have been for Peace, and how inſolently and ſcornfully rejected; aſſuring them, that My Armes are raiſed and kept only for the defence of their Religion, Laws, and Liberties, which being once ſecured and vindicated, I ſhall moſt chearfully lay them down, I having, God knows, with much unwillingneſs taken them up.

Laſtly, aſſure them that theſe extraordinary waies which neceſſity hath produced, and moſt of them not without your conſent or advice, for My ſupplie, ſhall not hereafter be brought in example to their

their prejudice; and I shall in the mean time doe My best to prevent and punish all exorbitancies and disorders.

To conclude, My Lords and Gentlemen, I do now again, yet never enough, thank you for your great and unanimous expressions of your affections to Me, which hath laid an unexpressible obligation upon Me: and be assured that there is no profession which I have made for the defense and maintenance of our Religion, Laws, and Liberties, which I will not inviolably observe.

Now God, who hath blessed this Meeting with an unexpected unanimity, which I esteem as one not of his least Blessings, will, I hope, bring us all safe together again the eighth day of *October* next. In the mean time I shall be ready to receive any thing from your Committees that shall be desired.

LIII.

To the Inhabitants of Somerset, *at* KINGS-MORE, *July* 23. MDC XLIV.

GEntlemen, I have often desired before these Troubles to visit these Western parts, that I might with joy have been an eye-witness of the blessings of Peace which you then injoyed, and have been welcom'd with the hearty and unanimous affections of My good People here: But the malicious designs of the Authors of this most unnatural Warre have made those My intentions impossible; yet My coming to you in this posture may sufficiently express what value I set upon these Associated Counties. I am now come to relieve you from the violence of a Rebellious Army sent hither by those that have plunged this whole Kingdome into these desperate Distractions. They have got footing in your Countrey, and under the false pretences they carry with them (wherewith they have abused too many of my People) are ready to devour you, and bring destruction to your Religion, Property and Liberty. These I am come to defend; and shall refuse no danger that may conduce to your deliverance from this Slavery attempted on you by those men.

All that I ask of you is, that you will not be wanting to your selves, but will heartily joyn with Me in this good work, by contributing

your

your chearful aſsiſtance to My Army, and by performing your Duty in bearing Armes with Me in this good Cauſe, wherein whoever ſhall fall carrieth this comfort with him, that he falleth in defence of the true Proteſtant Religion, his King, his Countrey, and the Law of the Land. And he that will not venture his life for theſe, I had rather have his room then his company. Upon theſe grounds I ſhall lead you on: Follow Me with courage, and the God of Power give us his Bleſsing.

I ſhall further remember you of this, that if by your aſsiſtance it ſhall pleaſe God to inable Me to reduce this Army now in the bowels of your Countrey, you will not only thereby free theſe Aſſociated Counties from thoſe Miſeries which threaten you; but it may pleaſe God in mercy ſo to look upon this poor Kingdome, that the fruits of this Victory may be a means to reſtore Peace to us all, that bleſſed Peace which I have ſo often and ſo importunately ſought for from them at *Weſtminſter*, and which they have ſo ſcornfully rejected, as if the blood of their fellow-Subjects were their delight. God turn their hearts: neither ſhall I deſpair of it, if the ſucceſs of that Army, the chiefeſt ſtrength on which they rely, ſhall fail their expectation; for then it may have ſuch an influence upon them, that I hope they may be prevailed with to give you leave to be happy again; and, which I have ſo often deſired, to have all that is in queſtion between them and Me determined in a full and free convention of Parliament. Then I ſhall not fear but the united power of this Kingdome will eaſily free us from that Northern Invaſion, which, making uſe of our Diviſions, threatneth no leſs then the Conqueſt of this whole Nation. This I aſſure you, that no ſucceſs ſhall make Me leſs zealouſly ſeek for Peace, well knowing whoſe blood is to be ſpilt in this unhappy quarrel; but rather I ſhall more fervently increaſe My deſires, by how much I may have better grounded hopes to attain what I ſo earneſtly deſire.

When I mention Peace, I would be underſtood to intend that Peace which is built upon ſuch foundations as are moſt likely to render it firm and ſtable, wherein God's true Religion may be beſt ſecured from the danger of Popery, Sectaries and Innovations; the Crown may poſſeſs thoſe juſt Prerogatives which may inable Me to protect and govern My People according to Law; and the Subject

be confirmed in thoſe Rights which they have derived from their Foreſathers, and which I have granted to them in Parliament, to which I ſhall alwaies be ready to adde ſuch new Graces as I ſhall find moſt to conduce to their Happineſſe. This is the Peace which I labour for, wherein I may juſtly expect your beſt aſsiſtance, with your hearts, and hands, and purſes.

Neither ſhall I be more burthenſome to you with My Army then of neceſsity I muſt for its ſupport (ſo farre I muſt deſire your help, being violently robb'd of all My Revenues.) I have and ſhall uſe all poſsible means to ſuppreſſe the diſorders of the Souldiers. The beſt way to doe it is, by taking order that they be not provoked with want of neceſſary Proviſions. That being done by you, Maſter Sheriffe and the Commiſsioners of this Countie, which I moſt earneſtly commend to your care, you ſhall find Me very ſtrict in ſuch diſcipline as may beſt ſecure you.

This night I hope to have joyned to Me other conſiderable Forces, which are upon their march towards Me; and to morrow morning we ſhall humbly ask God's bleſsing on us, and begin the Work.

This care I ſhall further take for you, that aſſoon as poſsibly I can, other men to be levied by Impreſs ſhall ſupplie the place of ſuch of you as I ſhall then give liberty to return to your Harveſt.

I ſhall conclude with this promiſe to you, that I ſhall look upon your chearfulneſſe in this Service as the greateſt expreſsion of your Loyalty and Affections that you can make or I receive; which I ſhall requite if it be in My power. If I live not to doe it, I hope this young man, My Son, your fellow-Souldier in this Expedition, will; to Whom I ſhall particularly give it in charge.

LIV.

To the Committee of both Houſes, at the delivery of the Votes for a Perſonal Treaty, at CARISBROOK *Caſtle,* Aug. 7. M DC XLVIII.

ON Monday the ſeventh of Auguſt, *the Commiſsioners being admitted into the Kings preſence, the Votes were firſt read, and then preſented to His Majeſty by the Earl of* Middleſex, *who deſired His Majeſties* ſpeedy Anſwer, for that their return was limited to ten daies.

The King then asked, Whether the ten daies were not to be counted from that of the delivery of the Meſſage.

The Earl anſwering, No, Sir; they are to be counted from the day of our ſetting forth:

The King replied, I have not then five daies allowed Me to conſider of My Anſwer, which I preſume you expect in writing; and I have none to help Me, no not ſo much as a Clerk to tranſcribe. However I will really contribute My beſt endeavours to an happy Peace.

After a ſhort pauſe He added, I would have ſent to the Parliament: but I deſire them to take notice that My long Silence proceeds not from a dull ſtupid Lazineſſe, or My being inſenſible of My Own or the Kingdomes condition; but from the incapacity that lay on Me by reaſon of former Votes. But now a way is opened to a Treaty, which I ever apprehended as the onely means to a durable Peace, I ſhall chearfully embrace it, and none ſhall more ſpeedily run to it then My Self. And for My part, as being more concerned then any one in this Kingdome, nay, ſhould I ſay more then all, I ſpeak it without vanity, I hope it will be thought no Hyperbolical expreſſion, for I am aſſured, whoſoever gains, I ſhall be a loſer, ——

His Majeſty then read the Votes to Himſelf; after which He ſaid, I like them well, My deſires being included in theſe Votes; for what can I deſire more then to treat with Honor, Freedome and Safety, upon the Propoſitions, and ſuch other things as either I or the two Houſes ſhall offer? *Then asking* Whether the Commiſsioners to treat were yet nominated:

The Earle of Middleſex *anſwered*, No, Sir.

And the King added, In a Treaty two ſorts of things are conſiderable; ſome Neceſſary, others Convenient, —— *Then breaking off He ſaid*, I will goe and apply My Self to My Anſwer, that I may not delay a minute to promote ſo good a Work. *And ſo withdrew, diſmiſſing the Commiſsioners.*

Thurſday, Aug. 10.

THE Commiſsioners coming to receive His Majeſties Anſwer, upon their entrance he told them, He was ſorry He was limited to ſo ſhort a time, and had ſo little helps for diſpatch, yet notwithſtanding He had prepared His Anſwer.

Before

Before the reading of it, He added, That the laſt Meſſage He ſent to the Houſes was delivered to the Commiſsioners ſealed; and had it been ſo preſented, it would have been better for Him: But now He thought it fit to ſend this open, becauſe He could not be in a worſe condition, being under ſo cloſe a Reſtraint, none being ſuffered to ſpeak a word to Him without ſuſpicion.

Then producing His Anſwer, He read it aloud in the Preſence-Chamber, being full of company: Which done, He ſaid, That He hoped He had therein endeavoured to give ſatisfaction to His Parliament, there being nothing in it but what He conceived was implied in their Votes.

And further added, That there might be ſome that would oppoſe this Treaty, as being gainers by theſe Warres, and therefore deſired the continuance of it. Others might think Him revengefull; but *He ſaid,* He was ſo farre from ſeeking Revenge, that if a Straw lay in their way to hurt them, He would ſtoop and take it up to prevent it. God forgive them, for I do.

Then the Commiſsioners coming to take their leaves, His Majeſty asked them, How they liked His Anſwer.

They anſwered, They thought and hoped it would produce a ſudden and happy well-grounded Peace.

LV.

To the Commiſsioners of both Houſes, at the firſt Cloſe of the Treaty at NEWPORT, NOV. 4. MDCXLVIII.

HIS *Majeſty ſaid,* That He hoped they were now ſenſible that none was more deſirous of a good and laſting Peace then Himſelf; That He had gone very farre to give His two Houſes ſatisfaction; That He thought, though the time for the Treaty was ended, yet the Treaty it ſelf was not; That He expected to hear from His two Houſes about His own Propoſitions; and would be ready to make His Conceſſions binding, by giving them the force of Laws.

He deſired, That they would put a good interpretation upon His vehement expreſſions in ſome of His Debates, there being nothing in His intentions but Kindneſſe: and that as they had taken abundance of freedome, and ſhewed great Abilities in their Debates, which have taken His Majeſty off from ſome of His Own Opinions;

ſo He doubted not, had they had power to recede, ſome of His Reaſons would have prevailed with them, as He is confident, had it been with His two Houſes, it would have done with them: and therefore beſeeches them to take the ſame freedome with His two Houſes, to preſſe them to a compliance with Him in thoſe things His Conſcience is not yet ſatisfied in, which more time may doe, His Opinion not being like the Laws of the *Medes* and *Perſians*, unalterable, or infallible.

He added His very hearty thanks for the pains they had taken to ſatisfie Him, profeſsing that He wanted Eloquence to commend their Abilities. He deſired them candidly to repreſent all the Tranſactions of this Treaty to His two Houſes, that they might ſee, Nothing of His Intereſt, how near or dear ſoever, but that wherein His Conſcience is unſatisfied, can hinder on His part a happy concluſion of this Treaty.

LVI.

To the Lords Commiſsioners, at their taking leave, NEWPORT, *Nov.* MDC XLVIII.

MY Lords, You are come to take your leave of Me; and I believe we ſhall ſcarce ever ſee each other again: but God's Will be done. I thank God, I have made My Peace with Him, and ſhall without fear undergoe what He ſhall be pleaſed to ſuffer man to doe unto Me.

My Lords, you cannot but know that in My Fall and Ruine you ſee your own, and that alſo near to you: I pray God ſend you better Friends then I have found.

I am fully informed of the whole carriage of the Plot againſt Me and Mine; and nothing ſo much afflicts Me, as the ſenſe and feeling I have of the Sufferings of My Subjects, and the Miſeries that hang over My three Kingdomes, drawn upon them by thoſe who upon pretences of Good violently purſue their own Intereſts and Ends.

LVII.

His MAJESTIES *Speeches to the pretended* High Court of Justice; *with the History of His* Tryall.

Jan. MDC XLVIII. IX.

Westminster-*Hall, Jan.* 20.

ON Saturday the twentieth of January *afternoon Serjeant* John Bradshaw, *President of the pretended Court, with about fifty seven of his fellow-Commissioners, came into* Westminster-*Hall, having sixteen men with Partisans, and their Officers, with a Sword and Mace, marching before them; (thus profaning the Name, the Place, and the Ensignes of* Justice, *in the perpetration of the most enormous and unexampled Villanie:) And at the West end of the Hall, prepared for their purpose,* Bradshaw *seated himself in a Crimson-Velvet Chaire in the midst, having a Desk with a Crimson-Velvet Cushion before him, and at his feet a Table covered with a Turkey Carpet, whereon the Sword and Mace were laid; the rest were placed on each side upon Benches hung with Scarlet, and the Partisans divided themselves on each hand before them.*

Being thus sate, and Silence made, the great Gate of the Hall was set open, and all persons promiscuously let in, so that the Hall was presently filled, and Silence again ordered.

Then Colonel Matthew Tomlinson *was commanded to bring the Prisoner (their* King*) into the Court: Which he did, within a quarter of an houre, with about twenty Officers with Partisans marching before Him, and others behind. Their Serjeant at Armes with his Mace received Him, and brought Him to the Barre, where a Crimson-Velvet Chaire was set. His Majesty, with an unconcerned Look upon His pretended Judges and the People in the Galleries on each side, sate down, without taking notice of their Court; but presently rose up again, and turned about, looking down upon the Guards placed on the left side, and the multitude of Spectators on the right side of the Hall.*

After Silence made, the pretended Act for His Triall was read by their Clerk, sitting at the side of the Table where the Sword and Mace lay.

An Act of Parliament of the House of Commons, for Triall of Charles Stuart *King of* England.

[Passed by the Fagge-end of the House of Commons, *Jan.* 4. having been cast out by the Lords, *Jan.* 2.]

WHereas it is notorious that CHARLES STUART, the now King of *England*, not content with the many incroachments which his Predecessors had made upon the People in their Rights and Freedome, hath had a wicked Designe to subvert the Ancient and Fundamental Laws and Liberties of this Nation, and in their place to introduce an Arbitrary and Tyrannical Government; and that besides all evil waies to bring his Designe to passe, he hath prosecuted it with Fire and Sword, levied and maintained a Civil Warre in the Land against the Parliament and Kingdome, whereby this Countrey hath been miserably wasted, the publick Treasure exhausted, Trade decaied, thousands of People murthered, and infinite other Mischiefs committed; for all which high Offences the said *Charles Stuart* might long since have been brought to exemplary and condign Punishment:

Whereas also the Parliament, well hoping that the Restraint and Imprisonment of his Person, after it had pleased God to deliver him into their hands, would have quieted the Distempers of the Kingdome, did forbear to proceed judicially against him; but found by sad experience, that such their Remissenesse served onely to encourage him and his Complices in the continuance of their evil practices, and in raising new Commotions, Rebellions, and Invasions:

For prevention of the like and greater inconveniences, and to the end no Chief Officer or Magiſtrate may hereafter preſume Traitourouſly and maliciouſly to imagine or contrive the enſlaving or deſtroying of the *Engliſh* Nation, and to expect impunity, Be it Enacted and Ordained by the Commons in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, and it is hereby Enacted and Ordained, that *Thomas* Lord *Fairfax*, General, *Oliver Cromwell*, Lieutenant-General, Commiſſary General *Henry Ireton*, Major General *Philip Skippon*, Sir *Hardreſſe Waller*, Colonel *Valentine Walton*, Colonel *Thomas Harriſon*, Colonel *Edward Whaley*, Colonel *Thomas Pride*, Colonel *Iſaac Ewer*, Colonel *Richard Ingoldſby*, Sir *Henry Mildmay*, Sir *Thomas Honywood*, *Thomas* Lord *Grey*, *Philip* Lord *Liſle*, *William* Lord *Mounſon*, Sir *John Danvers*, Sir *Thomas Maleverer*, Sir *John Bourchier*, Sir *James Harrington*, Sir *William Brereton*, *Robert Wallop* Eſq; *William Heveningham* Eſquire, *Iſaac Pennington* Alderman, *Thomas Atkins* Alderman, Colonel *Rowland Wilſon*, Sir *Peter Wentworth*, Colonel *Henry Marten*, Colonel *William Purefoy*, Colonel *Godfrey Boſvile*, *John Trenchard* Eſquire, Colonel *Herbert Morley*, Colonel *John Berkſtead*, Colonel *Matthew Tomlinſon*, *John Blakeſton* Eſquire, *Gilbert Millington* Eſquire, Sir *William Conſtable*, Colonel *Edward Ludlow*, Colonel *John Lambert*, Colonel *John Hutchinſon*, Sir *Arthur Heſilrigg*, Sir *Michael Liveſey*, *Richard Salway* Eſquire, *Humphrey Salway* Eſq; Colonel *Robert Tichborne*, Colonel *Owen Roe*, Colonel *Robert Manwaring*, Colonel *Robert Lilborn*, Colonel *Adrian Scroope*, Colonel *Richard Dean*, Colonel *John Okey*, Colonel *Robert Overton*, Colonel *John Harriſon*, Colonel *John Disborough*, Colonel *William Goffe*, Colonel *Robert Duckenfield*, *Cornelius Holland* Eſq; *John Carew* Eſquire, Sir *William Armyne*, *John Jones* Eſquire, *Miles Corbet* Eſquire, *Frances Allen* Eſq; *Thomas Liſter* Eſq; *Benjamin Weſton* Eſquire, *Peregrine Pelham* Eſquire, *John Gourdon* Eſquire, Serjeant *Francis Thorp*, *John Nutt* Eſquire, *Thomas Chaloner* Eſquire, Colonel *Algernon Sidney*, *John Anlaby* Eſquire, Colonel *John Moore*, *Rich. Darley* Eſquire, *William Say* Eſquire, *John Aldred* Eſquire, *John Fagge* Eſquire, *James Nelthrop* Eſquire, Sir *William Roberts*, Colonel *Francis Laſſels*, Colonel *Alexander Rigby*, *Henry Smith* Eſq; *Edmond Wilde* Eſquire, *James Chaloner* Eſquire, *Joſias Barners* Eſquire, *Dennis Bond* Eſquire, *Humphrey Edwards* Eſquire, *Gregory Clement* Eſquire, *John Fry* Eſq; *Thomas Wogan* Eſquire, Sir *Gregory Norton*, Serjeant *John Bradſhaw*, Colonel *Edmond Harvey*, *John Dove* Eſquire, Colonel *John Venne*, *John Foulk* Alderman, *Thomas Scot* Eſquire, *Thomas Andrews* Alderman, *William Cawley* Eſquire, *Abraham Burrell* Eſquire, Colonel *Anthony Stapely*, *Roger Gratwicke* Eſquire, *John Downes* Eſquire, Colonel *Thomas Horton*, Colonel *Thomas Hammond*, Colonel *George Fenwick*, Serjeant *Robert Nichols*, *Robert Reynolds* Eſquire, *John Liſle* Eſquire, *Nicholas Love* Eſquire, *Vincent Potter*, Sir *Gilbert Pickering*, *John Weaver* Eſquire, *John Lenthal* Eſquire, Sir *Edward Baynton*, *John Corbet* Eſquire, *Thomas Blunt* Eſquire, *Thomas Boone* Eſquire, *Auguſtine Garland* Eſquire, *Auguſtine Skinner* Eſquire, *John Dixwell* Eſquire, Colonel *George Fleetwood*, *Simon Maine* Eſquire, Colonel *James Temple*, Colonel *Peter Temple*, *Daniel Blagrave* Eſquire, Sir *Peter Temple*, Colonel *Thomas Waite*, *John Brown* Eſquire, *John Lowrey* Eſquire, ſhall be, and are hereby appointed, Commiſſioners and Judges for the hearing, Trying, and Judging of the ſaid *Charles Stuart*: And the ſaid Commiſſioners, or any twenty or more of them, ſhall be, and are hereby Authorized and conſtituted, an High Court of Juſtice, to meet at ſuch convenient times and place as by the ſaid Commiſſioners, or the major part, or twenty or more of them, under their hands and ſeals ſhall be appointed, and notified by publick Proclamation in the great Hall or Palace-yard of *Weſtminſter*; and to adjourn from time to time, and from place to place, as the ſaid High Court or the major part thereof meeting ſhall hold fit; and to take order for the charging of him, the ſaid *Charles Stuart*, with the Crimes above mentioned, and for the receiving His Perſonal Anſwer thereunto, and for examination of Witneſſes upon Oath (if need be) concerning the ſame; and thereupon, or in default of ſuch Anſwer, to proceed to final Sentence, according to Juſtice and the merit of the Cauſe, to be executed ſpeedily and impartially.

And the ſaid Court is hereby Authorized and required to chuſe and appoint all ſuch Officers, Attendants and other circumſtances, as they or the major part of them

them shall in any sort judge necessary or useful for the orderly and good managing of the premisses: and *Thomas* Lord *Fairfax* the General, with all Officers of Justice and other well-affected persons, are hereby Authorized and required to be aiding and assisting unto the said Commissioners in the due execution of the Trust hereby committed unto them. Provided that this Ordinance, and the Authority hereby granted, do continue for the space of one Month from the Date of the making hereof, and no longer.

After the reading of this, the several Names of the Commissioners were called over; every one who was present rising up, and answering to his call.

The King having again placed Himself in the Chair with His face towards the Commissioners, Silence was again ordered, and Bradshaw, *with Impudence befitting his person and his place, stood up and said,*

CHARLES STUART, King of *England*, The Commons of *England* assembled in Parliament being deeply sensible of the Calamities that have been brought upon this Nation, which is fixed upon you as the principal Author of it, have resolved to make inquisition for Blood; and according to that Debt and Duty they owe to Justice, to God, the Kingdome, and themselves, and according to the Fundamental Power that rests in themselves, they have resolved to bring you to Trial and Judgment, and for that purpose have constituted this High Court of Justice, before which you are brought.

Then their Solicitor John Cook *standing within a Barre on the right hand began;*

My Lord, in behalf of the Commons of *England*, and of all the People thereof, I do accuse CHARLES STUART, here present, of high Treason and high Misdemeanures; and I do, in the name of the Commons of *England*, desire the Charge may be read unto him.

As he was speaking, the King held up His Staffe, and laying it on his shoulders two or three times, bid him,

Hold a little.

But Bradshaw *ordered him to goe on; and the Charge being delivered to their Clerk,* Bradshaw *told the King,*

Sir, the Court commands the Charge to be read: If you have any thing to say afterwards, you may be heard.

Then the Clerk being ordered to read, began.

The Charge of the Commons of England *against* CHARLES STUART *King of* England, *of High Treason and other High Crimes, exhibited to the High Court of Justice.*

THat the said CHARLES STUART being admitted King of *England*, and therein trusted with a *limited* Power, to govern by and according to the Laws of the Land, and not otherwise, and by his Trust, Oath and Office, being obliged to use the Power committed to him for the good and benefit of the People, and for the preservation of their Rights and Liberties: yet nevertheless, out of a wicked *Designe* to erect and upholdin himself an unlimited and Tyrannical Power, to Rule according to his *Will*, and to overthrow the Rights and Liberties of the People, yea, to take away and make void the Foundations thereof, and of all redresse and remedy of Misgovernment, which by the Fundamental Constitutions of this Kingdome were reserved on the Peoples behalf in the Right and Power of frequent and successive Parliaments, or National Meetings in Councel; he, the said *Charles Stuart*, for accomplishment of such his Designes, and for the protecting himself and his Adherents

in his and their wicked practices to the same Ends, hath traitourously and maliciously levied Warre against the present Parliament, and the People therein Represented:

Particularly, upon or about the thirtieth day of *June*, in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred fourty and two, at *Beverly* in the County of *York*; and upon or about the thirtieth day of *July*, in the year aforesaid, in the County of the City of *York*; and upon or about the twenty fourth day of *August*, in the same year, at the County of the Town of *Nottingham*, (when and where he set up his *Standard* of *Warre*;) and upon or about the twenty third day of *October*, in the same year, at *Edge-Hill* and *Kineton*-field in the County of *Warwick*; and upon or about the thirtieth day of *November*, in the same year, at *Brainford* in the County of *Middlesex*; and upon or about the thirtieth day of *August*, in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred fourty and three, at *Cavesham* Bridge near *Reading* in the County of *Berks*; and upon or about the thirtieth day of *October*, in the year last mentioned, at or near the City of *Glouceſter*; and upon or about the thirtieth day of *November*, in the year last mentioned, at *Newbury* in the County of *Berks*; and upon or about the one and thirtieth day of *July*, in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred fourty and four, at *Croperdy* Bridge in the County of *Oxon*; and upon or about the thirtieth day of *September*, in the year last mentioned, at *Bodmin* and other places near adjacent in the County of *Cornwall*; and upon or about the thirtieth day of *November*, in the year last mentioned, at *Newbury* aforesaid; and upon or about the eighth day of *June*, in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred fourty and five, at the Town of *Leiceſter*; and also upon the fourteenth day of the same moneth, in the same year, at *Naseby*-field in the County of *Northampton*: At which several times and places, or most of them, and at many other places in this Land, at several other times within the years aforementioned, and in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred fourty and six, he, the said *Charles Stuart*, hath caused and procured many thousands of the Free People of the Nation to be slain, and by Divisions, Parties and Insurrections within this Land, by Invasions from Forein Parts, endeavoured and procured by him, and by many other evil wayes and means, he, the said *Charles Stuart*, hath not onely maintained and carried on the said Warre both by Land and Sea, during the years before mentioned, but also hath renewed, or caused to be renewed, the said Warre against the Parliament and good People of this Nation in this present year one thousand six hundred fourty and eight, in the Counties of *Kent*, *Essex*, *Surrey*, *Sussex*, *Middlesex*, and many other places in *England* and *Wales*, and also by Sea; and particularly, he, the said *Charles Stuart*, hath for that purpose given Commission to his Son, the Prince, and others, whereby, besides multitudes of other persons, many such as were by the Parliament intrusted and imployed for the safety of the Nation, being by him or his Agents corrupted to the betraying of their Trust, and revolting from the Parliament, have had entertainment and Commission for the continuing and renewing of Warre and Hostility against the said Parliament and People, as aforesaid. By which cruel and unnaturall Warres by him, the said *Charles Stuart*, levied, continued and renewed, as aforesaid, much innocent blood of the Free People of this Nation hath been spilt, many Families have been undone, the publick Treasury wasted and exhausted, Trade obstructed and miserably decayed, vast expence and damage to the Nation incurred, and many parts of the Land spoiled, some of them even to Desolation.

And for further prosecution of his said evil Designes, he, the said *Charles Stuart*, doth still continue his Commissions to the said Prince, and other Rebels and Revolters, both *English* and Foreiners, and to the Earle of *Ormond*, and to the *Irish* Rebels and Revolters associated with him, from whom further Invasions upon this Land are threatned, upon the procurement and on the behalf of the said *Charles Stuart*.

All which wicked Designs, Warres, and evil Practices of him, the said *Charles Stuart*, have been and are carried on for the advancing and upholding of the Personal Interest of Will and Power, and pretended Prerogative to himself and his Familie, against the Publick Interest, Common Right, Liberty, Justice, and Peace of the People of this Nation, by and for whom he was intrusted, as aforesaid.

By all which it appeareth that he, the said *Charles Stuart*, hath been and is the Occasioner,

Occaſioner, Author and Contriver of the ſaid unnatural, cruel and bloody Warres, and therein guilty of all the Treaſons, Murders, Rapines, Burnings, Spoils, Deſolations, Damage and Miſchief to this Nation, acted or committed in the ſaid Warres, or occaſioned thereby.

And the ſaid *John Cook* (by Proteſtation ſaving on the behalf of the People of *England* the liberty of exhibiting at any time hereafter any other Charge againſt the ſaid *Charles Stuart*, and alſo of replying to the Anſwers which the ſaid *Charles Stuart* ſhall make to the Premiſſes or any of them, or any other Charge that ſhall be ſo exhibited) doth for the ſaid Treaſons and Crimes, on the behalf of the ſaid People of *England*, impeach the ſaid *Charles Stuart* as a Tyrant, Traitour, Murderer, and a publick and implacable Enemy to the Commonwealth of *England*; and pray that the ſaid *Charles Stuart*, King of *England*, may be put to anſwer all and every the Premiſſes, that ſuch Proceedings, Examinations, Tryals, Sentence and Judgement may be thereupon had, as ſhall be agreeable to Juſtice.

His Majeſtie with His wonted Patience heard all theſe Slanders and Reproaches, ſitting in the Chaire, and looking ſometimes on the pretended Court, ſometimes up to the Galleries; and riſing again turned about to behold the Guards and Spectators: then He ſate down with a Majeſtick and unmoved countenance, and ſometimes ſmiling, eſpecially at thoſe words [Tyrant, Traitour] *and the like.*

Alſo the ſilver head of His Staffe happened to fall off; at which He wondered, and ſeeing none to take it up, He ſtooped for it Himſelf.

The Charge being read, Bradſhaw *began.*

Sir, you have now heard your Charge read, containing ſuch matters as appear in it: you find that in the cloſe of it, it is prayed to the Court, in the behalf of the Commons of *England*, that you anſwer to your Charge: The Court expects your Anſwer.

KING. I would know by what Power I am called hither. I was not long agoe in the Iſle of *Wight*; how I came there, is a longer ſtorie then I think is fit at this time for Me to ſpeak of: but there I entred into a Treaty with both Houſes of Parliament, with as much publick Faith as it's poſsible to be had of any People in the World. I treated there with a number of Honourable Lords and Gentlemen, and treated honeſtly and uprightly; I cannot ſay but they did very nobly with Me: we were upon a concluſion of the Treaty. Now I would know by what Authority (I mean, *lawfull*; there are many *unlawful* Authorities in the world, Thieves and Robbers by the highwayes; but I would know, by what Authority) I was brought from thence, and carried from place to place, and I know not what. And when I know by what lawful Authority, I ſhall anſwer.

Remember, I am your *King*, your *lawful King*, and what ſins you bring upon your heads, and the Judgment of God upon this Land: Think well upon it, I ſay, think well upon it, before you goe further from one ſin to a greater. Therefore let Me know by what *lawful* Authority I am ſeated here, and I ſhall not be unwilling to anſwer. In the mean time I ſhall not betray My Truſt: I have a Truſt committed

mitted to Me by God, by old and lawful Deſcent; I will not betray it, to anſwer to a new unlawful Authority. Therefore reſolve Me that, and you ſhall hear more of Me.

Bradſhaw. If you had been pleaſed to have obſerved what was hinted to you by the Court at your firſt coming hither, you would have known by what Authority: which Authority requires you, in the name of the People of *England*, of which you are elected King, to anſwer.

KING. No, Sir; I deny that.

Bradſhaw. If you acknowledge not the Authority of the Court, they muſt proceed.

KING. I do tell them ſo: *England* was never an *Elective* Kingdome, but an Hereditary Kingdome for near theſe thouſand years: therefore let Me know by what Authority I am called hither. I do ſtand more for the Liberty of My People then any here that come to be My pretended Judges: and therefore let Me know by what lawful Authority I am ſeated here, and I will anſwer it; otherwiſe I will not anſwer it.

Bradſhaw. Sir, how really you have managed your Truſt, is known: your way of Anſwer is to interrogate the Court, which beſeems not you in this Condition. You have been told of it twice or thrice.

KING. Here is a Gentleman, Lieutenant Colonel *Cobbet*, ask him if he did not bring Me from the Iſle of *Wight* by force. I do not come here as ſubmitting to the Court.

I will ſtand as much for the Privilege of the Houſe of Commons, rightly underſtood, as any man here whatſoever: I ſee no Houſe of Lords here, that may conſtitute a Parliament; and the King too ſhould have been.

Is this the bringing of the King to His Parliament? Is this the bringing an end to the Treaty in the Publick Faith of the World?

Let Me ſee a Legal Authority, warranted by the Word of God, the Scriptures, or warranted by the Conſtitutions of the Kingdome, and I will anſwer.

Bradſhaw. Sir, you have propounded a Queſtion, and have been anſwered. Seeing you will not anſwer, the Court will conſider how to proceed. In the mean time, thoſe that brought you hither are to take charge of you back again.

The Court deſires to know whether this be all the Anſwer you will give, or no.

KING. Sir I deſire that you would give Me and all the World ſatisfaction in this. Let Me tell you, It is not a ſlight thing you are about. I am ſworn to keep the Peace, by that Duty I owe to God and

My

My Countrey; and I will doe it to the laſt breath of My body: And therefore you ſhall doe well to ſatisfie, firſt God, and then the Countrey, by what Authority you doe it. If you doe it by an uſurped Authority, you cannot anſwer it: There is a God in Heaven that will call you, and all that give you Power, to account. Satisfie Me in that, and I will anſwer; otherwiſe I betray My Truſt, and the Liberties of the People: and therefore think of that, and then I ſhall be willing. For I do avow, That it is as great a Sin to withſtand Lawful Authority, as it is to ſubmit to a Tyrannical, or any otherwaies unlawful Authority. And therefore ſatisfie God, and Me, and all the World in that, and you ſhall receive My Anſwer. I am not afraid of the Bill.

Bradſhaw. The Court expects you ſhould give them a finall Anſwer. Their purpoſe is to adjourn till Monday next: If you do not ſatisfie your ſelf, though we do tell you our Authority, we are ſatisfied with our Authority, and it is upon God's Authority and the Kingdomes; and that Peace you ſpeak of will be kept in the doing of Juſtice, and that's our preſent Work.

KING. For Anſwer, let Me tell you, you have ſhewn no Lawful Authority to ſatisfie any reaſonable man.

Bradſhaw. That's in your apprehenſion; we are ſatisfied that are your Judges.

KING. 'Tis not My apprehenſion, nor yours neither, that ought to decide it.

Bradſhaw. The Court hath heard you, and you are to be diſpoſed of as they have commanded.

So commanding the Guard to take Him away, His Majeſty onely replied,

Well, Sir.

And at His going down, pointing with His Staffe toward the Axe, He ſaid,

I do not fear that.

As He went down the ſtairs, the People in the Hall cried out, God ſave the King; *notwithſtanding ſome were there ſet by the Faction to lead the clamour for* Juſtice.

O yes *being called, they adjourn.*

Weſtminſter-*Hall, Monday,* Jan. 22. *Afternoon.*

SUnday being ſpent in Faſting and Preaching, (according to their manner of making Religion a pretence and prologue to their Villanies) on Monday afternoon they came again into the Hall, and after Silence commanded, called over their Court, where Seventy perſons being preſent anſwered to their Names.

His Majeſty being brought in, the People gave a ſhout.

Command given to the Captain of their Guard to fetch and take into his cuſtodie thoſe who make any Diſturbance.

Then

Then their Solicitor Cooke *began,*

May it pleaſe your Lordſhip, my Lord Preſident, I did at the laſt Court, in the behalf of the Commons of *England*, exhibite and give into this Court a Charge of High Treaſon and other high Crimes againſt the Priſoner at the Barre, whereof I do accuſe him in the name of the People of *England*; and the Charge was read unto him, and his Anſwer required. My Lord, he was not then pleaſed to give an Anſwer; but in ſtead of anſwering, did there diſpute the Authority of this High Court. My humble motion to this High Court, in behalf of the Kingdome of *England*, is, That the Priſoner may be directed to make a poſitive Anſwer, either by way of Confeſſion, or Negation; which if he ſhall refuſe to doe, that the matter of Charge may be taken *pro confeſſo*, and the Court may proceed according to Juſtice.

Bradſhaw. Sir, you may remember, at the laſt Court you were told the occaſion of your being brought hither, and you heard a Charge read againſt you, containing a Charge of High Treaſon and other high Crimes againſt this Realm of *England*; you heard likewiſe, that it was prayed in the behalf of the People, that you ſhould give an Anſwer to that Charge, that thereupon ſuch proceedings might be had as ſhould be agreeable to Juſtice: you were then pleaſed to make ſome ſcruples concerning the Authority of this Court, and knew not by what Authority you were brought hither: you did divers time propound your Queſtions, and were as often anſwer'd, That it was by Authority of the Commons of *England* aſſembled in Parliament, that did think fit to call you to account for thoſe high and capital Miſdemeanours wherewith you were then charged.

Since that, the Court hath taken into conſideration what you then ſaid: they are fully ſatisfied with their own Authority, and they hold it fit you ſhould ſtand ſatisfied with it too; and they do require it, that you do give a poſitive and particular Anſwer to this Charge that is exhibited againſt you. They do expect you ſhould either confeſſe, or deny it: If you deny, it is offered, in the behalf of the Kingdome, to be made good againſt you. Their Authority they do avow to the whole World, that the whole Kingdome are to reſt ſatisfied in, and you are to reſt ſatisfied with it; and therefore you are to loſe no more time, but to give a poſitive Anſwer thereunto.

KING. When I was here laſt, 'tis very true, I made that Queſtion; and if it were onely My own particular Caſe, I would have ſatisfied My ſelf with the Proteſtation I made the laſt time I was here againſt the Legality of this Court, and that a King cannot be tried by any ſuperior Juriſdiction on Earth: But it is not My Caſe alone, it is the Freedome and the Liberty of the People of *England*; and do you pretend what you will, I ſtand more for their Liberties. For if Power without Law may make Laws, may alter the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdome, I do not know what Subject he is in *England* that can be ſure of his Life, or any thing that he calls his own. Therefore, when that I came here, I did expect particular Reaſons, to know by what Law, what Authority you did proceed againſt Me here; and therefore I am a little to ſeek what to ſay to you in this particular, becauſe the Affirmative is to be proved, the Negative often is very hard to doe. But ſince I cannot perſwade you to doe it, I ſhall tell you My Reaſons as ſhort as I can.

My

My Reaſons why in Conſcience, and the Duty I owe to God firſt, and My People next, for the preſervation of their Lives, Liberties and Eſtates; I conceive I cannot anſwer this, till I be ſatisfied of the Legality of it.

All proceedings againſt any man whatſoever——

Bradſhaw. Sir, I muſt interrupt you; which I would not doe, but that what you doe is not agreeable to the proceedings of any Court of Juſtice. You are about to enter into Argument and Diſpute concerning the Authority of this Court, before whom you appear as a Priſoner, and are charged as an high Delinquent: If you take upon you to diſpute the Authority of the Court, we may not doe it, nor will any Court give way unto it: you are to ſubmit unto it, you are to give a punctual and direct Anſwer, whether you will anſwer your Charge or no, and what your Anſwer is.

KING. Sir, by your favour, I do not know the Forms of Law; I do know Law and Reaſon, though I am no Lawyer profeſs'd, but I know as much Law as any Gentleman in *England*; and therefore, under favour, I do plead for the Liberties of the People of *England* more then you doe: and therefore if I ſhould impoſe a belief upon any man without Reaſons given for it, it were unreaſonable: but I muſt tell you, that that Reaſon that I have as thus informed, I cannot yield unto it.

Bradſhaw. Sir, I muſt interrupt you; you may not be permitted. You ſpeak of Law and Reaſon: it is fit there ſhould be Law and Reaſon; & there is both againſt you. Sir, the Vote of the Commons of *England* aſſembled in Parliament, it is the *Reaſon* of the Kingdome; and they are theſe too that have given that Law according to which you ſhould have ruled and reigned. Sir, you are not to diſpute our Authority; you are told it again by the Court: Sir, it will be taken notice of, that you ſtand in contempt of the Court, and your Contempt will be recorded accordingly.

KING. I do not know how a King can be a Delinquent: but by any Law that ever I heard of, all men (Delinquents, or what you will) let Me tell you, they may put in Demurrers againſt any proceeding as Legal; and I do demand that, and demand to be heard with My Reaſons: If you deny that, you deny Reaſon.

Bradſhaw. Sir, you have offer'd ſomething to the Court; I ſhall ſpeak ſomething unto you the ſenſe of the Court. Sir, neither you nor any man are permitted to diſpute that point; you are concluded, you may not demurre to the Juriſdiction of the Court; if you do, I muſt let you know that they over-rule your Demurrer: They ſit here by the Authority of the Commons of *England*, and all your Predeceſſors and you are reſponſible to them.

KING. I deny that; ſhew Me one Precedent.

Bradſhaw. Sir, you ought not to interrupt while the Court is ſpeaking to you. This point is not to be debated by you, neither will the Court permit you to doe it. If you offer it by way of Demurrer to the Juriſdiction of the Court, they have conſidered of their Juriſdiction, they do affirm their own Juriſdiction.

KING. I ſay, Sir, by your favour, that the Commons of *England* was never a Court of Judicature: I would know how they came to be ſo.

Bradſhaw. Sir, you are not to be permitted to goe on in that ſpeech and theſe diſcourſes.

Then the Clerk of the Court read,

Charles Stuart, King of *England*, you have been accuſed on the behalf of the People of *England* of High Treaſon and other High Crimes, the Court have determined that you ought to anſwer the ſame.

KING. I will anſwer the ſame, ſo ſoon as I know by what Authority you doe this.

Bradſhaw. If this be all that you will ſay, then, Gentlemen, you that brought the Priſoner hither, take charge of him back again.

KING. I do require that I may give in My Reaſons why I do not anſwer, and give Me time for that.

Bradſhaw. Sir, 'tis not for Priſoners to require.

KING. Priſoners, Sir? I am not an ordinary Priſoner.

Bradſhaw. The Court hath conſidered of their Juriſdiction, and they have already affirmed their Juriſdiction: If you will not anſwer, we ſhall give order to record your Default.

KING. You never heard My Reaſons yet.

Bradſhaw. Sir, your Reaſons are not to be heard againſt the Higheſt Juriſdiction.

KING. Shew Me that Juriſdiction where Reaſon is not to be heard.

Bradſhaw. Sir, we ſhew it you here, the Commons of *England*: and the next time you are brought, you will know more of the pleaſure of the Court; and, it may be, their final Determination.

KING. Shew Me where ever the Houſe of Commons was a Court of Judicature of that kind.

Bradſhaw. Serjeant, take away the Priſoner.

KING. Well, Sir, remember that the King is not ſuffered to give in His Reaſons for the Liberty and Freedome of all His Subjects.

Bradſhaw. Sir, you are not to have liberty to uſe this language. How great a Friend you have been to the Laws and Liberties of the People, let all *England* and the World judge.

KING. Sir, under favour, it was the Liberty, Freedome, and Laws of the Subject that ever I took —— defended My Self with Armes: I never took up Armes againſt the People, but for the Laws.

Bradſhaw.

Bradshaw. The Command of the Court must be obeyed. No Answer will be given to the Charge.

KING. Well, Sir.

Then Bradshaw *ordered the Default to be recorded, and the Contempt of the Court, and that no Answer would be given to the Charge.*

The King was guarded forth to Sir Robert Cotton's *house.*

The Court adjourned to the Painted Chamber on Tuesday at twelve of clock, and from thence they intend to adjourn to Westminster-*Hall, at which time all persons concerned are to give their attendance.*

His Majesty not being suffered to deliver His Reasons against the Jurisdiction of their pretended Court by word of mouth, thought fit to leave them in writing to the more impartial judgment of Posterity, as followeth;

HAving already made My Protestations, not onely against the Illegality of this pretended Court, but also That no Earthly Power can justly call Me (who am your King) in question as a Delinquent; I would not any more open My mouth upon this occasion, more then to referre My self to what I have spoken, were I in this Case alone concerned. But the Duty I owe to God in the preservation of the true Liberty of My People will not suffer Me at this time to be silent. For, how can any free-born Subject of *England* call Life or any thing he possesseth his own, if Power without Right daily make new, and abrogate the old Fundamental Law of the Land? which I now take to be the present Case. Wherefore when I came hither, I expected that you would have endeavoured to have satisfied Me concerning these grounds which hinder Me to answer to your pretended Impeachment: But since I see that nothing I can say will move you to it, (though Negatives are not so naturally proved as Affirmatives) yet I will shew you the Reason why I am confident you cannot Judge Me, nor indeed the meanest man in *England*: For I will not, (like you) without shewing a Reason, seek to impose a belief upon My Subjects.

There is no proceeding just against any man, but what is warranted either by God's Laws or the Municipal Laws of the Countrey where he lives. Now I am most confident this dayes proceeding cannot be warranted by God's Law; for, on the contrary, the authority of Obedience unto Kings is clearly warranted and strictly commanded both in the Old and New Testament; which if denied, I

Hereabout I was stopt, and not suffered to speak any more concerning Reasons.

am ready instantly to prove. And for the Question now in hand, there it is said, That *where the Word of a King is, there is Power; and who may say unto him, What doest thou? Eccl.* 8. 4. Then for the Law of this Land, I am no less confident that no learned Lawyer will affirme that an Impeachment can lye against the King, they all going in His Name; and one of their Maximes is, That *the King can doe no wrong.* Besides, the Law upon which you ground your proceedings must either be old or new: if old, shew it; if new, tell what Authority warranted by the Fundamental Laws of the Land hath made it, and when. But how the House of Commons can erect a Court of Judicature, which was never one it self (as is well known to all Lawyers) I leave to God and the world to judge: And it were full as strange, that they should pretend to make Laws without King or Lords House, to any that have heard speak of the Laws of *England.*

And admitting, but not granting, that the People of *England*'s Commission could grant your pretended Power, I see nothing you can shew for that; for certainly you never asked the question of the tenth man in the Kingdome; and in this way you manifestly wrong even the pooreſt Plough-man, if you demand not his free consent: nor can you pretend any colour for this your pretended Commission without the consent at least of the major part of every man in *England*, of whatsoever quality or condition, which I am sure you never went about to seek; so farre are you from having it. Thus you see that I speak not for My own Right alone, as I am your King, but also for the true Liberty of all My Subjects, which consists not in the power of Government, but in living under such Laws, such a Government, as may give themselves the best assurance of their Lives and propriety of their Goods. Nor in this must or do I forget the Privileges of both Houses of Parliament, which this dayes Proceedings do not only violate, but likewise occasion the greatest breach of their publick Faith that (I believe) ever was heard of: with which I am far from charging the two Houses; for all pretended Crimes laid against Me bear Date long before this late Treaty at *Newport*, in which I having concluded as much as in Me lay, and hopefully expecting the Houses agreement thereunto, I was suddenly surprized, and hurried from thence as a Prisoner, upon which account I am against My will brought hither; where since I am come, I cannot but to My power

defend

defend the ancient Laws and Liberties of this Kingdome, together with My own juſt Right. Then, for any thing I can ſee, the Higher Houſe is totally excluded. And for the Houſe of Commons, it is too well known that the major part of them are detained or deterred from ſitting; ſo as, if I had no other, this were ſufficient for Me to proteſt againſt the Lawfulneſſe of your pretended Court. Beſides all this, the Peace of the Kingdome is not the leaſt in My thoughts; and what hopes of Settlement is there, ſo long as Power reigns without Rule or Law, changing the whole frame of that Government under which this Kingdome hath flouriſhed for many hundred years? (nor will I ſay what will fall out, in caſe this Lawleſſe unjuſt proceeding againſt Me do goe on.) And believe it, the Commons of *England* will not thank you for this Change, for they will remember how happy they have been of late years under the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, the King My Father, and My ſelf, untill the beginning of theſe unhappy Troubles, and will have cauſe to doubt that they ſhall never be ſo happy under any new. And by this time it will be too ſenſibly evident, that the Arms I took up were onely to defend the Fundamental Laws of this Kingdome, againſt thoſe who have ſuppoſed My Power hath totally changed the ancient Government.

Thus having ſhewed you briefly the Reaſons why I cannot ſubmit to your pretended Authority, without violating the Truſt which I have from God for the Welfare and Liberty of My People; I expect from you either clear Reaſons to convince My Judgement, ſhewing Me that I am in an Errour (and then truly I will anſwer) or that you will withdraw your proceedings.

This I intended to ſpeak in *Weſtminſter*-Hall on Monday 22. *January*, but againſt Reaſon was hindred to ſhew My Reaſons.

Weſtminſter-*Hall, Tueſday*, Jan. 23. *Afternoon.*

O Yes *made, Silence commanded. The Court called; Seventy one preſent.*

The King brought in by the Guard, looks with a Majeſtick Countenance upon His pretended Judges, and ſits down.

After the ſecond O yes, *and Silence commanded*, Cooke *began more inſolently*;

May it pleaſe your Lordſhip, my Lord Preſident, this is now the third time that,

by the great grace and favour of this High Court, the Priſoner hath been brought to the Barre, before any Iſſue joyned in the Cauſe. My Lord, I did at the firſt Court exhibite a Charge againſt him, containing the higheſt Treaſon that ever was wrought upon the Theatre of *England*, That a King of *England*, truſted to keep the Law, that had taken an Oath ſo to doe, that had Tribute pay'd him for that end, ſhould be guilty of a wicked Deſigne to ſubvert and deſtroy our Laws, and introduce an Arbitrary and Tyrannical Government, in the * defence of the Parliament and their Authority, ſet up his Standard for Warre againſt the Parliament and People: and I did humbly pray, in the behalf of the People of *England*, that he might ſpeedily be required to make an Anſwer to the Charge.

* defiance.

But, My Lord, in ſtead of making any Anſwer, he did then diſpute the Authority of this High Court. Your Lordſhip was pleaſed to give him a further day to conſider, and to put in his Anſwer; which day being yeſterday, I did humbly move, that he might be required to give a direct and poſitive Anſwer, either by denying or confeſſion of it: But, my Lord, he was then pleaſed for to demurre to the Juriſdiction of the Court, which the Court did then over-rule, and command him to give a direct and poſitive Anſwer.

My Lord, beſides this great delay of Juſtice, I ſhall now humbly move your Lordſhip for ſpeedy Judgment againſt him. My Lord, I might preſſe your Lordſhip upon the whole, that according to the known rules of the Law of the Land, That if a Priſoner ſhall ſtand as contumacious in contempt, and ſhall not put in an iſſuable Plea, guilty or not guilty of the Charge given againſt him, whereby he may come to a fair Tryal, that as by an implicite confeſſion it may be taken *pro confeſſo*, as it hath been done to thoſe who have deſerved more favour then the Priſoner at the Barre has done: But beſides, my Lord, I ſhall humbly preſſe your Lordſhip upon the whole fact. The Houſe of Commons, the Supreme Authority and Juriſdiction of the Kingdome, they have declared, That it is notorious that the matter of the Charge is true; as it is in truth, my Lord, as clear as Cryſtal, and as the Sun that ſhines at noon-day: which if your Lordſhip and the Court be not ſatisfied in, I have notwithſtanding, on the People of *England*'s behalf, ſeveral Witneſſes to produce. And therefore I do humbly pray, (and yet I muſt confeſſe it is not ſo much I, as the innocent blood that hath been ſhed, the Cry whereof is very great for Juſtice and Judgement, and therefore I do humbly pray) that ſpeedy Judgment be pronounced againſt the Priſoner at the Barre.

Bradſhaw *went on in the ſame ſtrain*,

Sir, you have heard what is moved by the Counſel on the behalf of the Kingdome againſt you. Sir, you may well remember, and if you do not, the Court cannot forget, what dilatorie dealings the Court hath found at your hands. You were pleaſed to propound ſome Queſtions; you have had your Reſolution upon them. You were told over and over again, That the Court did affirm their own Juriſdiction; That it was not for you nor any other man to diſpute the Juriſdiction of the ſupreme and higheſt Authority of *England*, from which there is no Appeal, and touching which there muſt be no diſpute: yet you did perſiſt in ſuch carriage, as you gave no manner of Obedience, nor did you acknowledge any authority in them, nor the High Court that conſtituted this Court of Juſtice.

Sir, I muſt let you know from the Court, that they are very ſenſible of theſe delays of yours, and that they ought not, being thus authorized by the ſupreme Court of *England*, to be thus trifled withall, and that they might in Juſtice, if they pleaſed, and according to the rules of Juſtice, take advantage of theſe delays, and proceed to pronounce Judgement againſt you: yet nevertheleſſe they are pleaſed to give direction, and on their behalfs I do require you, that you make a poſitive Anſwer unto this Charge that is againſt you. Sir, in plain terms, (for Juſtice knows no reſpect of Perſons) you are to give your poſitive and final Anſwer in plain *Engliſh*, whether you be guilty or not guilty of theſe Treaſons laid to your Charge.

The King, after a little pauſe, ſaid,

When I was here yeſterday, I did deſire to ſpeak for the Liberties of

of the People of *England*: I was interrupted: I desire to know yet whether I may speak freely or not.

Bradshaw. Sir, you have had the Resolution of the Court upon the like Question the last day, and you were told, That having such a Charge of so high a nature against you, your work was, that you ought to acknowledge the Jurisdiction of the Court, and to answer to your Charge. Sir, if you answer to your Charge, which the Court gives you leave now to doe, though they might have taken the advantage of your Contempt, yet if you be able to answer to your Charge, when you have once answered, you shall be heard at large, make the best Defence you can. But, Sir, I must let you know from the Court, as their Commands, that you are not to be permitted to issue out into any other discourses, till such time as you have given a positive Answer concerning the matter that is charged upon you.

KING. For the Charge, I value it not a rush. It is the Libertie of the People of *England* that I stand for. For Me to acknowledge a new Court that I never heard of before, I that am your King, that should be an Example to all the People of *England* for to uphold Justice, to maintain the old Laws; indeed I do not know how to doe it.

You spoke very well the first day that I came here, on Saturday, of the Obligations that I had laid upon Me by God to the maintenance of the Liberties of My People; the same Obligation you spake of I do acknowledge to God, that I owe to Him and to My People to defend, as much as in Me lies, the ancient Laws of the Kingdome: therefore untill that I may know that this is not against the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdome, by your favour, I can put in no particular * Charge. If you will give Me time, I will shew you My Rea- * Answer.
sons why I cannot doe it, and this ——

Here being interrupted, He said,

By your favour, you ought not to interrupt Me.

How I came here, I know not; there's no Law for it, to make your King your Prisoner. I was in a Treaty upon the Publick Faith of the Kingdome, that was the known —— two Houses of Parliament that was the Representative of the Kingdome; and when that I had almost made an end of the Treaty, then I was hurried away, and brought hither; and therefore ——

Bradshaw. Sir, you must know the pleasure of the Court.

KING. By your favour, Sir.

Bradshaw. Nay, Sir, by your favour, you may not be permitted to fall into those discourses: you appear as a Delinquent; you have not acknowledged the Authority of the Court. The Court craves it not of you; but once more they command you to give your positive Answer.

Clerk, doe your Dutie.

KING. Dutie, Sir!

The Clerk reads;

Charles Stuart, King of *England*, you are accuſed, in the behalf of the Commons of *England*, of divers high Crimes and Treaſons, which Charge hath been read unto you: the Court now requires you to give your poſitive and final Anſwer by way of Confeſſion or Denial of the Charge.

KING. Sir, I ſay again to you, ſo that I might give ſatisfaction to the People of *England* of the clearneſſe of My Proceeding, not by way of Anſwer, not in this way, but to ſatisfie them that I have done nothing againſt that Truſt that hath been committed to Me, I would doe it: but to acknowledge a new Court againſt their Priviledges, to alter the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdome, Sir, you muſt excuſe Me.

Bradſhaw. Sir, this is the third time that you have publickly diſown'd this Court, and put an Affront upon it. How farre you have preſerv'd the Privileges of the People, your Actions have ſpoke it; but truly, Sir, mens Intentions ought to be known by their Actions: you have written your meaning in bloody Characters throughout the whole Kingdome.

But, Sir, you underſtand the pleaſure of the Court.

Clerk, record the Default.

And, Gentlemen, you that took charge of the Priſoner, take him back again.

KING. I will only ſay this one word more to you; If it were only My own particular, I would not ſay any more nor interrupt you.

Bradſhaw. Sir, you have heard the pleaſure of the Court, and you are (notwithſtanding you will not underſtand it) to find that you are before a Court of Juſtice.

Then the King went forth with the Guard.

And Proclamation was made, That all perſons which had then appeared, and had further to doe at the Court, might depart into the Painted Chamber, to which place the Court did forthwith adjourn, and intended to meet in Weſtminſter-*Hall by ten of the Clock next morning.*

Cryer. God bleſſe the Kingdome of *England.*

Weſtminſter-*Hall, Saturday*, Jan. 27. *Afternoon.*

TWo or three daies being ſpent in a formal Examination of Witneſſes, and preparing themſelves for the laſt ſcene of this Mock-ſhew, at length, on Saturday the twenty ſeventh of January, Bradſhaw *in his Scarlet Robes appeared in the Hall, and Sixty* * *ſeven others anſwered to their Names.*

* *four* (for it ſeems ſome came in after)

As the King came in (in His wonted poſture, with His Hat on) and paſſed toward them, ſome few Souldiers began a clamour for Juſtice, Juſtice, *and* Execution.

O yes *made, and Silence commanded, the Captain of their Guard ordered to take into Cuſtodie ſuch as made any diſturbance.*

His

His Majeſty began;

I deſire a word, to be heard a little; and I hope I ſhall give no occaſion of interruption.

Bradſhaw *ſaucily anſwered*,
You may anſwer in your time; hear the Court firſt.

His Majeſty patiently replied,
If it pleaſe you, Sir, I deſire to be heard, and I ſhall not give any occaſion of interruption; and it is onely in a word. A ſudden Judgement———

Bradſhaw. Sir, you ſhall be heard in due time; but you are to hear the Court firſt.

KING. Sir, I deſire it, it will be in order to what I believe the Court will ſay; and therefore, Sir,— A haſty Judgment is not ſo ſoon recalled.

Bradſhaw. Sir, you ſhall be heard before the Judgment be given; and in the mean time you may forbear.

KING. Well, Sir, ſhall I be heard before the Judgment be given?

Bradſhaw. Gentlemen, it is well known to all or moſt of you here preſent, that the Priſoner at the Barre hath been ſeveral times convented and brought before this Court, to make Anſwer to a Charge of Treaſon and other high Crimes exhibited againſt him in the name of the People of *England*. To which Charge being required to anſwer, he hath been ſo farre from obeying the Commands of the Court, by ſubmitting to their Juſtice, as he began to take upon him to offer Reaſoning and Debate unto the Authority of the Court, and to the higheſt Court, that appointed them to try and judge him: But being over-ruled in that, and required to make his Anſwer, he was ſtill pleaſed to continue Contumacious, and to refuſe to ſubmit to Anſwer.

Here a Lady interpoſed, ſaying, *Not half the People*; but was ſilenced with threats.

Hereupon the Court, that they might not be wanting to themſelves nor the Truſt repoſed in them, nor that any mans wilfulneſſe prevent Juſtice, they have thought fit to take the matter into their conſideration; they have conſidered of the Charge, they have conſidered of the Contumacy, and of that Confeſſion which in Law doth ariſe upon that Contumacy; they have likewiſe conſidered of the Notorietie of the Fact charged upon this Priſoner: and, upon the whole matter, they are reſolved and are agreed upon a Sentence to be pronounced againſt this Priſoner. But in reſpect he doth deſire to be heard before the Sentence be read and pronounced, the Court hath reſolved that they will hear him.

Yet, Sir, thus much I muſt tell you beforehand, which you have been minded of at other Courts, That if that which you have to ſay be to offer any debate concerning the Juriſdiction, you are not to be heard in it. You have offered it formerly, and you have ſtruck at the Root, that is, the Power and Supreme Authority of the Commons of *England*; which this Court will not admit a debate of, and which indeed it is an irrational thing in them to doe, being a Court that acts upon Authority derived from them. But, Sir, if you have any thing to ſay in defence of your ſelf concerning the matter charged, the Court hath given me in command to let you know they will hear you.

KING. Since I ſee that you will not hear any thing of Debate concerning that which I confeſſe I thought moſt material for the Peace of the Kingdome and for the Liberty of the Subject, I ſhall

wave

wave it, I ſhall ſpeak nothing to it. But onely I muſt tell you, that this many-a-day all things have been taken away from Me, but that that I call dearer to Me then My Life, which is, My Conſcience and My Honor: And if I had a reſpect to My Life more then the Peace of the Kingdome and the Liberty of the Subject, certainly I ſhould have made a particular Defence for My Self; for by that at leaſtwiſe I might have delayed an ugly Sentence, which I believe will paſſe upon Me. Therefore certainly, Sir, as a man that hath ſome underſtanding, ſome knowledge of the World, if that My true Zeal to My Countrey had not overborn the care that I have for My own Preſervation, I ſhould have gone another way to work then that I have done. Now, Sir, I conceive that an haſty Sentence once paſt may ſooner be repented of then recalled: and truly the ſelf-ſame deſire that I have for the Peace of the Kingdome and the Liberty of the Subject, more then My own particular Ends, makes Me now at laſt deſire, That I having ſomething to ſay that concerns both, I deſire, before Sentence be given, that I may be heard in the Painted Chamber before the Lords and Commons. This Delay cannot be prejudicial unto you, whatſoever I ſay. If that I ſay no Reaſon, thoſe that hear Me muſt be Judges; I cannot be Judge of that that I * have. If it be Reaſon, and really for the welfare of the Kingdome and the Liberty of the Subject, I am ſure on it, it is very well worth the hearing. Therefore I do conjure you, as you love that that you pretend, (I hope it is real) the Liberty of the Subject, the Peace of the Kingdome, that you will grant Me this hearing before any Sentence be paſt. I only deſire this, That you will take this into your Conſideration: it may be you have not heard of it before-hand. If you will, I will retire, and you may think of it: but if I cannot get this Liberty, I do proteſt, That theſe fair ſhews of Liberty and Peace are pure Shews, and that you will not hear your *King*.

Bradſhaw. Sir, you have now ſpoken.

KING. Yes, Sir.

Bradſhaw. And this that you have ſaid is a further declining of the Juriſdiction of this Court, which was the thing wherein you were limited before.

KING. Pray excuſe Me, Sir, for My interruption, becauſe you miſtake Me. It is not a declining of it; you do judge Me before you

you hear Me ſpeak. I ſay it will not, I do not decline it; though I cannot acknowledge the Juriſdiction of the Court, yet, Sir, in this, give Me leave to ſay, I would doe it, though I did not acknowledge it; in this, I do proteſt, it is not the declining of it, ſince, I ſay, if that I do ſay any thing but that that is for the Peace of the Kingdome and the Liberty of the Subject, then the ſhame is Mine. Now I deſire that you will take this into your Conſideration; if you will, I will withdraw.

Bradſhaw. Sir, this is not altogether new that you have moved unto us, not altogether new to us, though the firſt time in perſon you have offered it to the Court. Sir, you ſay you do not decline the Juriſdiction of the Court.

KING. Not in this that I have ſaid.

Bradſhaw. I underſtand you well, Sir; but nevertheleſſe, that which you have offered ſeems to be contrarie to that ſaying of yours; for the Court are ready to give a Sentence. It is not as you ſay, *That they will not hear their King*; for they have been ready to hear you, they have patiently waited your pleaſure for three Courts together, to hear what you would ſay to the Peoples Charge againſt you: to which you have not vouchſafed to give any Anſwer at all. Sir, this tends to a further Delay. Truly, Sir, ſuch Delaies as theſe neither may the Kingdome nor Juſtice well bear. You have had three ſeveral daies to have offered in this kind what you would have pleaſed. This Court is founded upon that Authority of the Commons of *England*, in whom reſts the Supreme Juriſdiction. That which you now tender is to have another Juriſdiction, and a co-ordinate Juriſdiction: I know very well you expreſſe your ſelf, Sir, That notwithſtanding that you would offer to the Lords and Commons in the Painted Chamber, yet nevertheleſſe you would proceed on here; I did hear you ſay ſo. But, Sir, that you would offer there, whatever it is, muſt needs be in delay of the Juſtice here; ſo as if this Court be reſolved and prepared for the Sentence, this that you offer they are not bound to grant. But, Sir, according to that you ſeem to deſire, and becauſe you ſhall know the further pleaſure of the Court upon that which you have moved, the Court will withdraw for a time.

This he did to prevent the diſturbance of their Scene by one of their own Members, Colonel John Downes, *who could not ſtifle the reluctance of his Conſcience, when he ſaw His Majeſty preſſe ſo earneſtly for a ſhort hearing, but declaring himſelf unſatisfied, forced them to yield to the Kings Requeſt.*

KING. Shall I withdraw?

Bradſhaw. Sir, you ſhall know the pleaſure of the Court preſently.

The Court withdraws for half an hour into the Court of Wards.

Serjeant at Armes. The Court gives command that the Priſoner be withdrawn; and they give order for his return again.

Then withdrawing into the Chamber of the Court of Wards, their buſineſſe was not to conſider of His Majeſties deſire, but to chide Downes, *and with reproaches and threats to harden him to goe through the remainder of their Villanie with them.*

Which done, they return; and being ſate, Bradſhaw *commanded,*

Serjeant at Armes, ſend for your Priſoner.

Who being come, Bradſhaw *proceeded:*

Sir,

Sir, you were pleaſed to make a motion here to the Court, to offer a deſire of yours touching the propounding of ſomewhat to the Lords and Commons in the Painted Chamber for the Peace of the Kingdome. Sir, you did in effect receive an Anſwer before the Court adjourned: truly, Sir, their withdrawing and adjournment was *pro forma tantùm*, for it did not ſeem to them that there was any difficulty in the thing. They have conſidered of what you have moved, and have conſidered of their own Authority, which is founded, as hath been often ſaid, upon the ſupreme Authority of the Commons of *England* aſſembled in Parliament: the Court acts accordingly to their Commiſſion. Sir, the return I have to you from the Court is this, That they have been too much delayed by you already, and this that you now offer hath occaſioned ſome little further Delay, and they are Judges appointed by the higheſt Authority, and Judges are no more to *delay* then they are to *deny* Juſtice: they are good words in the *Great* old *Charter* of *England*, *Nulli negabimus, nulli vendemus, & nulli deferemus Juſtitiam*; there muſt be no *delay*. But the truth is, Sir, and ſo every man here obſerves it, that you have much delayed them in your Contempt and Default, for which they might long ſince have proceeded to Judgement againſt you; and notwithſtanding what you have offered, they are reſolved to proceed to Sentence and to Judgement, and that is their unanimous Reſolution.

KING. Sir, I know it is in vain for Me to diſpute; I am no Sceptick for to deny the Power that you have; I know that you have Power enough. Sir, I muſt confeſſe, I think it would have been for the Kingdomes Peace, if you would have taken the pains for to have ſhewn the *Lawfulneſſe* of your Power.

For this Delay that I have deſired, I confeſſe it is a Delay, but it is a Delay very important for the Peace of the Kingdome; for it is not My Perſon that I look at alone, it is the Kingdomes Welfare, and the Kingdomes Peace.

It is an old Sentence, *That we ſhould think on long before we reſolve of great matters ſuddenly*. Therefore, Sir, I do ſay again, that I do put at your doors all the inconveniency of a haſty Sentence. I confeſſe I have been here now, I think, this Week, this day eight daies was the day I came here firſt; but a little Delay of a day or two further may give Peace, whereas a haſty Judgement may bring on that Trouble and perpetual Inconveniency to the Kingdome, that the Child that is unborn may repent it. And therefore again, out of the Duty I owe to God and to My Countrey, I do deſire that I may be heard by the Lords and Commons in the Painted Chamber, or any other Chamber that you will appoint Me.

Bradſhaw. You have been already anſwered to what you even now moved, being the ſame you moved before, ſince the Reſolution and the Judgment of the Court in it: And the Court now requires to know whether you have any more to ſay for your ſelf then you have ſaid, before they proceed to Sentence.

KING. I ſay this, Sir, That if you heare Me, if you will give Me but

but this Delay, I doubt not but I ſhall give ſome ſatisfaction to you all here, and to My People after that; and therefore I do require you, as you will anſwer it at the dreadfull Day of Judgment, that you will conſider it once again.

Bradſhaw. Sir, I have received direction from the Court.

KING. Well, Sir.

Bradſhaw. If this muſt be re-inforced, or any thing of this nature, your Anſwer muſt be the ſame; and they will proceed to Sentence, if you have nothing more to ſay.

KING. I have nothing more to ſay; but I ſhall deſire that this may be entred what I have ſaid.

Bradſhaw. The Court then, Sir, hath ſomething to ſay unto you, which although I know it will be very unacceptable, yet notwithſtanding they are willing and are reſolved to diſcharge their Duty.

Then Bradſhaw *went on in a long Harangue, endeavouring to juſtifie their proceedings, miſapplying Law and Hiſtory, and raking up and wreſting whatſoever he thought fit for his purpoſe, alleging the Examples of former Treaſons and Rebellions, both at home and abroad, as authentick proofs; and concluding, that the King was a* Tyrant, Traitour, Murtherer, *and publick* Enemy *to the Commonwealth of* England.

His Majeſty having with His wonted Patience heard all theſe Reproaches, anſwered,

I would deſire onely one word before you give Sentence, and that is, That you would hear Me concerning thoſe great Imputations that you have laid to My charge.

Bradſhaw. Sir, you muſt give me now leave to goe on, for I am not farre from your Sentence, and your time is now paſt.

KING. But I ſhall deſire you will hear Me a few words to you; for, truly, whatever Sentence you will, put upon Me, in reſpect of thoſe heavy Imputations that I ſee by your ſpeech you have put upon Me. Sir, it is very true that——

Bradſhaw. Sir, I muſt put you in mind: truly, Sir, I would not willingly, at this time eſpecially, interrupt you in any thing you have to ſay that is proper for us to admit of; but, Sir, you have not owned us as a Court, and you look upon as a ſort of people met together, and we know what Language we receive from your Partie.

KING. I know nothing of that.

Bradſhaw. You diſavow us as a Court, and therefore for you to addreſſe your ſelf to us, not to acknowledge us as a Court to judge of what you ſay, it is not to be permitted. And the truth is, all along from the firſt time you were pleaſed to diſavow and diſown us, the Court needed not to have heard you one word; for unleſſe they be acknowledged a Court, and engaged, it is not proper for you to ſpeak. Sir, we have given you too much Liberty already, and admitted of too much Delay, and we may not admit of any further. Were it proper for us to doe, we ſhould hear you freely, and we ſhould not have declined to have heard you at large, what you could have ſaid

or proved on your behalf, whether for totally excuſing, or for in part excuſing, thoſe great and hainous Charges that in whole or in part are laid upon you. But, Sir, I ſhall trouble you no longer; your Sins are of ſo large a dimenſion, that if you do but ſeriouſly think of them, they will drive you to a ſad conſideration, and they may improve in you a ſad and ſerious repentance. And that the Court doth heartily wiſh, that you may be ſo penitent for what you have done amiſs, that God may have mercy at leaſt-wiſe upon your better part. Truely, Sir, for the other, it is our parts and duties to doe that that the Law preſcribes. We are not here *Jus dare*, but *Jus dicere*: we cannot be unmindfull of what the Scripture tells us, *For to acquit the guilty is of equal abomination as to condemn the innocent*; we may not *acquit the guilty*. What ſentence the Law affirms to a *Traitour*, *Tyrant*, a *Murtherer*, and a publick *Enemy* to the Country, that Sentence you are now to hear read unto you, and that is the Sentence of the Court.

Make an *O yes*, and command Silence while the Sentence is read.

Which done, their Clerke, Broughton, *read the Sentence, drawn up in Parchment.*

WHereas the Commons of *England* in Parliament had appointed them an High Court of Juſtice for the Triall of *Charles Stuart* King of *England*, before whom he had been three times convented, and at the firſt time a Charge of High Treaſon, and other Crimes and Miſdemeanours, was read in the behalf of the Kingdom of *England*.

[*Here the Charge was repeated.*]

Which Charge being read unto him as aforeſaid, he, the ſaid *Charles Stuart*, was required to give his Anſwer; but he refuſed ſo to doe:

[*Expreſſing the ſeveral paſſages of His refuſing in the former Proceedings:*]

For all which Treaſons and Crimes this Court doth adjudge, That he, the ſaid *Charles Stuart*, as a Tyrant, Traitour, Murtherer, and a publick Enemy, ſhall be put to death by the ſevering of his Head from his Body.

Which being read, Bradſhaw *added,*

This Sentence now read and publiſhed, it is the Act, Sentence, Judgment and Reſolution of the whole Court.

To which they all expreſſed their Aſſent by ſtanding up, as was before agreed & ordered.

His Majeſty then ſaid,

Will you hear Me a word, Sir?

Bradſhaw. Sir, you are not to be heard after the Sentence.

KING. No, Sir?

Bradſhaw. No, Sir; by your favour, Sir.
Guard, withdraw your Priſoner.

KING. I may ſpeak after Sentence, by your favour, Sir, I may ſpeak after Sentence, ever.

By your favour, hold: The Sentence, Sir, — I ſay, Sir, I do — I am not ſuffered to ſpeak; expect what Juſtice other People will have.

The

The Persons that sate when Judgement was given upon the Life of their KING, *were these.*

Serjeant John Bradshaw.

Lieutenant General Cromwell
Commissarie General Ireton
John Lisle, Esquire.
William Say, Esquire.
Sir Hardresse Waller,
Colonel Valentine Walton,
Colonel Thomas Harrison,
Colonel Edward Whaley,
Colonel Thomas Pride,
Colonel Isaac Ewer,
Thomas Lord Gray of *Groby*.
Sir John Danvers, Knight.
Sir Thomas Maleverer, Baronet.
Sir John Bourchier, Knight.
William Heveningham, Esquire.
Isaac Pennington, Alderman.
Colonel Henry Marten,
Colonel William Purefoy,
Colonel John Berkstead,
John Blakeston, Esquire.
Gilbert Millington,
Sir William Constable, Baronet.
Colonel Edmund Ludlow,
Colonel John Hutchinson,
Sir Michael Livesey, Baronet.
Colonel Robert Tichburne,
Colonel Owen Rowe,
Colonel Robert Lilburne,
Colonel Adrian Scroope,
Colonel Richard Deane,
Colonel John Okey,
Colonel John Hewson,
Colonel William Goffe,

Cornelius Holland Esquire.
John Carew, Esquire.
Colonel John Jones,
Miles Corbet, Esquire.
Francis Allen, Esquire.
Peregrine Pelham, Esquire.
Colonel John More,
Colonel John Alured,
Colonel Henry Smith,
Humphrey Edwards, Esquire.
Gregory Clement, Esquire.
Thomas Wogan, Esquire.
Sir Gregory Norton, Baronet.
Colonel Edmund Harvey,
Colonel John Venne,
Thomas Scot, Esquire.
Thomas Andrewes, Alderman.
William Cawley, Esquire.
Antonie Stapeley, Esquire.
Colonel John Downes,
Colonel Thomas Horton,
Colonel Thomas Hammond,
Nicolas Love, Esquire.
Vincent Potter,
Augustine Garland, Esquire.
John Diswell, Esquire.
Colonel George Fleetwood,
Simon Mayne, Esquire.
Colonel James Temple,
Peter Temple,
Daniel Blagrave, Esquire.
Colonel Thomas Wait.

Counsellors Assistant to draw up the Charge,

Doctor Isaac Dorislaw,
..... Aske,
William Steele, *who excused himself by sickness.*
John Cooke, Solicitor.

Dendy Serjeant, Mace-bearer. Broughton and Phelps Clerkes.

His Majeſtie being taken away by the Guard, as He paſſed down the Stairs the inſolent Souldiers ſcoffed at Him, caſting the ſmoak of their Tobacco (a thing very diſtaſtfull to Him) in His Face, and throwing their Pipes in His way: And one more inſolent then the reſt, ſpitting in His Face, His Majeſty, according to His wonted Heroick Patience, took no more notice of ſo ſtrange and barbarous an Indignity, then to wipe it off with His Handkerchief.

As He paſſed along, hearing the rabble of Souldiers crying out Juſtice, Juſtice, *He ſaid,*

Poor ſouls, for a piece of Money they would doe ſo for their Commanders.

Being brought firſt to Sir Robert Cotton's, *and thence to* White-Hall, *the Souldiers continued their brutiſh carriage toward Him, abuſing all that ſeemed to ſhew any reſpect or even pity to Him; not ſuffering Him to reſt in His Chamber, but thruſting in, and ſmoaking their Tobacco, and diſturbing His Privacy.*

But through all theſe Trialls (unuſuall to Princes) He paſſed with ſuch a calme and even temper, that He let fall nothing unbeſeeming His former Majeſty and Magnanimity.

In the Evening a Member of the Army acquainted the Committee with His Majeſties deſire, That ſeeing they had paſſed a Sentence of Death upon Him, and His time might be nigh, He might ſee His Children, and Doctor Juxon *Biſhop of* London *might be admitted to aſſiſt Him in His private Devotions, and receiving the Sacrament.*

Both which at length were granted.

And the next day, being Sunday, He was attended by the Guard to Saint Jameſe's, *where the Biſhop preached before Him upon theſe words,* In the day when God ſhall judge the ſecrets of all men by Jeſus Chriſt according to my Goſpel.

LVIII.

His MAJESTIES *Speech to the Lady* ELIZABETH, *and* HENRY *Duke of* GLOUCESTER.

Jan. 29. MDCXLVIII. IX.

Of His MAJESTIES diſcourſe to His Children there being ſeveral Relations, it is thought fit to repreſent the ſeveral Copies.

I.

A true Relation of the Kings Speech to the Lady ELIZABETH *and the Duke of* GLOUCESTER *the day before His Death.*

HIS *Children being come to meet Him, He firſt gave His Bleſſing to the Lady* Elizabeth, *and bade Her* Remember to tell Her Brother *James*, whenever She ſhould ſee Him, that it was his Fathers laſt deſire, that he ſhould no more look upon *Charles* as his

his Eldeſt Brother onely, but be obedient unto Him as his Sovereign: And that they ſhould love one another, and forgive their Fathers Enemies. *Then ſaid the King to Her*, Sweet Heart, you will forget this. No, *ſaid She*, I ſhall never forget it whilſt I live: *and pouring forth abundance of tears, promiſed Him to write down the particulars.*

Then the King taking the Duke of Glouceſter *upon His Knee, ſaid*, Sweet Heart, now they will cut off thy Fathers Head (*upon which words the Child looked very ſtedfaſtly on Him*) Mark, Child, what I ſay; They will cut off My Head, and perhaps make thee a King: But mark what I ſay, You muſt not be a King ſo long as your Brothers *Charles* and *James* do live; for they will cut off your Brothers Heads (when they can catch them) and cut off thy Head too at laſt: and therefore I charge you do not be made a King by them. *At which the Child ſighing, ſaid*, I will be torn in pieces firſt. *Which falling ſo unexpectedly from one ſo young, it made the King rejoyce exceedingly.*

II.

Another Relation from the Lady ELIZABETHS *own Hand.*

WHat the King ſaid to me the 29. of Jan. 1648. *being the laſt time I had the Happineſs to ſee Him. He told me*, He was glad I was come; and although He had not time to ſay much, yet ſomewhat He had to ſay to me which He had not to another, or leave in writing, becauſe He feared their Cruelty was ſuch as that they would not have permitted Him to write to me. *He wiſhed me* not to grieve and torment my ſelf for Him, for that would be a glorious Death that He ſhould die, it being for the Laws and Liberties of this Land, and for maintaining the true Proteſtant Religion. *He bid me* read Biſhop *Andrewes* Sermons, *Hooker*'s Eccleſiaſtical Politie, and Biſhop *Laud*'s Book againſt *Fiſher*, which would ground me againſt Poperie. *He told me*, He had forgiven all His Enemies, and hoped God would forgive them alſo; and commanded us, and all the reſt of my Brothers and Siſters, to forgive them. *He bid me* tell my Mother, that His thoughts had never ſtrayed from Her, and that His Love ſhould be the ſame to the laſt. *Withall He commanded me and my Brother* to be obedient to Her, *and bid me* ſend His Bleſsing to the reſt of my Brothers and Siſters, with commendation to all His Friends. *So after He had given me His Bleſsing, I took my leave.*

Further, He commanded us all to forgive thoſe People, but never to truſt them, for they had been moſt falſe to Him, and to thoſe that gave them Power; and He feared alſo to their own Souls: *And deſired me* not to grieve for Him, for He ſhould die a Martyr; and that He doubted not but the Lord would ſettle His Throne upon His Son, and that we ſhould be all happier then we could have expected to have been if He had lived. *With many other things, which at preſent I cannot remember.*

ELIZABETH.

III.

Another Relation from the Lady ELIZABETH.

THE King ſaid to the Duke of Gloceſter, *that He* would ſay nothing to him but what was for the good of his Soul. *He told him that* He heard the Army intended to make him King; but it was a thing not for him to take upon him, if he regarded the welfare of his Soul, for he had two Brothers before him: and therefore commanded him upon his Bleſsing never to accept of it, unleſs it redounded lawfully upon him: and commanded him to fear the Lord, and he would provide for him.

LIX.

His MAJESTIES *Speech upon the Scaffold before* White-Hall; *with the Manner of His Martyrdom,*

Jan. 30. MDCXLVIII. IX.

IN purſuance of the bloody Sentence paſſed upon His Sacred Majeſty, the ſame Sixty four perſons met the ſame day in the Painted Chamber, and appointed Waller, [Harriſon,] Ireton, Deane *and* Okey, *a Committee to conſider of the time and place for the Execution.*

Painted Chamber, *Lunæ, Jan.* 29. 1648.

Fourty eight of the Commiſsioners met, and

Upon Report made from the Committee for conſidering of the Time and Place of the Executing of the Judgement againſt the King, That the ſaid Committee have Reſolved, That the open Street before *White-Hall* is a fit place; and that the ſaid Committee conceive it fit, That the King be there executed to morrow, the King having already notice thereof:

The

The Court approved thereof, and ordered a Warrant to be drawn for that purpose; which Warrant was accordingly drawn and agreed unto, and ordered to be ingrossed, which was done, and Signed and Sealed accordingly, as followeth.

At the High Court of Justice for the Trying and Judging of CHARLES STUART *King of* England,
Januar. 29. 1648.

WHereas *Charles Stuart*, King of *England*, is and standeth Convicted, Attainted, and Condemned of High Treason and other high Crimes, and Sentence upon Saturday last was pronounced against him by this Court, to be put to death by the severing of his Head from his Body, of which Sentence Execution yet remains to be done: These are therefore to will and require you to see the said Sentence executed in the open Street before *White-hall* upon the morrow, being the 30. day of this instant Month of *January*, between the hours of Ten in the Morning and Five in the Afternoon of the same day, with full effect. And for doing this shall be your sufficient Warrant. And these are to require all Officers and Souldiers, and other the good People of this Nation of *England*, to be assisting unto you in this Service.

To Colonel Francis Hacker, **Colonel** Hunks, **and Lieutenant Colonel** Phayre, **and to every of them.**

Given under our hands and seales.

John Bradshaw.
Thomas Gray.
Ol. Cromwell.
Edw. Whaley.
Mi. Livesey.
John Okey.
Jo. Danvers.
Jo. Bourchier.
Rich. Ingoldsby.
W. Cawley.
J. Barkestead.
Isaac Ewer.
J. Dixwell.
Val. Wauton.
Symon Meyne.
Tho. Horton.
H Ireton.
Tho. Malaverer.
John Blakeston.
Jo. Hutchinson.

Will. Goffe.
Tho. Pride.
Pe. Temple.
Tho. Harrison.
Hen. Smith.
Per. Pelham.
Ri. Deane.
Rob. Tichburne.
Hum. Edwards.
Dan. Blagrave.
Owen Rowe.
William Purefoy.
Ad. Scroope.
James Temple.
A. Garland.
Edm. Ludlow.
Hen. Marten.
Vincent Potter.
W. Constable.
Jo. Jones.

Jo. Moore.
Ma. Weller.
Gilb. Millington.
G. Fleetwood.
J. Alured.
Rob. Lilburne.
W. Saye.
Anth. Stapeley.
Cre. Norton.
Tho. Chaloner.
Tho. Wogan.
Jo. Venne.
Greg. Clement.
Jo. Downes.
Tho. Waite.
Tho. Scot.
Jo. Carew.
Miles Corbet.

Tuesday

Tueſday the thirtieth of January, *the Fatal Day, being come, the Commiſsioners met, and ordered four or five of their Miniſters to attend upon the King at* St James's, *where they then kept Him: but His Majeſty well knowing what miſerable comforters they were like to prove, refuſed to have conference with them.*

That Morning, before His Majeſty was brought thence, the Biſhop of London *(who with much adoe was permitted to wait upon Him a day or two before, and to aſsiſt Him in that ſad inſtant) read Divine Service in His preſence, in which the* 27th *of Saint* Matthew *(the Hiſtory of our Saviour's Crucifixion) proved the ſecond Leſſon. The King ſuppoſing it to have been ſelected on purpoſe, thank'd him afterwards for his ſeaſonable choice. But the Biſhop modeſtly declining that undue thanks, told Him that it was the Leſſon appointed by the Calendar for that day. He alſo then and there received of the Biſhop the holy Sacrament, and performed all His Devotions in preparation to His Paſsion.*

Which ended, about ten of the clock His Majeſty was brought from Saint James's *to* White-Hall *by a Regiment of Foot, with Colours flying and Drums beating, part marching before and part behind, with a private guard of Partiſans about Him, the Biſhop on the one hand, and Colonel* Tomlinſon *(who had the charge of Him) on the other, both bare-headed. His Majeſty walking very faſt, and bidding them goe faſter, added,*

That He now went before them to ſtrive for an Heavenly Crown with leſs ſolicitude then He had often incouraged His Souldiers to fight for an Earthly Diademe.

Being come to the end of the Park, He went up the Stairs leading to the long Gallery in White-Hall, *and ſo into the Cabinet Chamber, where He uſed formerly to lodge. There, finding an unexpected delay in being brought upon the Scaffold, which they had not as then fitted, He paſt the time, at convenient diſtances, in Prayer.*

About twelve of the clock, His Majeſty refuſing to dine, onely eat a bit of Bread and drank a Glaſs of Claret: and about an hour after Colonel Hacker *with other Officers and Souldiers brought Him, with the Biſhop and Colonel* Tomlinſon, *through the Banquetting-houſe to the Scaffold, to which the paſſage was made through a Window. Divers Companies of Foot and Troups of Horſe were placed on each ſide of the Street, which hindred the approach of the very numerous Spectators, and the King from ſpeaking what He had premeditated and prepared for them to hear. Whereupon His Majeſty finding Himſelf diſappointed, omitted much of His intended matter, and for what He meant to ſpeak directed Himſelf chiefly to Colonel* Tomlinſon.

I Shall be very little heard of any body here; I ſhall therefore ſpeak a word unto you here.

Indeed I could hold My peace very well, if I did not think that holding My peace would make ſome men think that I did ſubmit to the Guilt as well as to the Puniſhment: But I think it is My Duty, to God firſt, and to My Countrey, for to clear My ſelf both as an honeſt man, and a good King, and a good Chriſtian.

I ſhall begin firſt with My *Innocencie*. In troth, I think it not very needfull for Me to inſiſt long upon this, for all the World knows that I never did begin a Warre firſt with the two Houſes of Parliament;

Parliament; and I call God to witneſſe, to whom I muſt ſhortly make an account, that I never did intend for to incroach upon their Privileges: they began upon Me; it is the *Militia* they began upon: they confeſt that the *Militia* was Mine; but they thought it fit for to have it from Me. And to be ſhort, if any body will look to the Dates of Commiſſions, of their Commiſſions and Mine, and likewiſe to the Declarations, they will ſee clearly that they began theſe unhappy Troubles, not I. So that as to the guilt of theſe enormous Crimes that are laid againſt Me, I hope in God that God will clear Me of it. I will not, (I am in Charity) God forbid that I ſhould lay it on the two Houſes of Parliament; there is no neceſsity of either: I hope they are free of this Guilt. For I do believe that ill Inſtruments between them and Me have been the chief cauſe of all this blood-ſhed. So that by way of ſpeaking, as I find my ſelf clear of this, I hope, and pray God, that they may too. Yet for all this, God forbid that I ſhould be ſo ill a Chriſtian as not to ſay that God's Judgments are juſt upon Me; many times he does pay Juſtice by an unjuſt Sentence; that is ordinary. I will only ſay this, That an unjuſt Sentence that I ſuffered for to take effect is puniſhed now by an unjuſt Sentence upon Me. That is——So farre I have ſaid, to ſhew you that I am an innocent man.

Upon the Earle of *Strafford.*

Now for to ſhew you that I am a good *Chriſtian*; I hope there is a good man that will bear Me witneſſe that I have forgiven all the World, and even thoſe in particular that have been the chief cauſers of My Death: Who they are, God knows, I do not deſire to know; I pray God forgive them. But this is not all. My Charity muſt goe further; I wiſh that they may repent; for indeed they have committed a great Sin in that particular: I pray God, with Saint *Stephen*, that this be not laid to their charge. Nay, not only ſo, but that they may take the right way to the Peace of the Kingdom: For My Charity commands Me not onely to forgive particular men, but My Charity commands Me to endeavour to the laſt gaſpe the Peace of the Kingdome. So, Sirs, I do wiſh with all my Soul, (and I do hope there is ſome here will carry it further) that they may endeavour the Peace of the Kingdom.

Pointing to the Biſhop.

Turning to ſome Gentlemen that wrote.

Now, Sirs, I muſt ſhew you both how you are out of the way, and will put you in a way.

Firſt, you are out of the way. For certainly all the way you ever have had yet, as I could find by any thing, is in the way of Conqueſt. Certainly this is an ill way: For Conqueſt, Sir, in My opinion, is never juſt, except there be a good juſt Cauſe, either for matter of Wrong, or juſt Title; and then if you goe beyond it, the firſt quarrel that you have to it, that makes it unjuſt at the end that was juſt at the firſt. But if it be onely matter of Conqueſt, then it is a great Robbery, as a Pirate ſaid to *Alexander*, that He was the great Robber, he was but a petty Robber. And ſo, Sir, I do think the way that you are in is much out of the way.

Now, Sir, for to put you in the way; believe it, you will never doe right, nor God will never proſper you, untill you give God his Due, the King his Due, (that is, My Succeſſors) and the People their Due: I am as much for them as any of you.

You muſt give *God* his due, by regulating rightly his Church according to his Scripture, which is now out of order. For to ſet you in a way particularly, now I cannot; but only this, A National Synod, freely called, freely debating among themſelves, muſt ſettle this, when that every Opinion is freely and clearly heard.

For the *King*, indeed I will not, ——

(*Then turning to a Gentleman that touched the Axe, He ſaid,*

Hurt not the Axe, that may hurt Me.) For the King, the Laws of the Land will clearly inſtruct you for that; therefore, becauſe it concerns My Own particular, I only give you a touch of it.

For the *People*; And truely I deſire their Liberty and Freedom as much as any body whomſoever: but I muſt tell you, that their Liberty and Freedom conſiſts in having of Government, thoſe Laws by which their Life and their Goods may be moſt their own. It is not for having ſhare in Government, Sir; that is nothing pertaining to them; a Subject and a Sovereign are clear different things. And therefore untill they doe that, I mean, that you do put the People in that Liberty as I ſay, certainly they will never enjoy themſelves

M. S.

Sanctiſsimi Regis & Martyris, Caroli Primi.

Siſte, Viator;

Luge, Obmuteſce, Mirare:

Memento CAROLI ILLIUS

Nominis pariter & inſigniſsimæ Pietatis PRIMI,

MAGNÆ BRITANNIÆ REGIS,

Qui Rebellium Perfidiâ primò deceptus,

Dein Perfidorum Rabie percuſſus,

Inconcuſſus tamen LEGUM & FIDEI DEFENSOR,

Schiſmaticorum Tyrannidi ſuccubuit,

Anno

Salutis Humanæ MDCXLVIII,

Servitutis Britannicæ, } Primo,
Felicitatis Suæ, }

Coronâ Terreſtri ſpoliatus, Cœleſti donatus.

Sed, Sileant perituræ Tabellæ:

Perlege RELIQUIAS, verè Sacras, CAROLINAS,

In Queis,

Ipſa Sui Iconem, Ære perenniorem,

vivaciùs exprimit

ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ.

Place this in Vol. I. before pag. 459. R r 4

M. S.

An Elegie upon the Death of Our Dread Sovereign Lord King CHARLES *the* MARTYR.

COme, come, let's Mourn; all eies that see this *Day*,
Melt into Showrs, and weep your selves away.
O that each private head could yield a Flood
Of Tears, whil'st *Britain*'s *Head* streams out His Blood!
Could we pay what His *Sacred Drops* might claim,
The World must needs be drowned once again.
Hands cannot write for Trembling; let our Eie
Supply the Quill, and shed an *Elegie*.
Tongues cannot speak, this Grief knows no such vent:
Nothing but Silence can be Eloquent.
Words are not here significant; in This
Our Sighs, our Groans bear all the *Emphasis*.
Dread SIR! What shall we say? *Hyperbole*
Is not a Figure, when it speaks of *Thee*.
Thy *Book* is our best Language; what to this
Shall e're be added is Thy *Meiosis*:
Thy *Name*'s a Text too hard for us; no men
Can write of it, without *Thy Parts* and *Pen*.
Thy *Prisons*, *Scorns*, *Reproach*, and *Poverty*
(Though these were thought too courteous Injury)
How could'st Thou bear? Thou Meeker *Moses*, how?
Was ever *Lion* bit with *Whelps* till now
And did not roar? Thou *England*'s *David*, how
Did *Shimei*'s Tongue not move Thee? Where's the (Man?
Where is the *King?* CHARLS is all *Christian*.
Thou never wanted'st Subjects, no; when they
Rebell'd, Thou mad'st Thy Passions to obey.
Hadst Thou regain'd Thy Throne of State by Power,
Thou hadst not then been more a *Conqueror*.
But Thou, thine own *Soul's Monarch*, art above
Revenge and Anger: Canst Thou tame Thy Love?
How could'st Thou bear Thy *Queen*'s Divorce? must
At once Thy *Wife*, and yet Thy *Widow* be? (She
Where are Thy tender *Babes* once Princely bred,
Thy choicest Jewels? are they *Sequestred?*
Where are Thy Nobles? Lo, in stead of these,
Base savage Villains, and Thy Enemies.
Egyptian Plague! 'twas onely *Pharaoh*'s doom,
To see such Vermin in His Lodging-room.
What Guards are set? what Watches do they keep?
They do not think Thee safe, though lock'd in *Sleep*.
Would they confine Thy Dreams within to dwell,
Nor let Thy Fancy pass their *Centinel?*
Are Thy *Devotions* dangerous? Or do
Thy *Prayers* want a Guard? These faulty too?
Varlets, 'twas onely when they spake for You.
But lo a Charge is drawn, a Day is set,
The silent LAMB is brought, the *Wolves* are met.
Law is arraign'd of Treason, *Peace* of War,
And *Justice* stands a Prisoner at the Bar.
This *Scene* was like the *Passion-Tragedie:*
His *Saviour*'s *Person* none could Act but He.
Behold, what *Scribes* were here, what *Pharisees!*
What *Bands of Souldiers!* what *false Witnesses!*
Here was a *Priest*, and that a *Chief* one, who
Durst strike at *God*, and His *Vicegerent* too.
Here *Bradshaw*, *Pilate* there: This makes them twain,
Pilate for *Fear*, *Bradshaw* condemn'd for *Gain*.
Wretch! could'st not thou be rich till *Charls* was dead?
Thou might'st have took the *Crown*, yet spar'd the
Th'hast justifi'de that *Roman* Judge; He stood (*Head*.
And wash't in *Water*, thou hast dipt in *Blood*.
And where's the Slaughter-House? *White-hall* must
Lately His *Palace*, now His *Calvarie*. (be,
Great CHARLES, is this Thy dying-place? And where
Thou wer't our KING, art Thou our MARTYR there?
Thence, thence Thy Soul took flight; & there wil we
Not cease to *Mourn*, where Thou didst cease to *Be*.
And thus, blest Soul, He's gone: a *Star*, whose fall,
As no *Eclipse*, proves *Oecumenical*.
That Wretch had *skill* to sin, whose Hand did know
How to behead three Kingdoms at one blow.
England hath lost the Influence of her KING,
No wonder that so backward was her *Spring*.
O dismal *Day!* but yet how quickly gone?
It must be short, Our SUN went down at *Noon*.
And now, ye *Senators*, is this the Thing
So oft declar'd? is this your *Glorious King?*
Did you by *Oaths* your God and Country mock?
Pretend a *Crown*, and yet prepare a *Block?*
Did you, that swore you'd Mount CHARLES higher
Intend the *Scaffold* for His *Olivet?* (yet;
Was this, *Hail Master?* Did you bow the knee
That you might murther Him with *Loyalty?*
Alas! two Deaths! what Cruelty was this?
The *Axe* design'd, you might have spar'd the *Kiss*.
London, didst thou Thy Prince's Life betray?
What? could Thy *Sables* vent no other way?
Or else didst thou bemoan His *Cross?* then, ah!
Why would'st thou be the curs'd *Golgotha?*
Thou once hadst Men, Plate, Arms, a Treasury
To *binde* thy KING, and hast thou none to *free?*
Dull beast! thou should'st, before thy *Head* did fall,
Have had at least thy Spirits *Animal*.
Did You, Ye *Nobles*, envy CHARLES His *Crown?*
Jove being fal'n the *Punie-gods* must down:
Your Raies of *Honour* are eclip'st in Night,
The *Sun* is set from whence You drew your *Light*.
Religion Veils her self, and Mourns that she
Is forc'd to own such horrid Villany.
The *Church* and *State* do shake; that Building must
Exspect to fall, whose *Prop* is turn'd to *Dust*.
But cease from Tears. CHARLS is most blest of men,
A God on Earth, more then a Saint in Heav'n;

THE END.

A

COLLECTION

OF

DECLARATIONS,

TREATIES,

AND OTHER

Principal Paſſages concerning the DIFFERENCES

BETWIXT

King Charles I.

AND HIS

TWO HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT.

Clearly Manifeſting { The Juſtice of His Cauſe.
His Sinceritie in Religion.
His Conſtant Endeavours for Peace.

Bona agere, & mala pati, Regium eſt.

London, Printed by *James Fleſher* for *R. Royſton*, Book-ſeller to His moſt Sacred MAJESTY. MDCLXII.

A COLLECTION

OF

DECLARATIONS, TREATIES,

And other PAPERS contained in this Part.

I. *His* MAJESTIES *Declarations concerning His Proceedings in His Four first Parliaments.* p.1.

II. *Declarations and Papers concerning the Differences betwixt His* MAJESTY *and His Fifth Parliament.* p.53.

III. *Declarations and Papers concerning the Treaty of Peace at* Oxford. p.217.

IV. *A Declaration concerning the Cessation in* Ireland. *Also Declarations and Passages of the Parliament at* Oxford. p.351.

V. *Papers and Passages concerning the Treaty of Peace at* Uxbridge. p.413.

VI. *Messages, Propositions, and Treaties for Peace; with divers Resolutions and Declarations thereupon.* p.573.

THE PREFACE,

TO THE
NOBILITY and GENTRY
OF
ENGLAND.

I Might call this Collection, A Complete *Body* of *Engliſh Politicks*, as comprehending both the *Duty* and the *Intereſt* of all true *Engliſh*-men; and thoſe largely ſet forth in ſome of the moſt excellent Diſcourſes that were ever written in this kind: Which, for their own ſakes, might claim ſome better reſpect from the preſent Age, then to be caſt aſide as out-dated Pamphlets, or, at the beſt, confuſedly ſcattered like the Leaves of *Sibylla*, without any care of conſerving and tranſmitting them to Poſterity.

The ſad Experience of ſo many years hath taught this Nation to their coſt, how miſerable even the greateſt Subjects make themſelves, by incroaching upon that *Sovereignty* which alone can protect them from the Injuries and the Scorn of their Inferiors. Here you will diſcover the *Arts*, the *Means*, and the *Degrees*, by which thoſe Miſchiefs were attempted and atchieved; Which whenſoever you ſee repeated, you will know, the Plot is as well againſt your Privilege, and the Liberty of your Countrey, as the Prerogative of your Prince.

Indeed, If it were as eaſie to root out the remembrance of the ill Examples, as it is to remit the puniſhmet of the Crimes, by Acts of Grace, and Pardon, and Oblivion; it were perhaps no Imprudence to let thoſe Miſchiefs ſleep with their Authors, and leave their Memories buried in the Ruines they have made. But ſince many that are content to take the utmoſt advantage of a *Pardon*, are yet too good to acknowledge they ever ſtood in need of any; ſince moſt will remember onely *What* hath been done, and few trouble themſelves to inquire *How*, or *Why*: it cannot be thought impertinent, together with the *Actions*, to repreſent alſo the true *Cauſes* that have produced ſuch Effects, and the *Circumſtances* that attended them; which may remain as Marks to warn Poſterity of thoſe Errors which have coſt the preſent Age ſo dear.

This is here done, not from the private phanſies or obſervations of any one Perſon or Party, but from the *Publick* and Authentick Writings of Both, digeſted in ſuch order, that the Reader may compare what both ſides had to ſay for themſelves, and thereby diſcern, whoſe Deſignes and what Counſels tended moſt to the Peace and Welfare of the Nation: A ſtudy moſt proper for thoſe Ranks of men whom the Favour of Princes hath raiſed above the Common Multitude, to this one End, that they may aſſiſt Them in the adminiſtration of Their Government, and in keeping Peace and good order in their Countries.

To have Collected all that paſſed in theſe great Con-

Conteſts, would have been the Work of many Volumes: But the moſt material, and moſt neceſſary to carry on the Series of Times and Things (which, in a manner, comprehend the Summe, or at leaſt ſhew the Reſult of all the reſt) are here diſpoſed according to their moſt natural order of time, under theſe few heads.

I. His Majeſties Declarations concerning His Proceedings in His Four firſt Parliaments. *p.* 1.

II. Declarations and Papers concerning the Differences betwixt His Majeſty and His Fifth Parliament. *p.* 53.

III. Declarations and Papers concerning the Treaty of Peace at *Oxford*, MDCXLII. III. *p.* 217.

IV. A Declaration concerning the Ceſſation in *Ireland*. Alſo Declarations and Paſſages of the Parliament at *Oxford*. *p.* 351.

V. Papers and Paſſages concerning the Treaty of Peace at *Uxbridge*. *p.* 413.

VI. Meſſages, Propoſitions, and Treaties for Peace: With divers Reſolutions and Declarations thereupon, MDCXLV. VI. VII. VIII. *p.* 573.

The CONTENTS.

I.

His Majesties Declarations concerning His Proceedings in His Four first Parliaments.

1. A Declaration concerning His two first Parliaments, 1625. 1626. *p.* 1.
2. A Declaration concerning His Third Parliament, 1628, 9. *p.* 12.
3. A Proclamation for suppressing false Rumours touching Parliament, *March* 27. 1629. *p.* 30.
4. His Majesties Letter to the Judges concerning Ship-money, *Febr.* 2. 1636, 7. With their Answer, *p.* 32.
5. A Declaration concerning His Fourth Parliament, 1640. *p.* 35.

II.

Declarations and Papers concerning the Differences betwixt His Majesty and His Fifth Parliament.

1. A Petition of the House of Commons, *p.* 55. With A Remonstrance of the State of the Kingdom, *Dec.* 1. 1641. *p.* 57.
2. His Majesties Answer to the Petition, *p.* 70.
3. His Declaration in Answer to the Remonstrance, *p.* 73.
4. The Petition and Protestation of the Bishops, *Dec.* 28. 1641. *p.* 79.
5. Articles of High Treason against the Five Members, *Jan.* 3. 1641, 2. *p.* 81.
6. The Nineteen Propositions, *June* 2. 1642. *p.* 82.
7. His Majesties Answer, *p.* 85.
8. His Majesties Declaration to the Lords at *York*, *June* 13. 1642. *p.* 105. With their Promise thereupon, *p.* 106.
9. His Majesties Declaration concerning the scandalous Imputation of His raising Warre, *June* 16. 1642. *p.* 107. With the Declaration and Profession of the Lords, *p.* 114.
10. A Proclamation forbidding Levies of Forces, *June* 18. 1642. *p.* 115.
11. Votes for raising an Army against the King, *July* 12. 1642. *p.* 120.
12. A Declaration of both Houses for raising Forces, *Aug.* 8. 1642. *p.* 121.
13. His Majesties Declaration in Answer, *p.* 122.
14. A Proclamation against the Earl of *Essex*, *Aug.* 9. 1642. *p.* 127.
15. His Majesties Proclamation for the setting up His Standard, *Aug.* 12. 1642. *p.* 132.
16. His Majesties Declaration of *Aug.* 12. 1642. *p.* 134.
17. His Majesties Declaration concerning His Messages for Peace, *p.* 197.
18. His Declaration after the Battel at *Edge*-Hill, *p.* 212.

III.

Declarations and Papers concerning the Treaty of Peace at Oxford, MDCXLII. III.

1. His Majesties Declaration concerning His Advance to *Brainceford*, p. 219.
2. The Answer of both Houses to His Message of *Nov.* 12. 1642. *p.* 224.
3. His Majesties Reply, *p.* 225.
4. The Petition of both Houses, *Nov.* 24. 1642. *p.* 227.
5. His Majesties Answer, *p.* 227.
6. The Proceedings in the Treaty at *Oxford*, *p.* 229. With a Declaration of both Houses thereupon, *p.* 296.
7. His Majesties Declaration in Answer, *Jun.* 3. 1643. *p.* 306.
8. His Proclamation against the Votes, Orders, and pretended Ordinances of the Houses at *Westminster*, *June* 20. 1643. *p.* 343.

IV.

A Declaration concerning the Cessation in Ireland. *Also Declarations and Passages of the Parliament at* Oxford.

1. The Grounds and Motives of the Cessation in *Ireland*, *Octob.* 19. 1643. *p.* 353.
2. A Proclamation for Assembling of the Members of Parliament at *Oxford*, *Decemb.* 22. 1643. *p.* 368.

3. A

3. A Letter of the Lords at *Oxford* to the *Scots*, *p.*370.
4. Votes of the Commons at *Oxford*, *Jan.*26. *Mar.*12. 1643,4. *p.*372.
5. A Declaration of the Lords and Commons at *Oxford*, of their Proceedings for a Treaty, *March* 19. 1643,4. *p.*374.
6. A Declaration of the Lords and Commons at *Oxford*, concerning their Endeavours for Peace, *Mar.*19. 1643,4. *p.*787.
7. The Petition of the Lords and Commons at *Oxford*, *Apr.* 25. 1644. *p.*406.
8. His Majesties Answer, *p.*407.
9. A Declaration to Forein Churches, *May* 13. 1644. *p.*411.

V.

Papers and Passages concerning the Treaty of Peace at Uxbridge, MDCXLIV. XLV.

1. A Proclamation declaring His Majesties Resolution for Peace, *Sept.*30. 1644. *p.*415.
2. A Proclamation for a Fast upon occasion of the Treaty, *Jan.*27.1644,5. *p.*417.
3. A full Relation of the Treaty at *Uxbridge*, *p.*419. With the *Appendix*, *p.*519.
4. His Majesties Answers to their three last Papers, *p.*541.

VI.

Messages, Propositions, and Treaties for Peace: With divers Resolutions and Declarations thereupon, MDCXLV. VI. VII. VIII.

1. His Majesties Message from *Oxford*, *Decemb.*5.1645. *p.*575.
2. A Letter of the Two Speakers to Sr *Thomas Glemham*, *p.*575.
3. His Majesties Message from *Oxford*, *Dec.*15.1645. *p.*576.
4. His Majesties Message from *Oxford*, with Propositions, *Decem.*26.1645. *p.*577.
5. The Answer of both Houses to His Messages of *Decemb.* 5. and 15. *p.*579.
6. His Majesties Reply, *Dec.* 29. 1645. *p.*580.
7. His Majesties Message from *Oxford*, *Jan.*15. 1645,6. *p.*581.
8. The Answer of both Houses to His Messages of *Dec.*26. and 29. *p.*583.
9. His Majesties Reply, *Jan.*17.1645,6. *p.*584.
10. His Majesties further Reply, *Jan.*24. *p.*585.
11. His Majesties Message from *Oxford*, *Jan.*29. 1645,6. *p.*588.
12. His Majesties Message from *Oxford*, *Feb.*26. 1645,6. *p.*591.
13. His Majesties Message from *Oxford*, *Mar.*23.1645,6. *p.*592.
14. His Majesties Letter to the Lieutenant of *Ireland*, *Ap.*13. 1646. *p.*593.
15. His Majesties Message from *Southwell*, *May* 18. 1646. *p.*595.
16. His Majesties Letter to the City of *London*, *May* 19.1646. *p.*597.
17. His Majesties Message from *Newcastle*, *June* 10. 1646. *p.*598.
18. His Majesties Letter to the Governors of His Garrisons, *June* 10.1646. *p.*599.
19. His Majesties Letter to the Lieutenant of *Ireland*, *Jun.*11.1646. *p.*600
20. The Propositions of both Houses to His Majesty at *Newcastle*, *Jul.* 24. 1646. *p.*601.
21. His Majesties Answers, *Aug.* 1. 1646. *p.*610.
22. His Majesties Message from *Newcastle*, *Dec.*20.1646. *p.*612.
23. His Majesties Quæres to the Scots Commissioners, *Jan.* 14. 1646,7. *p.*613. With their Answer, and His Reply, *p.*614.
24. His Majesties further Answer to their Propositions, *May* 12. 1647. *p.*615.
25. The Petition and Engagement of the City of *London*, *p.*620.
26. The Declaration of both Houses thereupon, *Jul.*24. 1647. *p.*621.
27. An Ordinance concerning the Declaration, *Jul.*26.1647. *p.*621.
28. Votes for His Majesties coming to *London*, *July* 26.31. 1647. *p.*622.
29. His Majesties Profession disavowing any Intentions of Warre, 1647. *p.*622.
30. The Propolals of the Army, *Aug.*1. *p.*623.
31. Propositions of both Houses to His Majesty at *Hampton*-Court, *Sept.*7. 1647. *p.*628.
32. His

32. His Majesties Answer, *p.629.*
33. His Majesties Message left at *Hampton*-Court, *Nov.*11.1647. *p.631.*
34. His Majesties Message from the Isle of *Wight:* With Propositions, *Nov.* 17.1647. *p.633.*
35. His Majesties Declaration at the Isle of *Wight*, *Nov.*19.1647. *p.638.*
36. His Majesties Letter to Sr *Thomas Fairfax*, from *Carisbrook*, *Nov.* 26. 1647. *p.639.*
37. His Majesties Letter to both Houses from *Carisbrook* Castle, *Dec.* 6. 1647. *p.640.*
38. The Four Bills and Propositions sent to His Majesty in the Isle of *Wight*, *Decem.*24.1647. *p.641.*
39. The *Scots* Commissioners Paper to His Majesty at the same time, *p.646.*
40. His Majesties Answer to the Four Bills and Propositions, *Decemb.*28. 1647. ibid.
41. Both Houses Declaration thereupon, with Votes for no further Address, *p.648.*
42. His Majesties Declaration in Answer to the Votes for no further Address, *Jan.*18.1647,8. *p.650.*
43. Votes for a Treaty, *p.654.*
44. His Majesties Message in Answer to the Votes, *Carisbrook*, 10. *Aug.* 1648. *p.655.*
45. Votes in order to the Treaty, *p.657.*
46. His Majesties Answer to the Votes, *p.659.*
47. A Letter of both Speakers to His Majesty, *Sept.*2. 1648. *p.660.*
48. His Majesties Answer to both Speakers, *p.661.*
49. His Majesties Propositions, 29. *Sept.* 1648. *p.662.*
50. Votes concerning His Majesties Propositions and Concessions, *p.669.*
51. The Heads of the Remonstrance of the Army presented to the House of Commons *Nov.*20.1648. *p.670.*
52. His Majesties Queres concerning the Remonstrance, *p.671.*
53. His Majesties Declaration concerning the Treaty, and His dislike of the Armies Proceedings, *p.672.*

HIS

HIS MAJESTIES DECLARATIONS CONCERNING HIS PROCEEDINGS IN HIS FOUR FIRST PARLIAMENTS.

A Declaration of the true Cauſes which moved His MAJESTY *to aſſemble, and after inforced Him to diſſolve the Firſt and Second Meetings in* Parliament.

THE Kings moſt Excellent Majeſty, ſince His happy acceſs to the Imperial Crown of this Realme, having by His Royall Authority ſummoned and aſſembled two ſeveral Parliaments, the firſt whereof was in *Auguſt* laſt by adjournment held at *Oxford*, and there diſſolved, and the other begun in *February* laſt, and continued untill the fifteenth day of this preſent month of *June*, and then to the unſpeakable grief of Himſelf and (as He believeth) of all His good and well-affected Subjects, diſſolved alſo; although He well knoweth that the calling, adjourning, proroguing and diſſolving of Parliaments, being His Great Counſel of the Kingdome, do peculiarly belong unto Himſelf by an undoubted Prerogative inſeparably united to His Imperial Crown, of which, as of His other Regall Actions, He is not bound to give an account to any but to God only, whoſe immediate Lieutenant and Vicegerent He is in theſe His Realms and Dominions, by the Divine Providence committed to His Charge and Government: yet foraſmuch as, by the aſsiſtance of the Almightie, His purpoſe is ſo to order Himſelf and all His Actions, eſpecially the great and publick Actions of State concerning the weal of His People, as may juſtifie themſelves not only to His own Conſcience and to His own People, but to the whole world; His Majeſtie hath thought it fit and neceſſary, as the Affairs now ſtand both at home and abroad, to make a true, plain and clear Declaration of the cauſes which moved His Majeſtie to aſſemble, and after inforced Him to diſſolve theſe Parliaments; that ſo the mouth of Malice it ſelf may be ſtopped, and the doubts and fears of His own good Subjects at home, and of His Friends and Allies abroad, may be ſatisfied, and the deſerved blame of ſo unhappy accidents may juſtly light upon the Authors thereof.

When His Majeſty, by the death of His dear and Royall Father of ever-bleſſed memory, firſt came to the Crown, He found himſelf

ingaged in a Warre with a potent Enemy, not undertaken raſhly, nor without juſt and honourable grounds, but inforced, for the neceſſary defence of Himſelf and His Dominions, for the ſupport of His Friends and Allies, for the redeeming of the ancient honor of this Nation, for the recovering of the Patrimony of His dear Siſter, her Conſort and their Children, injuriouſly and under colour of Treaties and Friendſhip taken from them, and for the maintenance of the true Religion; and invited thereunto and incouraged therein by the humble advice of both the Houſes of Parliament, & by their large promiſes and proteſtations to His late Majeſtie, to give Him full and reall aſsiſtance in thoſe Enterpriſes which were of ſo great importance to this Realm, and to the general Peace and Safety of all His Friends and Allies. But when His Majeſtie entred into a view of His Treaſure, He found how ill provided He was to proceed effectually with ſo great an Action, unleſs He might be aſſured to receive ſuch Supplies from His loving Subjects as might inable Him to manage the ſame.

Hereupon His Majeſtie being willing to tread in the ſteps of His Royall Progenitors, for the making of good and wholeſome Laws for the better government of His people, for the right underſtanding of their true Grievances, and for the ſupplie of moneys to be imployed for thoſe publick ſervices, He did reſolve to ſummon a Parliament with all convenient ſpeed He might; and finding a former Parliament already called in the life of His Father, He was deſirous, for the ſpeedier diſpatch of His weighty affairs and gaining of time, to have continued the ſame without any alteration of the Members thereof, had He not been adviſed to the contrary by His Judges and Counſell at Law, for that it had been ſubject to queſtion in Law, which He deſired to avoid. But as ſoon as poſsibly He could, He ſummoned a new Parliament, which He did with much confidence and aſſurance of the love of His People, that thoſe who not long before had with ſome importunity wone His Father to break off His former Treatie with *Spain*, and to effect it had uſed the mediation of His now Majeſtie, being then Prince and a Member of the Parliament, and had promiſed in Parliament their uttermoſt aſsiſtance for the inabling of His late Majeſtie to undergoe the Warre which they then foreſaw might follow, would aſſuredly have performed it to His now Majeſtie, and would not have ſuffered Him in His firſt Enterpriſe of ſo great a

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expectation to have run the leaſt hazard through their defaults.

This Parliament (after ſome adjournment by reaſon of His Majeſties unavoidable occaſions interpoſing) being aſſembled on the eighteenth day of *June*, it is true that His Commons in Parliament, taking into their due and ſerious conſideration the manifold occaſions which at His firſt entry did preſs His Majeſtie, and His moſt important affairs which both at home and abroad were then in action, did with great readineſs and alacrity, as a pledge of their moſt bounden Duty and Thankfulneſs, and as the firſt fruits of the moſt dutifull affections of His loving and loyall Subjects devoted to His ſervice, preſent His Majeſtie with the free and chearfull gift of two entire Subſidies; which their gift, and much more the freeneſs and heartineſs expreſſed in the giving thereof, His Majeſty did thankfully and lovingly accept. But when He had more narrowly entred into the conſideration of His great Affairs wherein He was imbarked, and from which He could not without much diſhonour and diſadvantage withdraw His hand, He found that this ſumme of money was much ſhort of that which of neceſsity muſt be preſently expended for the ſetting forward of thoſe great actions which by advice of His Councell He had undertaken, and were that Summer to be purſued. This His Majeſtie imparted to His Commons Houſe of Parliament: but before the ſame could receive that debate and due conſideration which was fit, the fearfull viſitation of the Plague in and about the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, where the Lords and the principall Gentlemen of quality of His whole Kingdom were for the time of this their ſervice lodged and abiding, did ſo much increaſe, that His Majeſtie, without extreme peril to the lives of His good Subjects, which were dear unto Him, could not continue the Parliament any longer in that place.

His Majeſty therefore on the eleventh day of *July* then following adjourned the Parliament from *Weſtminſter* untill the firſt day of *Auguſt* then following, to the Citie of *Oxford*; and His Highneſs was ſo carefull to accommodate His Lords and Commons there, that, as He made choice of that place, being then the freeſt of all others from the danger of that grievous Sickneſs, ſo He there fitted the Parliamentmen with all things convenient for their entertainment: and His Majeſtie Himſelf being in His own heart ſincere and free from all ends

upon His people (which the Searcher of hearts beſt knoweth) He little expected that any miſconſtruction of His Actions would have been made, as He there found. But when the Parliament had been a while there aſſembled, and His Majeſties Affairs opened unto them, and a further ſupply deſired, as neceſsity required, He found them ſo ſlow and ſo full of delays and diverſions in their reſolutions, that before any thing could be determined, the fearfull Contagion daily increaſed, and was diſperſed into all the parts of this Kingdom, and came home even to their doors where they were aſſembled.

His Majeſtie therefore rather preferred the ſafety of His People from that preſent and viſible danger, then the providing for that which was more remote, but no leſs dangerous to the ſtate of this Kingdom, and of the affairs of that part of Chriſtendom which then were and yet are in friendſhip and alliance with His Majeſtie; and thereupon His Majeſtie, not being then able to diſcern when it might pleaſe God to ſtay His hand of Viſitation, nor what place might be more ſecure then other at a time convenient for their re-aſſembling, His Majeſtie diſſolved that Parliament.

That Parliament being now ended, His Majeſtie did not therewith caſt off His Royall care of His great and important affairs; but by the advice of His Privy Councell and of His Councell of Warre, He continued His preparations and former reſolutions, and therein not only expended thoſe moneys which by the two Subſidies aforeſaid were given unto Him for His own private uſe, whereof He had too much occaſion, as He found the ſtate of His Exchequer at His firſt entrance; but added much more of His own, as by His credit and the credit of ſome of His Servants He was able to compaſs the ſame. At laſt, by much diſadvantage by the retarding of proviſions and uncertainty of the means, His Navy was prepared and ſet to Sea, and the deſigns unto which they were ſent and ſpecially directed were ſo probable and ſo well adviſed, that had they not miſcarried in the execution, His Majeſtie is well aſſured they would have given good ſatisfaction not only to His own people, but to all the world, that they were not lightly or unadviſedly undertaken and purſued. But it pleaſed God, who is the Lord of Hoſts, and unto whoſe Providence and good pleaſure His Majeſtie doth and ſhall ever ſubmit Himſelf and all His endeavours, not to give that ſucceſs which was

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desired. And yet were those attempts not altogether so fruitless as the envie of the Times hath apprehended, the Enemie receiving thereby no small loss, and our party no little advantage; and it would much availe to further His Majesties great affairs and the Peace of Christendom, which ought to be the true end of all hostilitie, were these first beginnings, which are most subject to miscarrie, well seconded and pursued, as His Majestie intended, and as, in the judgement of all men conversant in actions of this nature, were fit not to have been neglected.

These things being thus acted, and God of his infinite Goodness, beyond expectation, asswaging the rage of the Pestilence, and in a manner of a suddain restoring health and safety to the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, which are the fittest places for the resort of His Majestie, His Lords and Commons, to meet in Parliament, His Majestie in the depth of Winter, no sooner descried the probability of a safe assembling of His people, and in His Princely Wisedom and Providence foresaw, that if the opportunitie of seasons should be omitted, preparations both defensive and offensive could not be made in such sort as was requisite for their common safety, but He advised and resolved of the summoning of a new Parliament, where He might freely communicate the necessities of the State, and by the counsell and advice of the Lords and Commons in Parliament, who are the representative body of the whole Kingdom, and the great Counsell of the Realm, He might proceed in these enterprises, and be inabled thereunto, which concern the common good, safety and honour both of Prince and People; and accordingly the sixth of *February* last a new Parliament was begun.

At the first meeting His Majestie did forbear to press them with any thing which might have the least appearance of His own Interest, but recommended unto them the care of making of good Laws, which are the ordinary subject for a Parliament : His Majestie believing that they could not have suffered many days, much less many weeks, to have passed by, before the apprehension and care of the common safetie of this Kingdom, and of the true Religion professed and maintained therein, and of Our Friends and Allies, who must prosper or suffer with us, would have led them to a due and a timely consideration of all the means which might best conduce to those ends : which

the Lords of the higher Houſe by a Committee of that Houſe did timely & ſeaſonably conſider of, and invited the Commons to a Conference concerning that great buſineſs; at which Conference there were opened unto them the great occaſions which preſſed His Majeſtie: which making no impreſsion with them, His Majeſtie did, firſt by Meſſage, and after by Letters, put the Houſe of Commons in mind of that which was moſt neceſſary, the defence of the Kingdom, and due and timely preparations for the ſame.

The Commons Houſe after this, upon the ſeven and twentieth of *March* laſt, with one unanimous conſent at firſt agreed to give unto His Majeſtie three intire Subſidies and three Fifteens for a preſent ſupply unto Him; and upon the ſix and twentieth of *April* after, upon ſecond cogitations they added a fourth Subſidy, and ordered the days of payment for them all; whereof the firſt ſhould have been on the laſt day of this preſent month of *June*. Upon this, the King of *Denmark* and other Princes and States being ingaged with His Majeſty in this Common Cauſe, His Majeſtie fitted His occaſions according to the times which were appointed for the payment of thoſe Subſidies and Fifteens, and haſted on the Lords Committees and His Councell at Warre to perfect their reſolutions for the ordering and ſetting of His deſigns: which they accordingly did, and brought them to that maturitie, that they found no impediment to a final concluſion of their Counſels, but want of money to put things into Action. His Majeſtie hereupon, who had with much patience expected the reall performance of that which the Commons had promiſed, finding the time of the year poſting away, and having intelligence, not onely from His own Miniſters and Subjects in forein parts, but from all parts of Chriſtendom, of the great and powerfull preparations of the King of *Spain*, and that His deſigne was upon this Kingdom, or the Kingdom of *Ireland*, or both, (and it is hard to determine which of them would be of worſt conſequence) He acquainted the Houſe of Commons therewith, and laid open unto them truely and clearly how the ſtate of things then ſtood, and yet ſtand, and at ſeverall times and upon ſeverall occaſions re-iterated the ſame. But that Houſe being abuſed by the violent and ill-adviſed Paſsions of a few members of the Houſe, for private and perſonall ends, ill beſeeming publick perſons truſted by their Countrey, as then they were, not onely neglected, but

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wilfully refuſed to hearken to all the gentle admonitions which His Majeſtie could give them, and neither did nor would intend any thing but the proſecution of one of the Peers of this Realm; and that in ſuch a diſordered manner, as being ſet at their own inſtance into a Legall way, wherein the proofs on either part would have ruled the cauſe, which His Majeſty allowed, they were not therewith content, but in their intemperate paſsions and deſires to ſeek for errours in another, fell into a greater errour themſelves, and not onely neglected to give juſt ſatisfaction to His Majeſty in ſeverall caſes which happened concerning His Regalitie, but wholly forgot their ingagements to His Majeſty for the publick defence of the Realm: whereupon His Majeſtie wrote a Letter to the Speaker, dated the ninth day of *June*, 1626. in theſe words.

TRuſtie and wel-beloved, We greet you well. Our Houſe of Commons cannot forget how often and how earneſtly We have called upon them for the ſpeeding of that aide which they intend unto Us for Our great and weighty Affairs, concerning the ſafety and honour of Us and Our Kingdoms; and now the time being ſo farre ſpent, that unleſs it be preſently concluded, it can neither bring Us money nor credit by the time which themſelves have prefixed, which is the laſt of this moneth, and being further deferred would be of little uſe, We being daily advertiſed from all parts of the great preparation of the Enemy ready to aſſaile us, We hold it neceſſary by theſe Our Letters to give them Our laſt and finall admonition, and to let them know, that We ſhall account all further delays and excuſes to be expreſs denials: and therefore We will and require you to ſignifie unto them, that We do expect that they forthwith bring forth their Bill of Subſidie to be paſſed without delay or condition, ſo as it may fully paſs that Houſe by the end of the next week at the furtheſt; which if they do not, it will force Us to take other reſolutions. But let them know, that if they finiſh this according to Our deſire, that We are reſolved to let them ſit together for the diſpatch of their other affairs, and after their receſs to bring them together again the next Winter. And if by their deniall or delay any thing of ill conſequence ſhall fall out either at home or abroad, We may call God and man to witneſs, that We have done Our part to prevent it, by calling Our people together to adviſe with Us, by opening the weight of Our occaſions unto them, and by requiring their timely help and aſsiſtance in thoſe Actions wherein We ſtand ingaged by their own Counſells. And We will and command you, that this Letter be publickly read in the Houſe.

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Notwithſtanding which Letter read in the Houſe, being a clear and gracious manifeſt of His Majeſties reſolutions, they never ſo much as admitted one reading to the Bill of Subſidies; but in ſtead thereof they prepared and voted a Remonſtrance or Declaration, which they intended to preferre to His Majeſtie, containing (though palliated with gloſing terms) as well many diſhonourable aſperſions upon His Majeſtie, and upon the Sacred memory of His deceaſed Father, as alſo dilatorie excuſes for their not proceeding with the Subſidies, adding thereto alſo coloured conditions, croſsing thereby His Majeſties direction: which His Majeſtie underſtanding, and eſteeming (as He had cauſe) to be a deniall of the promiſed Supply, and finding that no admonitions could move, no reaſons or perſwaſions could prevail, when the time was ſo farre ſpent, that they had put an impoſsibilitie upon themſelves to perform their promiſes, when they eſteemed all gracious Meſſages unto them to be but interruptions; His Majeſtie upon mature adviſement diſcerning that all further patience would prove fruitleſs, on the fifteenth day of this preſent month He hath diſſolved this unhappie Parliament: the acting whereof as it was to His Majeſtie an unexpreſsible grief; ſo the memorie thereof doth renew the hearty ſorrow which all His good and well-affected Subjects will compaſsionate with Him.

Theſe paſſages His Majeſtie hath at the more length and with the true Circumſtances thereof expreſſed, and publiſhed to the world, leſt that which hath been unfortunate in it ſelf, through the Malice of the authors of ſo great a miſchief, and the malevolent Report of ſuch as are ill-affected to this State or the true Religion here profeſſed, or the fears or jealouſies of Friends and dutifull Subjects, might be made more unfortunate in the Conſequences of it, which may be of worſe effect then at the firſt can be well apprehended. And His Majeſtie, being beſt privie to the integritie of His own heart, for the conſtant maintaining of the ſinceritie and unitie of the true Religion profeſſed in the Church of *England*, and to free it from the open contagion of Popery and ſecret infection of Schiſm, of both which by His publick Acts and Actions He hath given good teſtimony, and with a ſingle heart, as in the preſence of God, who can beſt judge thereof, purpoſeth reſolutely and conſtantly to proceed in the due execution of either; and obſerving the ſubtilty of the adverſe partie, He cannot

but

but believe that the hand of *Joab* hath been in this diſaſter, that the common Incendiaries of Chriſtendome have ſubtilly and ſecretly inſinuated thoſe things which unhappily (and, as His Majeſtie hopeth, beyond the intentions of the Actors) have cauſed theſe diverſions and diſtractions: and yet notwithſtanding His moſt Excellent Majeſtie, for the comfort of His good and well-affected Subjects, in whoſe loves He doth repoſe Himſelf with confidence, and eſteemeth it as His greateſt riches; for the aſſuring of His Friends and Allies, with whom, by God's aſsiſtance, He will not break in the ſubſtance of what He hath undertaken; for the diſcouraging of His Adverſaries, and the adverſaries of His Cauſe, and of His Dominions and Religion, hath put on this reſolution, which He doth hereby publiſh to all the world; That as God hath made Him King of this great People and large Dominions, famous in former Ages both by Land and Sea, and truſted Him to be a Father and Protector both of their perſons and fortunes, and a Defender of the Faith and true Religion: ſo He will goe on chearfully and conſtantly in the defence thereof, and (notwithſtanding ſo many difficulties and diſcouragements) will take His Scepter & Sword into His hand, and not expoſe the perſons of the people committed to His charge to the unſatiable deſires of the King of *Spain*, who hath long thirſted after an univerſall Monarchy, nor their Conſciences to the yoke of the Pope of *Rome*; and that at home He will take that care to redreſs the juſt Grievances of His good Subjects as ſhall be every way fit for a good King.

And in the mean time His Majeſtie doth publiſh this to all His loving Subjects, that they may know what to think with truth, and ſpeak with duty, of His Majeſties Actions and Proceedings in theſe two laſt diſſolved Parliaments.

Given at His Majeſties Palace at White-Hall, *this thirtieth day of* June, *in the ſecond year of His Majeſties Reign of Great* Britain, France, *and* Ireland.

His

His MAJESTIES *Declaration to all His Loving Subjects, of the Causes which moved Him to dissolve His Third* Parliament.

Published by His Majesties speciall command.

¶ By the KING.

A Proclamation about the dissolving of the Parliament.

WHereas We, for the generall good of Our Kingdom, caused Our High Court of Parliament to assemble and meet by Prorogation the twentieth day of *January* last past, sithence which time the same hath been continued: and although in this time, by the malevolent dispositions of some ill-affected persons of the House of Commons, We have had sundry just causes of offence and dislike of their proceedings; yet We resolved with patience to trie the uttermost, which We the rather did, for that We found in that House a great number of sober and grave persons, well affected to Religion and Government, and desirous to preserve Unitie and Peace in all parts of Our Kingdom; and therefore having on the five and twentieth day of *February* last, by the uniform Advice of Our Privie Councell, caused both Houses to be adjourned untill this present day, hoping in the mean time that a better and more right understanding might be begotten between Us & the Members of that House, whereby this Parliament might have an happy end and issue; and for the same intent, We did again this day command the like Adjournment to be made untill the tenth day of this month: It hath so happened by the disobedient and seditious carriage of those said ill-affected persons of the House of Commons, that We and Our Regall authority and commandement have been so highly contemned, as Our Kingly Office cannot bear, nor any former Age can parallel. And therefore it is Our full and absolute resolution to dissolve the same Parliament; whereof We thought good to give notice unto all the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and to the Knights, Citizens and Burgesses of this present Parliament, and to all others whom

whom it may concern, that they may depart about their needfull affairs, without attending any longer here. Nevertheleſs We will that they and all others ſhould take notice, that We do and ever will diſtinguiſh between thoſe who have ſhewed good affection to Religion and Government, and thoſe that have given themſelves over to Faction, and to work diſturbance to the Peace and good order of Our Kingdom.

Given at Our Court at White-hall, *this ſecond day of* March, *in the fourth year of Our Reign of Great* Britain, France, *and* Ireland.

God ſave the KING.

His MAJESTIES *Speech at the Diſſolving of the* Parliament.

My Lords,

I Never came here upon ſo unpleaſant an occaſion, it being the Diſſolution of a Parliament. Therefore men may have ſome cauſe to wonder why I ſhould not rather chuſe to doe this by Commiſsion, it being a generall Maxime of Kings, to leave harſh commands to their Miniſters, Themſelves only executing pleaſing things. Yet conſidering that Juſtice as well conſiſts in reward and praiſe of Vertue as puniſhing of Vice; I thought it neceſſary to come here to day, to declare to you and all the world, that it was merely the undutifull and ſeditious carriage in the lower Houſe that hath made the Diſſolution of this Parliament. And you, My Lords, are ſo farre from being cauſes of it, that I take as much comfort in your dutifull demeanors, as I am juſtly diſtaſted with their proceedings. Yet to avoid miſtakings, let Me tell you, that it is ſo farre from Me to adjudge all the Houſe alike guilty, that I know that there are many there as dutifull Subjects as any in the world; it being but ſome few Vipers amongſt them that did caſt this miſt of undutifulneſs over moſt of their eyes: yet to ſay truth, there was a good number there that could not be infected with this contagion; inſomuch that ſome did expreſs their duties in ſpeaking; which was the generall fault

of the Houſe the laſt day. To conclude, as theſe Vipers muſt look for their reward of puniſhment; ſo you, my Lords, may juſtly expect from Me that favour and protection that a good King oweth to His loving and dutifull Nobility.

And now, My Lord Keeper, doe what I have commanded you.

His MAJESTIES *Declaration to all His loving Subjects, of the Cauſes which moved Him to Diſſolve the* Parliament.

HOwſoever Princes are not bound to give account of their Actions but to God alone; yet for the ſatisfaction of the minds and affections of Our loving Subjects, We have thought good to ſet down thus much by way of Declaration, that We may appear to the world in the truth and ſincerity of Our own Actions, and not in thoſe colours in which We know ſome turbulent and ill-affected Spirits (to maſque and diſguiſe their own wicked intentions, dangerous to the State) would repreſent Us to the publick view.

We aſſembled Our Parliament the ſeventeenth day of *March*, in the third year of Our Reign, for the ſafety of Religion, for ſecuring Our Kingdoms and Subjects at home, and Our Friends and Allies abroad: and therefore at the firſt ſitting down of it We declared the miſerable afflicted eſtate of thoſe of the Reformed Religion in *Germany*, *France* and other parts of Chriſtendom; the diſtreſſed extremities of Our deareſt Uncle the King of *Denmark*, chaſed out of a great part of his Dominions; the ſtrength of that party which was united againſt Us; that (beſides the *Pope* and houſe of *Auſtria* and their ancient Confederates) the *French* King profeſſed the rooting out of the Proteſtant Religion; that of the Princes and States on Our party ſome were over-run, others diverted, and ſome diſabled to give aſſiſtance. For which and other important motives We propounded a ſpeedie ſupplie of Treaſure, anſwerable to the neceſsities of the Cauſe.

Theſe things in the beginning were well reſented by the Houſe of Commons, and with much alacrity and readineſs they agreed to grant a liberall aid: But before it was brought to any perfection they were

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diverted by a multitude of queſtions raiſed amongſt them concerning their Liberties and Privileges, and by other long diſputes, that the Bill did not paſs in a long time; and by that delay Our affairs were put into farre worſe caſe then at the firſt, Our forein actions then in hand being thereby diſgraced and ruined for want of timely help.

In this, as We are not willing to derogate from the merit and good intentions of thoſe wiſe and moderate men of that Houſe (to whoſe forwardneſs We attribute it that it was propounded and reſolved ſo ſoon,) ſo We muſt needs ſay, that the delay of paſsing it when it was reſolved, occaſioned by cauſeleſs jealouſies ſtirred up by men of another temper, did much leſſen both the reputation and reality of that ſupply: and their ſpirit infuſed into many of the Commiſsioners and Aſſeſſors in the Countrey, hath returned up the Subſidies in ſuch a ſcantie proportion as is infinitely ſhort, not onely of Our great Occaſions, but of the precedents of former Subſidies, and of the intentions of all well-affected men in that Houſe.

In thoſe large diſputes, as We permitted many of Our high Prerogatives to be debated, which in the beſt times of Our Predeceſſors had never been queſtioned without puniſhment or ſharp reproof; ſo We did endeavour to have ſhortned thoſe debates, for winning of time, which would have much advantaged Our great Affairs both at home and abroad: And therefore both by Speeches and Meſſages We did often declare Our gracious and clear reſolution to maintain, not onely the Parliament, but all Our People, in their ancient and juſt liberties, without either violation or diminution; and in the end, for their full ſatisfaction and ſecuritie, did by an anſwer, framed in the form by themſelves deſired, to their Parliamentary Petition, confirm their ancient and juſt Liberties and Rights; which We reſolve with all Conſtancie and Juſtice to maintain.

This Parliament, howſoever, beſides the ſettling Our neceſſary Supplie and their own Liberties, they waſted much time in ſuch proceedings (blaſting Our Government) as We are unwilling to remember, yet We ſuffered to ſit untill themſelves deſired us to appoint a time for their receſs, not naming either Adjournment or Prorogation.

Whereupon, by advice of Our Councell, We reſolved to Prorogue, and make a Seſsion: and to that end prefixed a day, by which they

might (as was meet in ſo long a ſitting) finiſh ſome profitable and good Laws; and withall gave order for a gracious pardon to all Our Subjects: which, according to the uſe of former Parliaments, paſſed the higher Houſe, and was ſent down to the Commons. All which being graciouſly intended by Us, was ill entertained by ſome diſaffected perſons of that Houſe, who by their artifices in a ſhort time raiſed ſo much heat and diſtemper in the Houſe, for no other viſible cauſe, but becauſe We had declared Our reſolution to prorogue, as Our Counſell adviſed, and not to adjourn, as ſome of that Houſe (after Our reſolution declared, and not before) did manifeſt themſelves to affect; that ſeldome hath greater paſsion been ſeen in that Houſe upon the greateſt occaſions. And then ſome glances in the Houſe, but open rumors abroad, were ſpread, that by the Anſwer to the Petition We had given away not onely Our Impoſitions upon goods exported and imported, but the Tonnage and Poundage: whereas in the debate and hammering of that Petition there was no ſpeech or mention in either Houſe concerning thoſe Impoſitions, but concerning Taxes and other charges within the Land; much leſs was there any thought thereby to debarre Us of Tonnage and Poundage, which both before and after the Anſwer to that Petition, the Houſe of Commons, in all their Speeches and Treaties, did profeſs they were willing to grant. And at the ſame time many other misinterpretations were raiſed of that Petition & Anſwer, by men not well diſtinguiſhing between well-ordered libertie and licentiouſneſs; as if by Our Anſwer to that Petition We had let looſe the Reines of Our Government. And in this diſtemper, the Houſe of Commons laying aſide the pardon (a thing never done in any former Parliament) & other buſineſſes fit to have been concluded that Seſsion, ſome of them went about to frame and contrive a Remonſtrance againſt Our receiving of Tonnage and Poundage; which was ſo farre proceeded in, the night before the prefixed time for concluding the Seſsion, and ſo haſtened by the contrivers thereof, that they meant to have put it to the Vote of the Houſe the next morning, before We ſhould prorogue the Seſsion. And therefore finding Our gracious favours in that Seſsion afforded to Our people ſo ill requited, and ſuch ſiniſter ſtrains made upon Our Anſwer to that Petition, to the diminution of Our Profit, & (which was more) to the danger of Our Government; We reſolved

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to prevent the finiſhing of that Remonſtrance, and other dangerous intentions of ſome ill-affected perſons, by ending the Seſsion the next morning ſome few hours ſooner then was expected, and by Our own mouth to declare to both Houſes the cauſes thereof; and, for hindring the ſpreading of thoſe ſiniſter interpretations of that Petition and Anſwer, to give ſome neceſsary directions for ſettling and quieting Our Government untill another meeting, which We performed accordingly the ſix and twentieth of *June* laſt.

The Seſsion thus ended and the Parliament riſen, that intended Remonſtrance gave Us occaſion to look into that buſineſs of Tonnage and Poundage. And therefore, though Our neceſsities pleaded ſtrongly for Us, yet We were not apt to ſtrain that point too farre, but reſolved to guide Our ſelf by the practice of former ages, and examples of Our moſt Noble Predeceſſours; thinking thoſe Counſells beſt warranted, which the wiſedome of former ages concurring with the preſent occaſions did approve: And therefore gave order for a diligent ſearch of Records; upon which it was found, that although in the Parliament holden in the firſt year of the Reign of King *Edward* the Fourth, the Subſidie of Tonnage and Poundage was not granted unto that King, but was firſt granted unto him by Parliament in the third year of his Reign; yet the ſame was accounted and anſwered to that King from the firſt day of his Reign, all the firſt and ſecond years of his Reign, and untill it was granted by Parliament: and that in the ſucceeding times of King *Richard* the Third, King *Henry* the Seventh, King *Henry* the Eighth, King *Edward* the Sixth, Queen *Mary*, and Queen *Elizabeth*, the Subſidie of Tonnage and Poundage was not onely enjoyed by every of thoſe Kings and Queens, from the death of each of them deceaſing, untill it was granted by Parliament unto the Succeſſor; but in all thoſe times, (being for the moſt part peaceable, and not burthen'd with like charges and neceſsities as theſe modern times) the Parliament did moſt readily and chearfully, in the beginning of every of thoſe Reigns, grant the ſame, as a thing moſt neceſſary for the guarding of the Seas, ſafetie and defence of the Realm, and ſupportation of the Royall Dignitie. And in the time of Our Royall Father, of bleſſed memory, He enjoyed the ſame a full year, wanting very few days, before his Parliament began, and above a year before the Act of Parliament for the grant of it was paſſed: and yet

when the Parliament was assembled, it was granted without difficultie. And in Our own time, We quietly received the same three years and more, expecting with patience in severall Parliaments the like grant thereof as had been made to so many of Our Predecessours; the House of Commons still professing, that multitude of other business, and not want of willingness on their part, had caused the settling thereof to be so long deferred. And therefore finding so much reason and necessitie for the receiving of the ordinarie duties in the Custome-House to concurre with the practice of such a Succession of Kings and Queens, famous for Wisedom, Justice and Government, and nothing to the contrary, but that intended Remonstrance hatched out of the passionate brains of a few particular persons; We thought it so farre from the wisedom and dutie of a House of Parliament, as We could not think that any moderate and discreet man (upon composed thoughts, setting aside passion and distemper) could be against receiving of Tonnage and Poundage; especially since We do and still must pursue those ends, and undergoe that Charge, for which it was first granted to the Crown; it having been so long and constantly continued to Our Predecessours, as that in four severall Acts of Parliament for the granting thereof to King *Edward* the Sixth, Queen *Mary*, Queen *Elizabeth*, and Our blessed Father, it is in expres terms mentioned to have been had and enjoyed by the severall Kings named in those Acts, time out of mind, by authoritie of Parliament. And therefore, upon these reasons, We held it agreeable to Our Kingly Honour, and necessary for the safetie and good of Our Kingdom, to continue the receipt thereof, as so many of Our Predecessours had done. Wherefore when a few Merchants (being at first but one or two) fomented, as it is well known, by those evil Spirits that would have hatched that undutifull Remonstrance, began to oppose the payment of Our accustomed duties in the Custome-house, We gave order to the Officers of Our Customs to goe on, notwithstanding that opposition, in the receiving of the usuall duties; and caused those that refused to be warned to attend at the Councell-board, that by the wisedom & authority of Our Councell they might be reduced to obedience and duty. where some of them, without reverence or respect to the honour and dignity of that presence, behaved themselves with such boldness and insolency of speech, as was not to be endured by a farre meaner Assembly;

ſembly; much leſs to be countenanced by a Houſe of Parliament, againſt the body of Our Privie Councell.

And as in this We did what in honour and reaſon was fit for the preſent; ſo Our thoughts were daily intentive upon the reaſſembling of Our Parliament, with full intention on Our part to take away all ill underſtanding between Us and Our people, whoſe loves as We deſired to continue and preſerve, ſo We uſed Our beſt endeavours to prepare and facilitate the way to it. And to this end, having taken a ſtrict and exact ſurvey of Our Government both in the Church and Commonwealth, and what things were moſt fit and neceſſary to be reformed, We found in the firſt place, that much exception had been taken at a book intituled *Appello Cæſarem*, or An Appeal to *Cæſar*, and publiſhed in the year 1625. by *Richard Mountague*, then Batchelour of Divinitie, and now Biſhop of *Chicheſter*: and becauſe it did open the way to thoſe Schiſms and Diviſions which have ſince enſued in the Church, We did, for remedie and redreſs thereof, and for ſatisfaction of the Conſciences of Our good people, not only by Our publick Proclamation call in that Book, which miniſtred matter of offence; but, to prevent the like danger for hereafter, reprinted the Articles of Religion eſtabliſhed in the time of Queen *Elizabeth* of famous memorie; and, by a Declaration before thoſe Articles, We did tie and reſtrain all Opinions to the ſenſe of thoſe Articles, that nothing might be left for private fancies and innovation. For We call God to record, before whom We ſtand, that it is, and always hath been, Our hearts deſire to be found worthy of that Title which We accompt the moſt glorious in all Our Crown, *Defender of the Faith*: neither ſhall We ever give way to the authorizing of any thing whereby any Innovation may ſteal or creep into the Church, but preſerve that unity of Doctrine and Diſcipline eſtabliſhed in the time of Queen *Elizabeth*, whereby the Church of *England* hath ſtood and flouriſhed ever ſince.

And as We were carefull to make up all breaches and rents in Religion at home; ſo did We, by Our Proclamation and Commandment for the execution of Laws againſt Prieſts and Popiſh Recuſants, fortifie all ways and approaches againſt that forein Enemie: which if it have not ſucceeded according to Our intention, We muſt lay the fault where it is, in the ſubordinate Officers and Miniſters in the Countrey, by whoſe remiſsneſs Jeſuites and Prieſts eſcape without

apprehenſion, and Recuſants from thoſe convictions and penalties which the Laws and Our Commandement would have inflicted on them. For We do profeſs that, as it is Our dutie, ſo it ſhall be our care, to command and direct well; but it is the part of others to perform the Miniſteriall Office. And when We have done Our Office, We ſhall account Our Self, and all charitable men will accompt Us, innocent both to God and Men: and thoſe that are negligent, We will eſteem as culpable both to God and Us; and therefore will expect that hereafter they give Us a better accompt.

And as We have been carefull for the ſettling of Religion and quieting the Church, ſo were We not unmindfull of the preſervation of the juſt and ancient Liberties of Our Subjects; which We ſecured to them by Our gracious Anſwer to the Petition in Parliament, having not ſince that time done any Act whereby to infringe them; but Our care is, and hereafter ſhall be, to keep them intire and inviolable, as We would doe Our own Right and Sovereignty; having for that purpoſe enrolled the Petition and Anſwer in Our Courts of Juſtice.

Next to the care of Religion and of Our Subjects Rights, We did Our beſt for the provident and well ordering of that aid and ſupply which was granted Us the laſt Seſsion; whereof no part hath been waſtfully ſpent, nor put to any other uſe then thoſe for which it was deſired and granted, as upon payment of Our Fleet and Armie: wherein Our care hath been ſuch, as We choſe rather to diſcontent Our deareſt Friends and Allies, and Our neareſt Servants, then to leave Our Souldiers and Mariners unſatisfied, whereby any vexation or diſquiet might ariſe to Our people. We have alſo with part of thoſe Moneys begun to ſupply Our Magazines and ſtores of Munition, and to put Our Navie into a conſtant form and order. Our Fleet likewiſe is fitting, and almoſt in a readineſs; whereby the Narrow Seas may be guarded, Commerce maintained, and Our Kingdom ſecured from all forein attempts. Theſe Acts of Ours might have made this impreſſion in all good minds, that We were carefull to direct Our counſells and diſpoſe Our actions ſo as might moſt conduce to the maintenance of Religion, honour of Our Government, and ſafetie of Our People. But with miſchievous men once ill-affected, *Seu bene, ſeu malè facta premunt*: and whatſoever once ſeemed amiſs, is ever remembred; but good endeavours are never regarded.

Now

Now all theſe things, that were the chief complaints the laſt Seſsion, being by Our Princely care ſo ſeriouſly reformed, the Parliament reaſſembled the twentieth of *January* laſt: We expecting, according to the candor and ſinceritie of Our own thoughts, that men would have framed themſelves for the effecting a right underſtanding between Us and Our people. But ſome few malevolent perſons, like Empiricks and lewd Artiſts, did ſtrive to make new work, and to have ſome Diſeaſe on foot to keep themſelves in requeſt, and to be imployed and entertained in the Cure. And yet, to manifeſt how much offences have been diminiſhed, the Committees for Grievances, Committees for Courts of Juſtice, and Committees for Trade have ſince the ſitting down of the Parliament received few complaints; and thoſe ſuch, as they themſelves have not thought to be of that moment or importance with which Our ears ſhould be acquainted.

No ſooner therefore was the Parliament ſet down, but theſe ill-affected men began to ſow and diſperſe their Jealouſies, by caſting out ſome glances and doubtfull ſpeeches, as if the Subject had not been ſo clearly and well dealt with touching their Liberties, and touching the Petition anſwered the laſt Parliament. This being a plauſible theme, thought on for an ill purpoſe, eaſily took hold on the minds of many that knew not the practice: And thereupon the ſecond day of the Parliament a Committee was appointed to ſearch, whether the Petition and Our Anſwer thereunto were enrolled in the Parliament Roll and in the Courts at *Weſtminſter*, and in what manner the ſame was done. And a day was then alſo appointed on which the Houſe, being reſolved into a Committee, ſhould take into conſideration thoſe things wherein the Liberty of the Subject had been invaded, againſt that Petition. This, though it produced no other effect of moment or importance, yet was ſufficient to raiſe a jealouſie againſt Our Proceedings in ſuch as were not well acquainted with the ſincerity and clearneſs of them. There followed another of no leſs skill: for although Our proceeding before the Parliament about matters of Religion might have ſatisfied any moderate men of Our zealous care thereof (as We are ſure it did the moſt;) yet, as bad ſtomacks turn the beſt things into their own nature for want of good digeſtion, ſo thoſe diſtempered perſons have done the like of Our good intents, by a bad and ſiniſter interpretation. For when they did obſerve that

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many honeſt and Religious minds in that Houſe did complain of thoſe dangers that did threaten the Church; they likewiſe took the ſame word in their mouth, and their cry likewiſe was *Templum Domini, Templum Domini,* when the true care of the Church never came into their hearts: and what the one did out of zeal unto Religion, the other took up as a plauſible theme to deprave Our Government; as if We, Our Clergie and Councell, were either ſenſeleſs or careleſs of Religion. And this wicked practice hath been to make Us ſeem to walk before Our people as if We halted before God.

Having by theſe Artifices made a jealous impreſsion in the hearts of many, and a day being appointed to treat of the Grant of Tonnage and Poundage; at the time prefixed all expreſs great willingneſs to grant it: but a new ſtrain is found out, that it could not be done without great perill to the Right of the Subject, unleſs We ſhould diſclaim any right therein but by Grant in Parliament; and ſhould cauſe all thoſe goods to be reſtored which upon Commandement from Us or Our Councell were ſtayed by Our Officers, untill thoſe duties were payed; and conſequently ſhould put Our ſelf out of poſſeſsion of the Tonnage and Poundage before they were granted: for elſe it was pretended the Subject ſtood not in fit caſe to grant it. A fancie and cavil raiſed of purpoſe to trouble the buſineſs; it being evident that all the Kings before named did receive that duty, and were in actuall poſſeſsion of it, before, and at the very time when it was granted to them by Parliament. And although We, to remove all difficulties, did from Our own mouth, in thoſe clear and open terms that might have ſatisfied any moderate and well-diſpoſed minds, declare, that it was Our meaning by the gift of Our people to enjoy it, and that We did not challenge it of right, but took it *de bene eſſe*, ſhewing thereby not the right, but the neceſsity by which We were to take it; wherein We deſcended for their ſatisfaction ſo far beneath Our ſelf, as We are confident never any of Our Predeceſſors did the like, nor was the like ever required or expected from them: yet for all this the Bill of Tonnage and Poundage was laid aſide, upon pretence they muſt firſt clear the right of the Subject therein; under colour whereof they entertain the complaints not onely of *John Rolls*, a member of their Houſe, but alſo of *Richard Chambers*, *John Fowkes* and *Bartholomew Gilman*, againſt the Officers of Our Cuſtomes, for detaining

ning their goods upon refuſall to pay the ordinary duty accuſtomed to be payed for the ſame. And upon theſe complaints they ſend for the Officers of the Cuſtomes, enforcing them to attend day after day by the ſpace of a month together; they cauſe them to produce their Letters Patents under Our great Seal, and the Warrants made by Our Privy Councell for levying of thoſe duties; they examine the Officers upon what queſtions they pleaſe, thereby to entrap them for doing Our Service and Commandement. In theſe and other their Proceedings, becauſe We would not give the leaſt ſhew of interruption, We endured long with much patience both theſe and ſundry other ſtrange and exorbitant incroachments and uſurpations, ſuch as were never before attempted in that Houſe.

We are not ignorant how much that Houſe hath of late years endeavoured to extend their Privileges, by ſetting up generall Committees for Religion, for Courts of Juſtice, for Trade, and the like; a courſe never heard of untill of late: ſo as where in former times the Knights and Burgeſſes were wont to communicate to the Houſe ſuch buſineſs as they brought from their Countries, now there are ſo many Chairs erected to make enquiry upon all ſorts of men, where complaints of all ſorts are entertained, to the unſufferable diſturbance and ſcandall of Juſtice and Government; which having been tolerated a while by Our Father and Our ſelf, hath daily grown to more and more height; inſomuch as young Lawyers ſitting there take on them to decry the Opinions of the Judges, and ſome have not doubted to maintain that the reſolutions of that Houſe muſt binde the Judges; a thing never heard of in ages paſt. But in this laſt Aſſembly of Parliament they have taken on them much more then ever before.

They ſent Meſſengers to examine Our Attorney Generall, who is an Officer of truſt and ſecrecy, touching the execution of ſome Commandements of Ours; of which, without Our leave firſt obtained, he was not to give account to any but to Our ſelf. They ſent a captious and directorie meſſage to the Lord Treaſurer, Chancellour, and Barons of the Exchequer, touching ſome judiciall proceedings of theirs in Our Court of Exchequer.

They ſent Meſſengers to examine upon ſundry queſtions Our two chief Juſtices, and three other of Our Judges, touching their

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judiciall proceedings at the Gaol-Delivery at *Newgate*; of which they are not accomptable to the Houſe of Commons.

And whereas Suits were commenced in Our Court of *Star-Chamber* againſt *Richard Chambers*, *John Fowkes*, *Bartholomew Gilman* and *Richard Philips*, by Our Attorney Generall, for great miſdemeanors, they reſolved that they were to have Privilege of Parliament againſt Us for their perſons, for no other cauſe, but becauſe they had Petitions depending in that Houſe; and (which is more ſtrange) they reſolved that a Signification ſhould be made from that Houſe, by a Letter to iſſue under the hand of their Speaker, unto the Lord Keeper of Our Great Seal, that no Attachments ſhould be granted out againſt the ſaid *Chambers*, *Fowkes*, *Gilman*, or *Philips*, during their ſaid Privilege of Parliament: whereas it is farre above the power of that Houſe, to give direction to any of Our Courts at *Weſtminſter* to ſtop Attachments againſt any man, though never ſo ſtrongly privileged; the breach of privilege being not in the Court that grants, but in the partie or Miniſter that puts in execution ſuch Attachments. And therefore if any ſuch Letter had come to the Lord Keeper, as it did not, he ſhould have highly offended Us if he had obeyed it. Nay, they went ſo farre, as they ſpared not the Honour of Our Councell-board, but examined their proceedings in the caſe of Our Cuſtomers, interrogating what this or that man of Our Councell ſaid in direction of them in the buſineſs committed to their charge. And when one of the members of that Houſe, ſpeaking of Our Counſellers, ſaid, We had wicked Counſell, and another ſaid, That the Councell and Judges ſought to trample under feet the Libertie of the Subject, and a third traduced Our high Court of *Star-Chamber* for the ſentence given againſt *Savage*; they paſſed without check or cenſure by the Houſe. By which may appear how farre the members of that Houſe have of late ſwollen beyond the rules of moderation, and the modeſty of former times; and this under pretence of privilege and freedom of ſpeech, whereby they take libertie to declare againſt all authoritie of Councell and Courts at their pleaſure.

They ſent for Our Sheriff of *London*, to examine him in a cauſe whereof they had no jurisdiction; their true and ancient jurisdiction extending only to their own Members, and to the conſervation of their Privileges, and not to the cenſure of forein perſons and cauſes,

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which have no relation to their Privileges; the ſame being but a late Innovation. And yet, upon an enforced ſtrain of a contempt, for not anſwering to their ſatisfaction, they committed him to the Tower of *London*, uſing that outward pretext for a cauſe of their committing him; the true and inward cauſe being, for that he had ſhewed himſelf dutifull to Us and Our Commandements in the matter concerning Our Cuſtomes.

In theſe Innovations (which We will never permit again) they pretended, indeed, Our ſervice; but their drift was to break by this means through all reſpects and ligaments of Government, and to erect an univerſall overſwaying power to themſelves, which belongs onely to Us, and not to them.

Laſtly, in their proceedings againſt Our Cuſtomers, they went about to cenſure them as Delinquents, and to puniſh them for ſtaying ſome goods of ſome factious Merchants in Our Store-houſe, for not paying thoſe duties which themſelves had formerly payed, and which the Cuſtomers without interruption had received of all other Merchants many years before, and to which they were authorized both by Our great Seal, and by ſeverall directions and commandements from Us and Our Privy Councell.

To give ſome colour to their proceedings herein, they went about to create a new Privilege, which We will never admit; That a Parliament-man hath privilege for his goods againſt the King: the conſequence whereof would be, that he may not be conſtrained to pay any duties to the King during the time of Privilege of Parliament.

It is true, they would have made this caſe to have been between the Merchant and Our Farmers of Our Cuſtome, and have ſevered them from Our Intereſt and Commandement, thereby the rather to make them liable to the cenſure and puniſhment of that Houſe. But on the other ſide We, holding it both unjuſt and diſhonorable to withdraw Our ſelf from Our Officers in any thing they did by Our Commandement, or to diſavow any thing that We had enjoyned to be done, upon Monday, the three and twentieth day of *February*, ſent a Meſſage unto them by Secretarie *Coke*, thanking them for the reſpect they had ſhewed in ſevering the Intereſt of Our Farmers from Our own Intereſt and Commandement: nevertheleſs We were bound

in Honour to acknowledge as truth, that what was done by them was done by Our expreſs direction and commandement; and if for doing thereof Our Farmers ſhould ſuffer, it would highly concern Us in Honour. Which Meſſage was no ſooner delivered unto them, but in a tumultuous and diſcontented manner they called, *Adjourn*, *Adjourn*; and thereupon, without any cauſe given on Our part, in a very unuſuall manner adjourned themſelves untill the Wedneſday following: on which day, by the uniform advice of Our Privie Councel, We cauſed both Houſes to be adjourned untill the ſecond day of *March*; hoping that in the mean time a better and more right underſtanding might be begotten between Us and the members of that Houſe, whereby the Parliament might come to an happy iſſue.

But underſtanding by good advertiſement that their diſcontent did not in that time digeſt and paſs away, We reſolved to make a ſecond Adjournment untill the tenth of *March*; which was done as well to take time to Our ſelf to think of ſome means to accommodate thoſe difficulties, as to give them time to adviſe better: and accordingly We gave commandement for a ſecond Adjournment in both Houſes, and for ceſſation of all buſineſſes till the day appointed. Which was very dutifully obeyed in the Higher Houſe, no man contradicting or queſtioning it. But when the ſame commandement was delivered in the Houſe of Commons by their Speaker, it was ſtraightways contradicted: and although the Speaker declared unto them, it was an abſolute Right and power in Us to adjourn, as well as to prorogue or diſſolve, and declared and read unto them divers precedents of that Houſe to warrant the ſame, yet Our commandement was moſt contemptuouſly diſobeyed; and ſome riſing up to ſpeak, ſaying they had buſineſs to doe before the Houſe ſhould be adjourned, the Speaker again declared Our expreſs and peremptorie command to adjourn, and that himſelf ſhould preſently leave the Houſe, and come unto Us: which he offered to doe, but was withſtood by two that had of purpoſe placed themſelves, one on either ſide of the Speakers Chaire, and by force held him in for a time: yet the Speaker finding means to get out of the Chair, and purpoſing to come to Us, as We had commanded, thoſe two and divers others caught hold of him, and by ſtrong hand brought him back, and ſet him in the Chair againſt his will; and then a member of that Houſe

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caſt out a moſt ſeditious paper, framed by himſelf and his Adherents, without any warrant from the Houſe, and containing a proſcription of ſuch as in dutie and obedience to Us ſhould adviſe or aſsiſt Us in the receipt of Tonnage and Poundage, or ſhould pay that dutie, as Enemies to the State; and required it to be read. A moſt audacious inſolencie, for any to preſume to doe that of their own heads, which if the whole Houſe had done in that manner, had been above their power, and had deſerved the higheſt cenſure. But the Speaker refuſing to read it, the Author of it took on him moſt ſeditiouſly & factiouſly to declare the contents of it, and he and other his Adherents required it ſhould be put to the queſtion. Which being miſliked by many grave and wiſe men in the Houſe, and refuſed by the Speaker (as We doubt not but all good men will believe he had cauſe, and even abhorre the memorie of that inſolent and ſeditious Act) yet many bitter taunts and invectives were uttered againſt the Speaker by thoſe factious perſons, and the doors being faſt locked, ſuch as were well-affected to Our ſervice were, againſt their wills, kept in the Houſe all the time of this tumult and diſorder. And when ſome Advertiſement came to Us that the Houſe was in great diſtemper, We firſt ſent for the Serjeant of the Houſe; whom they, after they knew Our pleaſure therein, preſumptuouſly detained. And after We ſent a Meſſage unto them by the Gentleman-uſher of the Higher Houſe: but he coming to the door, and declaring that he had a Meſſage from Us, was refuſed to be admitted; and being kept at the door a long time, at laſt the Houſe adjourned themſelves without receiving Our Meſſage. A proceeding ſo irregular as no Parliament can parallel; when Our abſolute Commands, warranted by Law and precedents of former times, were diſobeyed, the Speaker violated, Our Meſſenger and meſſage excluded, which ought to have been admitted if they were a Houſe; and if they were not a Houſe, they ought not at all to have diſputed, much leſs to blaſt, the honour of Our Servants, to proſcribe Our beſt Subjects, and give Law to Sovereignty, ſtriking at the very eſſence of Monarchy. By all which it appears, that there wanted not men in that Houſe that would get themſelves a name by ſetting *Diana*'s Temple on fire, and make themſelves popular by putting all the Kingdome in combuſtion. For what other end could there be in that malicious ſpeech, whereby a wicked *Shimei* at

that time would make Us odious in the eyes of all Our people, as if it were meant to transferre all Trade, and give the fatneſs of the Land to Strangers? A conceipt (We call God to witneſs) which never entred into Our Soul, and, We think, never harboured in any heart but that ſeditious heart which firſt broached it. For God forbid We ſhould love any ends ſo well, as by any neceſsity to be driven to forget that indiſſoluble bond between Us and Our people.

We could and would have expected longer, had We conceived any hope of their returning to their duty. Whileſt the Duke of *Buckingham* lived, He was intituled to all the diſtempers and ill events of former Parliaments; and therefore much endeavour was uſed to demoliſh him, as the onely wall of ſeparation between Us and Our people. But now he is dead, no alteration was found amongſt thoſe envenomed ſpirits, which troubled then the bleſſed harmony between Us and Our Subjects, and continue ſtill to trouble it. For now, under the pretence of publick care of the Commonwealth, they ſuggeſt new and cauſeleſs fears, which in their own hearts they know to be falſe; and deviſe new engines of miſchief, ſo to caſt a blindneſs upon the good affections of Our people, that they may not ſee the truth and largeneſs of Our heart towards them: ſo that now it is manifeſt the Duke was not alone the mark that thoſe men ſhot at, but was only, as a near Miniſter of Ours, taken upon the by, and in their paſſage to their more ſecret deſigns; which only were to caſt Our Affairs into a deſperate condition, to abate the powers of Our Crown, and to bring Our Government into obloquie, that in the end all things may be overwhelmed with anarchie and confuſion.

We do not impute theſe diſaſters to the whole Houſe of Commons, knowing that there were amongſt them many religious, grave, and well-minded men; but the ſincerer and better part of the Houſe being over-born by the practices and clamors of the other, who, careleſs of their duties, and taking advantage of the Times and Our Neceſsities, have forced Us to break off this meeting, which had it been anſwered with like dutie on their parts as it was invited and begun with love on Ours, might have proved happie and glorious both to Us and this whole Nation.

We have thus declared the manifold cauſes We had to diſſolve this Parliament: whereby all the world may ſee how much they have

have forgotten their former ingagements at the entry into the Warre, themſelves being perſwaders to it, promiſing to make us feared by Our Enemies, and eſteemed by Our Friends; and how they turned the neceſsities grown by that Warre, to enforce Us to yield conditions incompetible with Monarchie. And now, that Our people may diſcern that theſe provocations of evil men (whoſe puniſhment We reſerve to a due time) have not changed Our good intentions to Our Subjects, We do here profeſs to maintain the true Religion and Doctrine eſtabliſhed in the Church of *England*, without admitting or conniving at any backſliding either to Popery or Schiſm. We do alſo declare, that We will maintain the ancient and juſt Rights and Liberties of Our Subjects with ſo much conſtancie and juſtice, that they ſhall have cauſe to acknowledge, that under Our Government and gracious protection they live in a more happie and free eſtate then any Subjects in the Chriſtian world. Yet let no man hereby take the boldneſs to abuſe that Libertie, turning it to licentiouſneſs, nor misinterpret the Petition, by perverting it to a lawleſs libertie, wantonly or frowardly under that or any other colour to reſiſt lawfull and neceſſary Authoritie. For as We will maintain Our Subjects in their juſt Liberties; ſo We do and will expect that they yield as much ſubmiſsion and dutie to Our Royall Prerogatives, and as ready obedience to Our Authoritie and Commandements, as hath been performed to the greateſt of Our Predeceſſors.

And for Our Miniſters, We will not that they be terrified by thoſe harſh proceedings that have been ſtrained againſt ſome of them. For as We will not command any thing unjuſt or diſhonorable, but ſhall uſe Our Authoritie and Prerogatives for the good of Our People; ſo We will expect that Our Miniſters obey Us, and they ſhall aſſure themſelves We will protect them.

As for Our Merchants, We let them know, We ſhall always endeavour to cheriſh and enlarge the trade of ſuch as be dutifull, without burthening them beyond that which is fitting; but the dutie of five in the hundred for the guarding of the Seas and defence of the Realm (to which We hold Our ſelves ſtill obliged, and which dutie hath continued without interruption ſo many ſucceſsions of ages,) We hold no dutifull or good Subject will deny it, being ſo neceſſary for the good of the whole Kingdom. And if any factious Mer-

chant will affront Us in a thing ſo reaſonable, and wherein We require no more nor in no other manner then ſo many of our Predeceſſors have done, and have been dutifully obeyed; let them not deceive themſelves, but be aſſured that We ſhall find Honourable and juſt means to ſupport Our Eſtate, vindicate Our Sovereigntie, and preſerve that Authoritie which God hath put into Our hands.

And now, having laid down the truth and clearneſs of Our proceedings, all wiſe and diſcreet men may eaſily judge of thoſe rumors and jealous fears that are maliciouſly and wickedly bruited abroad; and may diſcern by examination of their own hearts, whether in reſpect of the free paſſage of the Goſpel, indifferent and equal adminiſtration of Juſtice, freedome from Oppreſsion, and the great Peace and quietneſs which every man enjoyeth under his own vine and fig-tree, the Happineſs of this Nation can be parallel'd by any other of Our neighbour Countreys: and if not, then to acknowledge their own bleſſedneſs, and for the ſame be thankfull to God, the Author of all goodneſs.

By the KING.

A Proclamation for ſuppreſſing of falſe Rumours touching Parliaments.

WHereas, notwithſtanding Our late Declaration for ſatiſfying of the minds and affections of Our loving Subjects, ſome ill-diſpoſed perſons do ſpread falſe and pernicious Rumours abroad, as if the ſcandalous and ſeditious Propoſition in the Houſe of Commons, made by an utlawed man, deſperate in mind and fortune, which was tumultuouſly taken up by ſome few after that by Our Royall Authority We had commanded their Adjournment, had been the Vote of the whole Houſe, whereas the contrary is the truth; for it was then decried by the wiſeſt and beſt affected, and is ſince diſavowed upon examination by ſuch as were ſuſpected to have conſented thereunto, and affirmed, as well by them as others who ſerved in the Houſe that day, to be a thing of a moſt wicked and dangerous conſequence to the good eſtate of this Kingdom: which appeareth to be ſo, by thoſe impreſsions which this falſe

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Rumour hath made in mens minds, whereby, out of cauſeleſs fears, the Trade of the Kingdom is diſturbed, and Merchants diſcouraged to continue in their wonted Traffique: We have thought it expedient, not onely to manifeſt the truth hereof, but to make known Our Royall pleaſure, that thoſe who raiſe or nouriſh ſuch falſe reports ſhall be ſeverely puniſhed, and ſuch as chearfully goe on with their Trade have all good incouragement, not purpoſing to overcharge Our Subjects by any new burthens, but to ſatisfie Our ſelves with thoſe Duties that were received by the King Our Father of bleſſed memory: which We neither can nor will diſpenſe withall, but ſhall eſteem them unworthy of Our Protection who ſhall deny the ſame; We intending to imploy it for defence of Our Kingdomes, Dominion of Our Seas, and ſafeguard of Our Merchants, ſpecially by ſuch Shipping as are now making ready, and ſuch further preparation for aide of Our Friends and Allies as need ſhall require.

And whereas, for ſeverall ill ends, the calling again of a Parliament is divulged; howſoever We have ſhewed, by Our frequent meeting with Our People, Our love to the uſe of Parliaments; yet the late abuſe having for the preſent driven Us unwillingly out of that courſe, We ſhall accompt it preſumption for any to preſcribe any time unto Us for Parliaments, the Calling, Continuing, and Diſſolving of which is alwaies in Our own power: and We ſhall be more inclinable to meet in Parliament again, when Our People ſhall ſee more clearly into our Intents and Actions, when ſuch as have bred this interruption ſhall have received their condigne puniſhment, and thoſe who are miſ-led by them, and by ſuch ill reports as are raiſed upon this occaſion, ſhall come to a better underſtanding of Us and themſelves.

Given at Our Court of White-Hall, *this ſeven and twentieth day of* March, *in the fifth year of Our Reign of Great* Britain, France *and* Ireland.

God ſave the KING.

MDCXXIX.

His MAJESTIES *Letter to the Judges concerning* Ship-money.

To Our Truſty and Wel-beloved, Sir *John Bramſton*, Knight, Chief Juſtice of Our Bench, Sir *John Finch*, Knight, Chief Juſtice of Our Court of Common Pleas, Sir *Humphrey Davenport*, Knight, Chief Baron of Our Court of Exchequer, and to the reſt of the Judges of Our Courts of Kings Bench, Common Pleas, and the Barons of Our Court of Exchequer.

CHARLES R.

TRuſty and Wel-beloved, We greet you well. Taking into Our Princely conſideration, that the Honor and Safety of this Our Realm of *England*, the preſervation whereof is onely entruſted to Our care, was and is more nearly concerned in late then former times, as well by divers counſels and attempts to take from Us the Dominion of the Seas, of which We are ſole Lord and rightfull Owner, or Proprietor, and the loſs whereof would be of greateſt danger and perill to this Kingdom, and other Our Dominions, as many other waies; We, for the avoiding of theſe and the like dangers, well weighing with Our ſelf, that where the good and ſafety of the Kingdom in generall is concerned, and the whole Kingdom in danger, there the charge and defence ought to be born by all the Realm in generall, did, for the preventing ſo publick a miſchief, reſolve with Our ſelf to have a Royall Navy prepared, that might be of force and power (with Almighty God's bleſsing and aſsiſtance) to protect and defend this Our Realm and Our Subjects therein from all ſuch perills and dangers: and for that purpoſe We iſſued forth Writts under Our Great Seal of *England*, directed to all Our Sheriffs of Our ſeverall Counties of *England* and *Wales*, commanding thereby all Our ſaid Subjects in every City, Town and Village, to provide ſuch a number of Ships, well furniſht, as might ſerve for this Royall purpoſe, and which might be done with the greateſt equality that could be. In performance whereof, though generally throughout all the Counties of this Our Realm We have found in Our Subjects great chearfulneſs

neſs and alacrity, which We graciouſly interpret as a teſtimony as well of their dutifull affection to Us and Our ſervice, as of the reſpect they have to the Publick, which well becometh every good Subject: nevertheleſs finding that ſome few, haply out of ignorance what the Laws and Cuſtomes of this Realm are, or out of a deſire to be eaſed in their particulars, how generall ſoever the charge be or ought to be, have not yet pai'd and contributed to the ſeverall Rates and Aſſeſſments that were ſet upon them; and foreſeeing in Our Princely Wiſedome, that from thence divers Suits and Actions are not unlikely to be commenced and proſecuted in Our ſeverall Courts at *Weſtminſter*; We, deſirous to avoid ſuch inconveniences, and out of Our Princely love and affection to all Our People, being willing to prevent ſuch errours as any of Our loving Subjects may happen to run into, have thought fit, in a caſe of this nature, to adviſe with you Our Judges, who We doubt not are well ſtudied and informed in the Rights of Our Sovereignty: And becauſe the Trialls in Our ſeverall Courts by the formalities in pleading will require a long protraction, We have thought fit by this Letter directed to you all, to require your Judgement in the Caſe, as it is ſet down in the incloſed Paper; which will not onely gain time, but alſo be of more authority to over-rule any prejudicate opinions of others in the point.

Given under Our Signet at Our Court of White-Hall, *the ſecond day of* February, *in the twelfth year of Our Reign*, 1636.

C. R.

CHARLES R.

WHen the good and ſafety of the Kingdom in generall is concerned, and the whole Kingdom in danger, whether may not the King, by Writt under the Great Seal of *England*, command all the Subjects in His Kingdome at their charge to provide and furniſh ſuch number of Ships with Men, Victualls and Munition, and for ſuch time as He ſhall think fit, for the defence and ſafeguard of the Kingdom from ſuch danger and peril; and by Law compell the doing thereof, in caſe of refuſall or refractori-

fractorineſs: And whether in ſuch caſe is not the King the ſole judge both of the Danger, and when and how the ſame is to be prevented and avoided.

The Anſwer of the Judges.

MAY it pleaſe Your moſt Excellent Majeſty, We have, according to Your Majeſties command, ſeverally and every man by himſelf, and all of us together, taken into ſerious conſideration the Caſe and Queſtions ſigned by Your Majeſtie, and incloſed in Your Letter: And We are of opinion, That when the good and ſafety of the Kingdom in generall is concerned, and the whole Kingdom in danger, Your Majeſtie may, by Writ under Your Great Seal of England, *command all the Subjects of this Your Kingdom, at their charge to provide and furniſh ſuch number of Ships with Men, Victual, Munition, and for ſuch time as Your Majeſtie ſhall think fit, for the defence and ſafeguard of the Kingdom from ſuch perill and danger: And that by Law Your Majeſtie may compell the doing thereof in caſe of refuſall or refractorineſs. And we are alſo of opinion, that in ſuch caſe Your Majeſtie is the ſole judge both of the Danger, and when and how the ſame is to be prevented and avoided.*

John Bramſton.	Richard Hutton.	George Vernon.
John Finch.	William Jones.	Robert Barkly.
Humphrey Davenport.	George Crook.	Francis Crauley.
John Denham.	Thomas Trevor.	Richard Weſton.

His

His MAJESTIES *Declaration to all His loving Subjects of the Cauſes which moved Him to diſſolve His Fourth* Parliament.

THE King's moſt Excellent Majeſtie well knoweth that the Calling, Adjourning, Proroguing and Diſſolving of Parliaments, are undoubted Prerogatives inſeparably annexed to His Imperiall Crown, of which He is not bound to render any account but to God alone, no more then of His other Regall actions.

Nevertheleſs His Majeſtie, whoſe Piety and Goodneſs have made Him ever ſo order and govern all things, that the clearneſs and candor of His Royall heart may appear to all His Subjects, eſpecially in thoſe great and publick matters of State that have relation to the weal and ſafety of His People, and the Honour of His Royall Perſon and Government, hath thought fit, for avoiding and preventing all ſiniſter conſtructions and misinterpretations, which the Malice of ſome perſons ill-affected to His Crown and Sovereignty hath or may practiſe to infuſe into the minds and ears of His good and faithfull Subjects, to ſet down by way of Declaration the true Cauſes as well of His Aſſembling, as of His Diſſolving the late Parliament.

IT is not unknown to moſt of His Majeſties loving Subjects, what diſcouragements He hath formerly had by the undutifull and ſeditious carriage of divers of the lower Houſe in preceding Aſſemblies of Parliament, enough to have made Him averſe to thoſe ancient and accuſtomed ways of calling His People together, when in ſtead of dutifull expreſsions towards His Perſon and Government, they vented their own Malice and diſaffections to the State, and by their ſubtle and malignant courſes endeavoured nothing more then to bring into contempt and diſorder all Government and Magiſtracy.

Yet His Majeſtie well conſidering that but few were guilty of that ſeditious and undutifull behaviour, and hoping that time and experience had made His loving Subjects ſenſible of the diſtemper the whole Kingdom was in danger to be put into by the ill-govern'd actions of thoſe men, and His Majeſty being ever deſirous to tread in the ſteps of His moſt noble Progenitors, was pleaſed to iſſue forth

His

His Writs under the great Seal of *England*, for a Parliament to be holden on the thirteenth day of *April* laſt.

At which day His Majeſty by the Lord Keeper of His great Seal was graciouſly pleaſed to let both Houſes of Parliament know, how deſirous He was that all His people would unite their hearts and affections in the execution of thoſe Counſells that might tend to the Honour of His Majeſtie, the Safety of His Kingdoms, and the good and preſervation of all His people; and withall how confident He was that they would not be failing in their duties and affections to Him and to the publick.

He laid open to them the manifeſt and apparent miſchiefs threatned to this and all His other Kingdoms by the mutinous and rebellious behaviour of divers of the *Scotiſh* nation, who had by their examples drawn many of His Subjects there into a courſe of diſloyaltie and diſobedience, not fit for His Majeſtie in Honour, Safety, or Wiſdome to endure.

How, to ſtrengthen themſelves in their diſloyall courſes, they had addreſt themſelves to forein States, and treated with them to deliver themſelves up to their protection and defence, as was made apparent under the proper hands of the prime Ring-leaders of that Rebellious Faction.

Theſe courſes of theirs, tending ſo much to the ruine and overthrow of this famous Monarchy, united by the deſcent of the Crown of *England* upon His Majeſtie and His Father of bleſſed memory, His Majeſtie (in His great Wiſdom, and in diſcharge of the truſt repoſed in Him by God, and by the fundamentall Laws of both Kingdoms, for the protection and government of them) reſolved to ſuppreſs, and thereby to vindicate that Sovereign power entruſted to Him. He had by the laſt Summers triall found that His Grace and Goodneſs was abuſed, and that, contrary to His expectation and their faithfull promiſes, they had, ſince His being at *Barwick* and the Pacification there made, purſued their former rebellious deſigns; and therefore it was neceſſary now for His Majeſtie by power to reduce them to the juſt & modeſt condition of their Obedience and ſubjection, which whenever they ſhould be brought unto, or ſeeing their own Errours ſhould put themſelves into a way of Humility and Obedience becoming them, His Majeſtie ſhould need no other Mediatours

diatours for Clemency and Mercy to them then His own Piety and Goodneſs, and the tender affection He hath ever born to that His native Kingdom.

This being of ſo great weight and conſequence to the whole Kingdom, and the charge of an Army, fit to maſter ſuch a buſineſs, amounting to ſo great a ſumme as His Majeſtie had no means to raiſe, having not only emptied His own coffers, but iſſued between three and four hundred thouſand pounds, which He borrowed of His ſervants upon ſecurity out of His own eſtate, to provide ſuch things as were neceſſary to begin ſuch an action with; His Majeſtie, after the example of His Predeceſſors, reſorted to His People in their repreſentative Body the Parliament, whom He deſired (with all the expreſsions of Grace and Goodneſs which could poſsibly come from Him) that taking into ſerious and dutifull conſideration the nature of theſe bleeding evils, and how dangerous it was to loſe the leaſt minute of time, leſt thereby thoſe of *Scotland* ſhould gain opportunity to frame their parties with forein States, that they would for a while lay aſide all other debates, and paſs an Act for the ſpeedie payment of ſo many Subſidies as might enable His Majeſtie to put in readineſs for this Summer thoſe things which were to be prepared before ſo great an Army could be brought into the field.

For further ſupply neceſſary for ſo great an undertaking, His Majeſtie declared that He expected it not till there might be a happy concluſion of that Seſsion, and till their juſt Grievances might be firſt graciouſly heard and relieved.

Wherein as His Majeſtie would moſt willingly have given them the precedence before matter of Supply, if the great neceſsity of His occaſions could have permitted; ſo He was graciouſly pleaſed, for their full aſſurance and ſatisfaction therein, to give them His Royall word, That without determining the Seſsion upon granting of the Subſidies, He would give them before they parted as much time as the ſeaſon of the year and the great affairs in hand would permit, for conſidering all ſuch Petitions as they ſhould conceive to be good for the Commonwealth; and what they could not now finiſh, they ſhould have full time to perfect towards Winter: His Majeſtie graciouſly aſſuring them, that He would goe along with them for their advantage through all the expreſsions of a gracious and pious King,

to the end there might be ſuch a happy concluſion of that as might be the cauſe of many more meetings with them in Parliament.

From their firſt aſſembling untill the 21 of *April*, the Houſe of Commons did nothing that could give His Majeſtie any content or confidence in their ſpeedie ſupplying of Him: whereupon He commanded both the Houſes to attend Him i nt he Banquetting-Houſe at *White-Hall* in the afternoon of that 21. day of *April*. Where by the Lord Keeper His Majeſtie put them in mind of the end for which they were aſſembled, which was for His Majeſties Supply; that if it were not ſpeedie, it would be of no uſe unto Him, part of the Army then marching at the charge of above a hundred thouſand pounds a month, which would all be loſt if His Majeſtie were not preſently ſupplied, ſo as it was not poſsible to be longer forborn. Yet His Majeſtie then expreſt, that the Supply He for the preſent deſired was onely to enable Him to goe on with His deſigns for three or four months, and that He expected no further Supply till all their juſt Grievances were relieved.

And becauſe His Majeſtie had taken notice of ſome miſapprehenſions about the levying of the Shipping-money, His Majeſtie commanded the Lord Keeper to let them know, That He never had any intention to make any Revenue of it, nor had ever made any; but that all the money collected had been paid to the Treaſurer of the Navie, and by Him expended, beſides great ſums of money every year out of His Majeſties own purſe.

That His Majeſtie had once reſolved this year to have levied none; but that He was forced to alter His reſolution, in regard He was of neceſsity to ſend an Army for reducing thoſe of *Scotland*, during which time it was requiſite the Seas ſhould be well guarded: And beſides, His Majeſtie had knowledge of the great Fleets prepared by all neighbouring Princes this year, and of the inſolencies committed by thoſe of *Algiers*, with the ſtore of Ships which they had in readineſs.

And therefore though His Majeſtie for this preſent year could not forbear it, but expected their concurrence in the levying of it; yet for the future to give all His Subjects aſſurance how juſt and Royall His intentions were, and that all His aime was but to live like their King, able to defend Himſelf and them, to be uſefull to His friends

and

and conſiderable to His enemies, to maintain the Sovereigntie of the Seas, and ſo make the Kingdom flouriſh in trade and commerce, He was graciouſly pleaſed to let them know that the ordinary Revenue now taken by the Crown could not ſerve the turn, and therefore that it muſt be by Shipping-money or ſome other way, wherein He was willing to leave it to their conſiderations what better courſe to find out, and to ſettle it how they would, ſo the thing were done, which ſo much imported the honour and ſafety of the Kingdom; and His Majeſty for His part would moſt readily and chearfully grant any thing they could deſire for ſecuring them in the propriety of their Goods and Eſtates, and in the Libertie of their Perſons.

His Majeſtie telling them it was in their power to make this as happie a Parliament as ever was, and to be the cauſe of the Kings delighting to meet with His people, and His people with Him.

That there was no ſuch way to effect this as by putting obligations of truſt and confidence upon Him: which as it was the way of good manners with a King, ſo it was a ſurer and ſafer courſe for themſelves then any that their own jealouſies and fears could invent; His Majeſtie being a Prince that deſerved their truſt, and would not loſe the honour of it, and a Prince of ſuch a gracious nature that diſdained His People ſhould overcome Him by kindneſs.

He had made this good to ſome other Subjects of His; and if they followed His counſell, they ſhould be ſure not to repent it, being the people that were neareſt and deareſt to him, and Subjects whom He did and had reaſon to value more then the Subjects of any His other Kingdoms.

His Majeſtie having thus graciouſly expreſſed Himſelf unto them, He expected the Houſe of Commons would have the next day taken into conſideration the matter of Supply, and laid aſide all other debates till that were reſolved of according to His deſire.

But in ſtead of giving an Anſwer therein, ſuch as the preſsing and urgent occaſions required, they fell into diſcourſes and debates about their pretended Grievances, and raiſed up ſo many, and of ſo ſeverall natures, that in a Parliamentary way they could not but ſpend more time then His Majeſties great & weighty Affairs could poſsibly afford.

His Majeſtie foreſeeing in His great Wiſedom that they were not in the way to make this an happy Parliament, which He ſo much de-

ſired and hoped; that nothing might be wanting on His part to bring them into the right way for His Honour, the ſafety of the Kingdom, and their own good, He reſolved to deſire the aſsiſtance of the Lords of the higher Houſe, as perſons in rank and degree neareſt to the Royall Throne, and who having received Honour from Him and His Royall Progenitors, He doubted not would for thoſe and many other reaſons be moved in honour and dutifull affection to His Perſon and Crown, to diſpoſe the Houſe of Commons to expreſs their duties to His Majeſtie, in expediting the matter of Supply, for which they were called together, and which required ſo preſent a diſpatch.

For this purpoſe, His Majeſtie in His Royall Perſon came again to the Lords Houſe on Wedneſday the 24. day of *April*, where Himſelf declared to the Lords the cauſe of His coming, which was, to put them in minde of what had been by the Lord Keeper in His name delivered unto both Houſes the firſt day of the Parliament, and after at *White-Hall*; how contrary to His expectation the Houſe of Commons, having held conſultation of matter of Religion, Property of Goods, and Liberty of Parliament, and voted ſome things concerning thoſe three heads, had thereby given them the precedence before the matter of His Supply; that His neceſsities were ſuch they could not bear delay; that whatever He had by the Lord Keeper promiſed He would perform, if the Houſe of Commons would truſt Him. For Religion, that His Heart and Conſcience went together with the Religion eſtabliſhed in the Church of *England*, and He would give order to His Archbiſhops and Biſhops, that no Innovation in matter of Religion ſhould creep in. For the Ship-money, that He never made or intended to make any profit to Himſelf of it, but only to preſerve the Dominion of the Seas, which was ſo neceſſary, that without it the Kingdom could not ſubſiſt; but for the way and means, by Ship-money or otherwiſe, He left it to them. For Property of Goods and Liberty of Parliament, He ever intended His People ſhould enjoy them, holding no King ſo great as he that was King of a rich and free people; and if they had not Property of Goods and Liberty of Perſons, they could be neither rich nor free. That if the Houſe of Commons would not firſt truſt Him, all His affairs would be diſordered, and His buſineſs loſt. That though they truſted Him

in part at firſt, yet before the Parliament ended He muſt totally truſt them, and in concluſion they muſt for execution of all things wholly truſt Him. Therefore ſince the matter was no more then who ſhould be firſt truſted, and that the truſt of Him firſt was but a truſt in part, His Majeſtie deſired the Lords to take into their conſiderations His and their own Honour, the Safety and welfare of this Kingdom, with the great danger it was in, and that they would by their advice diſpoſe the Houſe of Commons to give His Supply the precedence before the Grievances.

His Majeſtie being departed, the Lords took into ſerious conſideration what His Majeſtie had commended to their care; and forthwith laying aſide all other debates (ſuch was their Lordſhips dutifull and affectionate carriage) they remembring well what had been formerly declared in His Majeſties name to both Houſes, His Majeſties gracious promiſes and expreſsions then and at this time, with the preſsing and urgent occaſions which ſo much imported the Honour of His Majeſtie and the good of this Kingdom, their Lordſhips delivered their votes in theſe words, *We are of opinion that the matter of His Majeſties Supply ſhould have precedence, and be reſolved of before any other matter whatſoever; and we think fit there ſhall be a Conference deſired with the Houſe of Commons to diſpoſe them thereunto.*

Accordingly the next day, being Saturday the 25. day of *April*, a Conference was had in the Painted Chamber by a Committee of both Houſes, where the Lord Keeper, by the Lords command, told the Houſe of Commons of His Majeſties being the day before in perſon in the higher Houſe, how graciouſly He had expreſsed Himſelf in matter of Religion, Propertie of Goods, and Liberty of Parliament, and that He would therein graciouſly hear and relieve them, and give them what in reaſon could be deſired, with the effect of what elſe had been graciouſly delivered unto them by His Majeſty, as well touching His conſtant Zeal and affection to the Religion eſtabliſhed in the Church of *England*, as touching the Ship-money, and the neceſsity of His affairs, which was ſuch, that delay was as prejudiciall as deniall, and that if time were loſt, both Houſes could not recover it: and therefore their Lordſhips, though they would move nothing, nor give any advice concerning Subſidies, but decline it, as that which naturally was to begin with the Houſe of Commons; yet being alike in-

tereſſed and concerned in the Honour and Safety of the Kingdom, they held it fit to let them know their opinions and deſires, which was, That they ſhould go firſt on with the matter of His Majeſties Supply, as that which was moſt neceſſary and fit to have precedence; and that being done, they would chearfully joyn with them in the preſenting of their Grievances.

The Houſe of Commons having heard their Lordſhips opinion and deſire, in ſtead of concurring with their Lordſhips in preferring the conſideration of His Majeſties Supply before their Grievances, they ſpent the whole day on Monday following, being the 27. of *April*, in taking cauſeleſs exceptions to what had been at the Conference related to them: and the next day, being Tueſday the 28. of *April*, they deſired a Conference with the Lords: and their Lordſhips meeting them preſently in the Painted Chamber, they were ſo far from their expreſsing of any willingneſs to joyn with their Lordſhips in what had been upon ſo weighty reaſons recommended unto them, that on the contrary they challenged the Lords for invading the Privileges of the Houſe of Commons; alledging, That the Lords having in the former Conference acknowledged that the matter of Subſidie and Supply ought to begin in the Houſe of Commons, had in their voting that it was fit and moſt neceſſary that matter of Supply ſhould have precedence before all other buſineſs, not only been tranſported beyond the bounds which their Lordſhips had formerly ſet to themſelves, but by medling with matter of Supply had, as far as in them lay, concluded both the matter and order of proceeding, which the Houſe of Commons took to be a breach of their Privilege, and for it deſired reparation of their Lordſhips.

And becauſe the Lords had in the firſt Conference enumerated thoſe three particulars, of Religion, Propriety of Goods, and Privilege of Parliament, the Houſe of Commons collected they had taken notice of ſome proceedings in their Houſe concerning thoſe particulars, and thereby broken another great Privilege of the Houſe of Commons eſtabliſhed in Parliament, and called the Indempnity of the Commons.

This, how ſtrange and unexpected ſoever, the Lords heard with patience; and being deſirous to remove all impediments, and clear any miſtakings that might retard or avert the reſolutions of ſupplying

His

His Majeſtie, they ſeriouſly debated in the higher Houſe what had been objected by the Houſe of Commons, and reſolved, firſt, *That their Lordſhips former voting, That in their opinions His Majeſties Supply ſhould have precedence before all other matters, was no breach of the Privileges of the Houſe of Commons*; and ſecondly, *That it was no breach of the Privileges of the Houſe of Commons for their Lordſhips to hear what His Majeſtie declared to them, and thereupon to report the ſame to the Houſe of Commons.*

And to the end the Houſe of Commons might have a right underſtanding of their Lordſhips proceedings, their Lordſhips deſired another Conference with them, which was accordingly had on Friday the firſt of *May* in the Painted Chamber; where, by the command of the Lords, the Lord Keeper declared to the Houſe of Commons, That the Lords of the higher Houſe had, as in duty and affection to His Majeſties Crown and Government they were bound, taken into ſerious conſideration the great and weighty motives of His Majeſties calling this Parliament, the great evils and calamities that hung over their heads, and the apparent danger the Kingdom was like to run into, if by ſpeedy and fitting ſupply His Majeſtie were not enabled to prevent it; how inſupportable delay and protraction was, and how impoſsible for both Houſes to recover the loſs of time in a matter of ſo preſsing and urgent neceſsity; that His Majeſtie had both in the higher Houſe and in the Banquetting-houſe at *White-Hall*, expreſſed His gracious and Princely deſire to doe all that from a juſt and gracious King might be expected, whereby this Parliament might have a happie concluſion; how His Majeſtie had promiſed all their juſt Grievances ſhould be graciouſly heard and relieved, that their Lordſhips were witneſſes His Majeſtie had given His Royall word herein, which their Lordſhips for their parts did as much truſt and confide in as ever Subjects did.

It was alſo then further declared unto them, That His Majeſtie had lately honoured their Houſe with His preſence again, and had there renewed the remembrance of what had before been delivered to both Houſes, with the impoſsibilitie of admitting delay, and the clearneſs of His Majeſties intentions and reſolutions, to give all juſt ſatisfaction to what with reaſon could be deſired of Him.

That His Majeſtie had taken notice of ſomewhat voted in the Houſe of Commons concerning Religion, Propriety of Goods, and

Liberty of Parliament, by which His Majeſtie conceived the matter of His Supply ſet aſide, which He had ſo often and with ſuch weight of reaſon deſired might have precedence.

That His Majeſty after very gracious aſſurances of His conſtant affection and zeal for true Religion, and for preventing all Innovations therein, reiterating His often promiſes for relieving all their juſt Grievances, with His Royal intentions in that particular of Ship-money which he found much ſtood upon, was pleaſed to deſire their Lordſhips (as perſons in rank and degree neareſt Him, in Honour as much or more concern'd then others, and in the ſafety and proſperity of the Kingdome at leaſt equally intereſſed with others) that in a caſe of this great and important weight, their Lordſhips would by their counſel and perſwaſion encline the Houſe of Commons to give His Majeſty a ſpeedy anſwer and reſolution in the matter of Supply. That their Lordſhips had taken His Majeſties deſire into ſerious and dutiful conſideration, and upon great and ſolemn debate had only voted in theſe words, *We are of opinion that the matter of His Majeſties Supply ſhould have precedence, and be reſolved of before any other matter whatſoever*; and *that they did think fit there ſhould be a Conference deſired with the Houſe of Commons to diſpoſe them thereunto*: which as it was juſt and honourable for their Lordſhips to doe, ſo it was no breach of any Privilege of the Houſe of Commons.

For though their Lordſhips did admit, that the Bill of Subſidies ought to begin in the Houſe of Commons, and when it is agreed unto by the Lords, muſt be returned back, and be by their Speaker preſented, and therefore their Lordſhips diſclaimed to meddle with Subſidy or Supply by ſuch beginning in the higher Houſe, or by naming the number of Subſidies, times of payment, or any ſuch circumſtances incident to a Bill: yet their Lordſhips might confer and talk about Supplies in general, and give their advice therein, that being no whit derogatory to the Privileges of the Houſe of Commons, their Lordſhips in all reaſon being likelier to communicate in the Counſels and ſecrets of State, as thoſe that were nearer to the Royal Throne, and having juſt cauſe therein to impart their fears and foreſight of dangers to the Houſe of Commons.

That ſuch proceedings of their Lordſhips, as they were grounded upon juſt and weighty reaſon, ſo they were agreeable to ancient

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uſage and cuſtome, and were fully juſtified by that eſtabliſhment in Parliament mentioned by the Houſe of Commons at the laſt Conference, being made at *Glouceſter* in the 9. year of *Henry* the Fourth, and ſtyled, not The Indempnity of the Commons (as had been ſaid) but The Indempnity of Lords and Commons.

And for the other breach of Privilege which had been objected, their Lordſhips declared, That His Majeſty had told them the Houſe of Commons had reſolved ſomething concerning thoſe three heads, of Religion, Propriety of Goods, and Privilege of Parliament.

How His Majeſty knew of this reſolution, belonged not to their Lordſhips to enquire into, their Lordſhips not medling with any thing that others ſaid to the King, but what the King ſaid to them.

And that their Lordſhips were ſo far from holding it any violation of the Privileges of the Houſe of Commons for their Lordſhips to hear what the King declared to them, and for them thereupon to report the ſame to the Houſe of Commons, that on the contrary in duty to His Majeſty their Lordſhips could doe no other; and the communicating of it was an argument of affection and deſire of good correſpondence with the Houſe of Commons, and merited no ſuch miſconſtruction as had been made of it: neither did that eſtabliſhment in Parliament 9 H. 4. contain any words that could be conſtrued to make their Lordſhips proceedings in this behalf any breach of the Privileges of the Houſe of Commons.

Their Lordſhips proceedings and intentions being thus cleared, the Lord Keeper by their Lordſhips command added further, That their Lordſhips could not but return to their firſt grounds and reſolutions, which were in all fair and affectionate manner to ſtir up in thoſe of the Houſe of Commons the juſt conſideration of thoſe great and imminent Dangers that threatned the Kingdome at this time, and how dangerous and irrecoverable delay was, and withall to diſpoſe them to take into their firſt and beſt thoughts the matter of His Majeſties Supply, and give Him a ſpeedy anſwer therein.

Which their Lordſhips were confident would be the means to make this a happy Parliament, and to avert the publick Calamities that menaced the ruine and overthrow of this famous Monarchie.

This having been delivered at that Conference in their Lordſhips names, was by His Majeſty moſt gratiouſly interpreted as the noble teſtimony

teſtimony of their Lordſhips affections to His Perſon and Government; for which His Majeſtie by the Lord Keeper the next day gave their Lordſhips hearty thanks.

And withall, that nothing on His part might be left undone, His Majeſtie that morning alſo, being Saturday the ſecond of *May*, ſent a Meſſage to the Houſe of Commons, which was delivered to them in theſe words;

That His Majeſty hath divers times and by ſundry waies acquainted this Houſe with the urgent neceſſity of Supply, and with the great danger inevitably to fall upon the whole State, upon His own Honour, and the honour of this Nation, if more time ſhall be loſt therein. That neverthelefs His Majeſty hitherto hath received no anſwer at all. And therefore conſidering that as heretofore His Majeſty hath told this Houſe, that a delay of His Supply is as deſtructive as a denial, His Majeſty doth again deſire them to give Him a preſent anſwer concerning His Supply, His Majeſty being ſtill reſolved on His part to make good whatſoever He hath promiſed by Himſelf or the Lord Keeper.

After which Meſſage delivered unto them, they ſpent from nine in the morning till ſix a clock at night in many diſcourſes and debates touching their pretended Grievances, but never came to any reſolution what Supply they would give His Majeſty, or whether they would give Him any at all, but adjourned the farther debate till Monday following.

At which time, becauſe His Majeſty had underſtood the matter of Shipping-money was that which was moſt inſiſted upon, and that the taking away of that not only for the preſent but for the future would be pleaſing and acceptable unto them, His Majeſty ſent another Meſſage unto them, which was before they entred into any debate delivered unto them in theſe words;

Whereas upon Saturday laſt His Majeſty was pleaſed to ſend a Meſſage to this Houſe, deſiring you to give a preſent anſwer concerning His Supply, to which as yet His Majeſty hath had no other anſwer, but that upon this day you will take it into further conſideration; therefore His Majeſty, the better to facilitate your reſolutions this day, hath thought fit to let you know, That of His grace and favour He is pleaſed, upon your granting of twelve Subſidies to be preſently paſſed, and to be paid in three years, with a Proviſo that it ſhall not determine the Seſſion, His Majeſty will not only for the preſent forbear the levying of any Shipping-money, but will give way to the utter aboliſhing of it by any courſe that

your

your ſelves ſhall like beſt. And for your Grievances, His Majeſty will, according to His Royal Promiſe, give you as much time as may be now, and the reſt at Michaelmas *next. And His Majeſty expects a preſent and poſitive anſwer upon which He may rely, His affairs being in ſuch condition as can endure no longer delay.*

Notwithſtanding this gracious Meſſage, and all other His Majeſties former Deſires and Promiſes, and the Lords earneſt perſwaſions, the Houſe of Commons ſpent eight or nine houres more in debating the matter of Supply, without coming to any reſolution at all; and ſo mixed the conſideration of that with other matters impertinent, and trenching highly to the diminution of His Majeſties Royal Prerogative, that His Majeſty plainly diſcerned they went about to weary and tire Him with delaies: And though in words ſome did not deny to ſupply Him, yet in that alſo moſt moved to clog the Bill of Subſidies in ſuch ſort, that His Majeſty could not have accepted it without great prejudice to His Prerogative; and they were ſo far from declaring what they would doe, that they entertained themſelves with diſcourſes tending to render odious to His people that gracious Government of His, under which all His People have during His happy Reign lived in ſuch Peace and Felicity, when all the neighbouring Kingdoms and States were in Troubles and Combuſtions.

His Majeſty was hereupon enforced by the advice of His Privy Councel to reſolve to break up and diſſolve the Parliament, from which He could hope for no other fruit then the hindring of His great Affairs, and diſordering His happy Government.

And therefore on Tueſday the fifth of *May* His Majeſty came again in perſon to the Lords Houſe, and ſending for the Speaker and the Houſe of Commons, when they were come up, ſaid thus;

My Lords,

THere can no occaſion of My coming to this Houſe be ſo unpleaſing to Me as this is at this time. The fear of doing that which I am to doe this day made Me not long agoe come to this Houſe, where I expreſſed as well My Fears, as the Remedies I thought neceſſary for the eſchewing of it: Unto which I muſt confeſs and acknowledge that you (My Lords of the Higher Houſe) did give Me ſo willing an eare, and with ſuch affection did ſhew your ſelves thereafter, that certainly,

certainly, I may ſay, if there had been any means to have given an happy end to this Parliament, you took it; ſo that it was neither your Lordſhips fault, nor Mine, that it is not ſo. Therefore in the firſt place, I muſt give your Lordſhips thanks for your good Endeavours.

I hope you remember what My Lord Keeper ſaid to you the firſt day of the Parliament in My Name; what likewiſe he ſaid in the Banquetting-Houſe in White-Hall, *and what I lately ſaid to you in this place My ſelf. I name all this unto you, not in doubt that you do not well remember it, but to ſhew you, that I never ſaid any thing in way of favour to My people, but that by the grace of God I will punctually and really perform it.*

I know that they have inſiſted very much on Grievances, and I will not ſay but that there may be ſome, (though I will confidently affirm, that there are not by many degrees ſo many as the publick voice doth make them.) Wherefore I deſire you to take notice, now eſpecially at this time, that out of Parliament I ſhall be as ready (if not more willing) to hear and redreſs any juſt Grievances, as in Parliament. There is one thing that is much ſpoken of, though not ſo much inſiſted on as others, and that is Religion; concerning which, albeit I expreſſed My ſelf fully the laſt day in this place to your Lordſhips, yet I think it fit again, on this occaſion, to tell you, that (as I am moſt concerned, ſo) I ſhall be moſt carefull to preſerve that purity of Religion which, I thank God, is ſo well eſtabliſhed in the Church of England, *and that as well out of as in Parliament.*

My Lords, I ſhall not trouble you long with words, it being not My faſhion: wherefore to conclude, what I offered the laſt day to the Houſe of Commons, I think is well known to you all, as likewiſe how they accepted it; which I deſire not to remember, but wiſh that they had remembred how at firſt they were told in My Name by my Lord Keeper, That delay was the worſt kind of denial. Yet I will not lay this fault on the whole Houſe (for I will not judge ſo uncharitably of thoſe whom, for the moſt part, I take to be Loyall and well-affected Subjects) but that it hath been the malicious cunning of ſome few ſeditiouſly-affected men that hath been the cauſe of this Miſunderſtanding.

I ſhall now end as I began, in giving your Lordſhips thanks for your affection ſhewn to Me at this time; deſiring you to goe on to aſſiſt me in the maintaining of that Regal power that is truly Mine: and as for the Liberty of the People, that they now ſo much ſeem to ſtartle at, know, (My Lords) that no King in the world ſhall be more careful to maintain them in the Property of their Goods, Liberty of their Perſons, and true Religion, then I ſhall be.

And now, My Lord Keeper, doe what I have commanded you.

Ther

Then the Lord Keeper added,

My Lords, and you Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons, The Kings Majeſty doth diſſolve this Parliament.

BY all the proceedings herein declared, it is evident to all men how willing and deſirous His Majeſty hath been to make uſe of the ancient and noble way of Parliament, uſed and inſtituted by His Royal Predeceſſours, for the preſervation and honour of this famous Monarchy; and that on His Majeſties part nothing was wanting that could be expected from a King, whereby this Parliament might have had an happy concluſion, for the comfort and content of all His Majeſties Subjects, and for the good and ſafety of this Kingdome. On the contrary, it is apparent how thoſe of the Houſe of Commons (whoſe ſiniſter and malicious courſes inforced His Majeſty to diſſolve this Parliament) have vitiated and abuſed that ancient and noble way of Parliament, perverting the ſame to their own unworthy ends, and forgetting the true uſe and inſtitution of Parliaments. For whereas theſe meetings and aſſemblies of His Majeſty with the Peeres and Commons of this Realm were in their firſt original, and in the practice of all ſucceeding ages, ordained and held as pledges and teſtimonies of Affection between the King and His People, the King for His part graciouſly hearing and redreſsing ſuch Grievances as His People in humble and dutiful manner ſhould repreſent unto Him, and the Subjects on their part, as Teſtimonies of their Duty, ſupplying His Majeſty upon all extraordinary occaſions, for the ſupport of His Honour and Sovereigntie, and for preſerving the Kingdome in glory and ſafety; thoſe ill-affected Members of the Houſe of Commons, in ſtead of an humble and dutiful way of preſenting their Grievances to His Majeſty, have taken upon them to be the Guiders and Directors in all matters that concern His Majeſties Government, both Temporal and Eccleſiaſtical, and (as if Kings were bound to give an account of their Regal Actions and of their manner of Government to their Subjects aſſembled in Parliament) they have in a very audacious and inſolent way entred into examination and cenſuring of the preſent Government, traduced His Majeſties adminiſtration of Juſtice, rendred (as much as in them lay)

odious to the reſt of His Majeſties Subjects not only the Officers and Miniſters of State, but even His Majeſties very Government; which hath been ſo juſt and gracious, that never did this or any other Nation enjoy more Bleſsings and Happineſs then hath been by all His Majeſties Subjects enjoyed ever ſince His Majeſties acceſs to the Crown, nor did this Kingdome ever ſo flouriſh in Trade and Commerce as at this preſent, or partake of more Peace and Plenty in all kinds whatſoever.

And whereas the ordinary Revenues of the Crown not ſufficing to defray extraordinary charges, it hath ever been the uſage in all Parliaments to aid and aſsiſt the Kings of this Realm with free and fitting ſupply towards the maintenance of their Wars, and for making good their Royal undertakings, whereby the Kingdome intruſted to their protection might be held up in ſplendor and greatneſs; thoſe ill-affected perſons of the Houſe of Commons have been ſo far from treading in the ſteps of their Anceſtours by their dutiful expreſsions in this kind, that contrarily they have introduced a way of bargaining and contracting with the King, as if nothing ought to be given Him by them but what He ſhould buy and purchaſe of them, either by quitting ſomewhat of His Royal Prerogative, or by diminiſhing and leſſening His Revenues. Which courſes of theirs how repugnant they are to the duty of Subjects, how unfit for His Majeſty in Honour to permit and ſuffer, and what hazard and diſhonour the ſubject this Kingdome to, all men may eaſily judge that will but equally and impartially weigh them.

His Majeſty hath been by this means reduced to ſuch ſtreights and extremities, that were not His care of the Publick good and ſafety the greater, theſe men (as much as in them lies) would quickly bring ruine and confuſion to the State, and render contemptible this glorious Monarchy.

But this frowardneſs and undutiful behaviour of theirs cannot leſſen His Majeſties care of preſerving the Kingdoms intruſted to His Protection and Government, nor His gracious and tender affection to His people; for whoſe good and comfort His Majeſty by God's gracious aſsiſtance will ſo provide, that all his loving Subjects may ſtill enjoy the happineſs of living under the bleſſed ſhade and protection of His Royal Scepter.

In the mean time, to the end all His Majeſties loving Subjects may know how graciouſly His Majeſty is enclined to hear and redreſs all the juſt Grievances of His People, as well out of Parliament as in Parliament, His Majeſty doth hereby further declare His Royall will and pleaſure, that all His loving Subjects, who have any juſt cauſe to preſent or complain of any Grievances or Oppreſsions, may freely addreſs themſelves by their humble Petitions to His Sacred Majeſty, who will graciouſly hear their complaints, and give ſuch fitting redreſs therein, that all His people ſhall have juſt cauſe to acknowledge His Grace and Goodneſs towards them, and to be fully ſatisfied, that no perſons or aſſemblies can more prevail with His Majeſtie then the Piety and Juſtice of His own Royall nature, and the tender affection He doth and ſhall ever bear to all His people and loving Subjects.

DECLARATIONS
AND PAPERS
CONCERNING THE DIFFERENCES
BETWIXT HIS MAJESTIE
AND HIS
FIFTH PARLIAMENT.

The Houſe of Commons PETITION, *and* Remonſtrance *of the ſtate of the Kingdome: with His Majeſties Anſwers.* MDCXLI *Decemb.* 1.

The PETITION of the Houſe of Commons which accompanied the Declaration of the ſtate of the Kingdome, when it was preſented to His MAJESTY at *Hampton-Court.*

Moſt Gracious Sovereign,

YOUR Majeſties moſt humble and faithful Subjects, the Commoners in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, do with much thankfulneſs and joy acknowledge the great mercy and favour of God, in giving Your Majeſty a ſafe and peaceable return out of *Scotland* into Your Kingdome of *England*, where the preſsing Dangers and Diſtempers of the State have cauſed us with much earneſtneſs to deſire the comfort of Your gracious preſence, and likewiſe the Unity and Juſtice of your Royal Authority to give more life and power to the dutiful and loyal Counſels and endeavours of Your Parliament, for the prevention of that imminent Ruine and Deſtruction wherein Your Kingdomes of *England* and *Scotland* are threatned. The duty which we owe to Your Majeſty and our Country cannot but make us very ſenſible and apprehenſive, that the multiplicity, ſharpneſs and malignity of thoſe evils under which we have now many years ſuffered, are fomented and cheriſhed by a corrupt and ill-affected party, who amongſt other their miſchievous devices for the alteration of Religion and Government, have ſought by many falſe ſcandals and imputations cunningly inſinuated, and diſperſed among the People, to blemiſh and diſgrace our proceedings in this Parliament, and to get themſelves a party and faction amongſt Your Subjects, for the better ſtrengthening of themſelves in their wicked courſes, and hindering thoſe proviſions and remedies which might by the Wiſdome of Your Majeſty and Counſel of Your Parliament be oppoſed againſt them.

For preventing whereof, and the better information of Your Majeſty, Your Peeres, and all other Your loyal Subjects, we have been neceſsitated to make a Declaration of the ſtate of the Kingdome, both before and ſince the Aſſembly of this Parliament unto this time; which we do humbly preſent to Your Majeſty without the leaſt intention to lay any blemiſh upon Your Royal Perſon, but only to repreſent how Your Royal Authority and truſt have been abuſed, to the great prejudice and danger of Your Majeſty and of all Your good Subjects.

And becauſe we have reaſon to believe that thoſe malignant parties, whoſe proceedings evidently appear to be mainly for the advantage and increaſe of Popery, are compoſed, ſet up, and acted by the ſubtile practice of the Jeſuites and other Engineers and Factors for *Rome*, and to the great danger of this Kingdome and moſt grievous affliction of Your loyal Subjects have ſo far prevailed, as to corrupt divers of Your Biſhops and others in prime places of the Church, and alſo to bring divers of theſe Inſtruments to be of Your Privy Councel and other employments of truſt and nearneſs about your Majeſty, the Prince and the reſt of Your Royal Children;

And by this means have had ſuch an operation in Your Councel, and the moſt important affairs and proceedings of Your Government, that a moſt dangerous diviſion and chargeable preparation for Warre betwixt Your Kingdomes of *England* and *Scotland*, the increaſe of Jealouſies betwixt Your Majeſty and Your moſt obedi-

ent Subjects, the violent distraction and interruption of this Parliament, the Insurrection of the Papists in Your Kingdome of *Ireland*, and bloody massacre of Your People, have been not only endeavoured and attempted, but in a great measure compassed and effected:

For preventing the final accomplishment hereof, Your poor Subjects are enforced to ingage their Persons and Estates to the maintaining of a very expenceful and dangerous Warre, notwithstanding they have already since the beginning of this Parliament undergone the charge of 150000. pounds sterling, or thereabouts, for the necessary support and supply of Your Majesty in these present and perillous Designes. And because all our most faithful endeavours and engagements will be ineffectual for the peace, safety and preservation of Your Majesty and Your People, if some present, real, and effectual course be not taken for suppressing this wicked and malignant party, We Your most humble and obedient Subjects do with all faithfulness and humility beseech Your Majesty,

1. That You will be graciously pleased to concurre with the humble desires of Your People in a Parliamentary way, for the preserving the peace and safety of the Kingdome from the malicious designes of the Popish party.

For depriving the Bishops of their Votes in Parliament, and abridging their immoderate power usurped over the Clergy and other Your good Subjects, which they have most perniciously abused to the hazard of Religion, and great prejudice and oppression of the Laws of the Kingdome, and just Liberty of Your People.

For the taking away such oppressions in Religion, Church-Government and Discipline, as have been brought in and fomented by them.

For uniting all such Your loyal Subjects together, as joyn in the same Fundamental Truths against the Papists, by removing some oppressions and unnecessary Ceremonies, by which divers weak Consciences have been scrupled, and seem to be divided from the rest.

For the due execution of those good Laws which have been made for securing the Liberty of Your Subjects.

2. That Your Majesty will likewise be pleased to remove from Your Counsel all such as persist to favour and promote any of those Pressures and Corruptions wherewith Your People have been grieved; and that for the future Your Majesty will vouchsafe to employ such persons in Your great and publick Affairs, and to take such to be near You in places of trust, as Your Parliament may have cause to confide in; that in Your Princely Goodness to Your People, You will reject and refuse all mediation and solicitation to the contrary, how powerful and near soever.

3. That You will be pleased to forbear to alienate any of the forfeited and escheated Lands in *Ireland* which shall accrue to Your Crown by reason of this Rebellion, that out of them the Crown may be the better supported, and some satisfaction made to Your Subjects of this Kingdome for the great expences they are like to undergoe this Warre.

Which humble desires of ours being graciously fulfilled by Your Majesty, we will, by the blessing and favour of God, most chearfully undergoe the hazard and expences of this Warre, and apply our selves to such other courses and counsels as may support Your Royal Estate with Honour and Plenty at home, with Power and Reputation abroad, and by our Loyal Affections, Obedience and Service, lay a sure and lasting foundation of the Greatness and Prosperity of Your Majesty, and Your Royal Posterity in future times.

A REMONSTRANCE *of the State of the Kingdome.*

THE Commons in this preſent Parliament aſſembled having with much earneſtneſs, and faithfulneſs of affection, and zeal to the publick good of this Kingdom, and His Majeſties Honour and Service, for the ſpace of twelve moneths wraſtled with the great Dangers and Fears, the preſſing Miſeries and Calamities, the various Diſtempers and Diſorders which had not only aſſaulted, but even overwhelmed and extinguiſht the Liberty, Peace and Proſperity of this Kingdom, the comfort and hopes of all His Majeſties good Subjects, and exceedingly weakned and undermined the foundation and ſtrength of His own Royall Throne; do yet finde an abounding malignity and oppoſition in thoſe parties and factions who have been the cauſe of thoſe evils, and do ſtill labour to caſt aſperſions upon that which hath been done, and to raiſe many difficulties for the hinderance of that which remains yet undone, and to foment Jealouſies betwixt the King and the Parliament, that ſo they may deprive Him and His people of the fruit of his own gracious intentions, and their humble deſires of procuring the publick Peace, Safety, and Happineſs of this Realm. For the preventing of thoſe miſerable effects which ſuch malicious endeavours may produce, We have thought good to declare,

Firſt, The Root and the growth of theſe miſchievous Deſignes.

Secondly, The Maturity and ripeneſs to which they have attained before the beginning of the Parliament.

Thirdly, The effectual Means which have been uſed for the extirpation of thoſe dangerous evils, and the Progreſs which hath therein been made by His Majeſties Goodneſs and the wiſdome of the Parliament.

Fourthly, The waies of Obſtruction and oppoſition, by which that progreſs hath been interrupted.

Fifthly, The courſes to be taken for the removing thoſe Obſtacles, and for the accompliſhing of our moſt dutiful and faithful intentions and endeavours of reſtoring and eſtabliſhing the ancient Honour, Greatneſs, and Security of this Crown and Nation.

The Root of all this miſchief we find to be *a malignant and pernicious deſign of ſubverting the Fundamental Laws and Principles of Government, upon which the Religion and Juſtice of this Kingdome are firmly eſtabliſh'd.*

The Actors and promoters hereof have been,

Firſt, The Jeſuited Papiſts, who hate the Laws as the obſtacles of that Change and ſubverſion of Religion which they ſo much long for.

Secondly, The Biſhops and the corrupt part of the Clergy, who cheriſh Formality and Superſtition, as the natural effects and more probable ſupports of their own Eccleſiaſtical Tyranny and Uſurpation.

Thirdly, Such Counſellors and Courtiers as for private ends have engaged themſelves to further the intereſts of ſome forein Princes or States, to the prejudice of His Majeſty and the State at home.

The Common Principles by which they moulded and governed all their particular Counſels and actions were theſe.

Firſt, To maintain continual Differences and Diſcontents betwixt the King and the People, upon queſtions of Prerogative and Liberty, that ſo they might have the advantage of ſiding with Him, and under the notions of men addicted to His Service, gain to themſelves and their parties the places of greateſt truſt and power in the Kingdome.

A Second, To ſuppreſs the purity and power of Religion, and ſuch perſons as were beſt affected to it; as being contrary to their own ends, and the greateſt impediment to that Change which they thought to introduce.

A Third, To conjoyn thoſe parties of the Kingdome which were moſt propitious to their own ends, and to divide thoſe who were moſt oppoſite, which conſiſted in many particular obſervations; to cheriſh the Arminian *part in thoſe Points wherein they agree with*

with the Papiſts, *to multiply and enlarge the Differences betwixt the common* Proteſtants *and thoſe whom they call* Puritans, *to introduce and countenance ſuch Opinions and Ceremonies as are fitteſt for accommodation with Popery, to encreaſe and maintain ignorance, looſeneſs and prophaneneſs in the people; that of thoſe three parties,* Papiſts, Arminians *and* Libertines, *they might compoſe a body fit to act ſuch Counſels and reſolutions as were moſt conducible to their own ends.*

A Fourth, To diſaffect the King to Parliaments by Slanders and falſe imputations, and by putting Him upon other waies of ſupply, which in ſhew and appearance were fuller of advantage then the ordinary courſe of Subſidies, though in truth they brought more loſs then gain both to the King and people, and have cauſed the great Diſtractions under which we both ſuffer.

As in all compounded bodies the Operations are qualified according to the predominant Element; ſo in this mixt party the Jeſuited Counſels being moſt active and prevailing, may eaſily be diſcovered to have had the greateſt ſway in all their determinations; and if they be not prevented, are likely to devour the reſt, or to turn them into their own nature.

In the beginning of His Majeſties Reign the party begun to revive and flouriſh again, having been ſomewhat dampt by the breach with *Spain* in the laſt year of King *James*, and by His Majeſties Marriage with *France*; the Intereſts and Counſels of that State being not ſo contrary to the good of Religion and the proſperity of this Kingdom as thoſe of *Spain*, and the Papiſts of *England* having been ever more addicted to *Spain* then *France*: yet they ſtill retained a purpoſe and reſolution to weaken the Proteſtant parties in all parts, and even in *France*, whereby to make way for the Change of Religion which they intended at home.

The firſt effect and evidence of their recovery and ſtrength was, the diſſolution of the Parliament at *Oxford*, after there had been given two Subſidies to His Majeſty, and before they received relief in any one Grievance: many other more miſerable effects followed.

The loſs of the *Rochel* Fleet, by the help of our Shipping, ſet forth and delivered over to the *French*, in oppoſition to the advice of Parliament; which left that Town without defence by Sea, and made way not only to the loſs of that important place, but likewiſe to the loſs of all the ſtrength and ſecurity of the Proteſtant Religion in *France*.

The diverting of His Majeſties courſe of Warres from the Weſt-*Indies*, which was the moſt facile and hopeful way for this Kingdom to prevail againſt the *Spaniard*, to an expenceſull and ſucceſleſs attempt upon *Cales*; which was ſo ordered, as if it had rather been intended to make us weary of Warre, then to proſper in it.

The precipitate breach with *France*, by taking their Ships to a great value, without making recompence to the *Engliſh*, whoſe goods were thereupon imbarg'd and confiſcate in that Kingdom.

The Peace with *Spain* without conſent of Parliament, contrary to the promiſe of King *James* to both Houſes; whereby the *Palatine* Cauſe was deſerted, and left to chargeable and hopeleſs Treaties, which, for the moſt part, were managed by thoſe who might juſtly be ſuſpected to be no friends to that Cauſe.

The charging of the Kingdom with billetted Souldiers in all parts of it, and that concomitant deſign of *Germane* horſe; that the Land might either ſubmit with fear, or be enforced with rigour to ſuch Arbitrary Contributions as ſhould be required of them.

The diſſolving of the Parliament in the ſecond year of His Majeſties reign, after a Declaration of their intent to grant five Subſidies.

The exacting of the like proportion of five Subſidies after the Parliament diſſolved, by Commiſſion of Loan; and divers Gentlemen and others impriſoned for not yielding to pay that Loan, whereby many of them contracted ſuch Sickneſſes as coſt them their lives. Great ſummes of Money required and raiſed by privy Seals. An unjuſt and pernicious attempt to extort great payments from the Subject by way of Exciſe, and a Commiſſion iſſued under Seal to that purpoſe. The Petition of Right, which was granted in full Parliament, blaſted with an illegal Declaration, to make it

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deſtructive to it ſelf, to the power of Parliament, to the Liberty of the Subject, and to that purpoſe printed with it; and the Petition made of no uſe, but to ſhew the bold and preſumptuous injuſtice of ſuch Miniſters as durſt break the Laws, and ſuppreſs the Liberties of the Kingdom, after they had been ſo ſolemnly and evidently declared.

Another Parliament diſſolved 4 *Car.* the Privilege of Parliament broken by impriſoning divers Members of the Houſe, detaining them cloſe Priſoners for many moneths together, without the liberty of uſing Books, Pen, Inke or Paper, denying them all the comforts of life, all means of preſervation of health, not permitting their Wives to come unto them, even in time of their Sickneſs; and for the compleating of that Cruelty, after years ſpent in ſuch miſerable durance, depriving them of the neceſſary means of Spiritual conſolation, not ſuffering them to go abroad to enjoy God's Ordinances in God's Houſe, or God's Miniſters to come to them, to adminiſter comfort unto them in their private Chambers: and to keep them ſtill in this oppreſſed condition, not admitting them to be bailed according to Law, yet vexing them with Informations in inferiour Courts, ſentencing and fining ſome of them for matters done in Parliament, and extorting the payments of thoſe Fines from them; enforcing others to put in Security of good behaviour, before they could be releaſed.

The impriſonment of the reſt which refuſed to be bound ſtill continued; which might have been perpetual, if neceſſity had not the laſt year brought another Parliament to relieve them; of whom one died by the cruelty and harſhneſs of his Impriſonment, which would admit of no relaxation, notwithſtanding the imminent danger of his life did ſufficiently appear by the declaration of his Phyſician, and his releaſe, or at leaſt his refreſhment, was ſought by many humble Petitions. And his blood ſtill cries either for vengeance or repentance of thoſe Miniſters of State, who have at once obſtructed the courſe both of His Majeſties Juſtice and Mercy.

Upon the diſſolution of both theſe Parliaments, untrue and ſcandalous Declarations were publiſhed, to aſperſe their proceedings and ſome of their Members, unjuſtly to make them odious, and colour the violence which was uſed againſt them; Proclamations ſet out to the ſame purpoſe, and to the great dejecting of the hearts of the people, forbidding them even to ſpeak of Parliaments.

After the breach of the Parliament, in the fourth year of His Majeſty, Injuſtice, Oppreſsion and Violence broke in upon us without any reſtraint or moderation: and yet the firſt project was the great ſummes exacted through the whole Kingdom for default of Knighthood, which ſeemed to have ſome colour and ſhadow of a Law; yet if it be rightly examined by that obſolete Law which was pretended for it, it would be found to be againſt all the rules of Juſtice, both in reſpect of the perſons charged, the proportion of the Fines demanded, and the abſurd and unreaſonable manner of their proceedings. Tonnage and Poundage hath been received without colour or pretence of Law; many other heavy Impoſitions continued againſt Law; and ſome ſo unreaſonable, that the ſumme of the charge exceeds the value of the Goods. The Book of Rates lately inhanced to a high proportion; and ſuch Merchants as would not ſubmit to their illegal and unreaſonable payments, were vexed and oppreſſed above meaſure, and the ordinary courſe of Juſtice, the common Birth-right of the Subject of *England*, wholly obſtructed unto them. And although all this was taken upon pretence of guarding the Sea, yet a new and unheard-of Tax of Ship-money was deviſed upon the ſame pretence. By both which there was charged upon the Subject near 700000l ſome years; and yet the Merchants have been left ſo naked to the violence of the *Turkiſh* Pirats, that many great Ships of value and thouſands of His Majeſties Subjects have been taken by them, and do ſtill remain in miſerable ſlavery.

The enlargement of Foreſts, contrary to *Charta de Foreſta* and the compoſition thereupon. The exactions of Coat and Conduct-money, and divers other Military charges. The taking away the Arms of the Trained Bands of divers Counties. The deſperate deſign of engroſſing all the Gun-powder into one hand, keeping it in the Tower of *London*, and ſetting ſo high a rate upon it that the poorer ſort were not able to buy it, nor could any have it without Licence; thereby to leave the ſeveral parts

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of the Kingdom deſtitute of their neceſſary defence, and by ſelling ſo dear that which was ſold, to make an unlawful advantage of it, to the great charge and detriment of the Subject. The general deſtruction of the Kings Timber, eſpecially that in the Foreſt of *Dean*, ſold to Papiſts, which was the beſt Store-houſe of this Kingdom for the maintenance of our Shipping. The taking away of men's Right, under colour of the Kings title to Land between high and low-water-Marks. The Monopolies of Sope, Salt, Wine, Leather, Sea-Coal, and, in a manner, of all things of moſt common and neceſſary uſe. The reſtraint of the Liberties of the Subjects in their Habitation, Trades, and other Intereſt. Their vexation and oppreſſion by Purveyors, Clarks of the Market, and Salt-Peter-men. The ſale of pretended Nuſanzes, as Buildings in and about *London*, converſion of Arable into Paſture, continuance of Paſture under the name of depopulation, have drawn many Millions out of the Subjects Purſes, without any conſiderable profit to His Majeſty. Large quantities of Common and ſeveral Grounds have been taken from the Subject by colour of the Statute of Improvement, and by abuſe of the Commiſſion of Sewers, without their conſent and againſt it. And not only private Intereſt, but alſo publick Faith have been broken, in ſeizing of the Money and Bullion in the Mint; and the whole Kingdom like to be robb'd at once in that abominable project of Braſs Money. Great numbers of His Majeſties Subjects, for refuſing thoſe unlawful charges, have been vext with long and expenſive ſuits; ſome fined and cenſured, others committed to long and hard impriſonments and confinements, to the loſs of health in many, of life in ſome; and others have had their Houſes broken up, their Goods ſeized; ſome have been reſtrained from their lawful Callings: Ships have been interrupted in their Voyages, ſurprized at Sea in an hoſtile manner by Projectors, as by a common Enemy; Merchants prohibited to unlade their goods in ſuch Ports as were for their own advantage, and forced to bring them to thoſe places which were moſt for the advantages of the Monopolizers and Projectors. The Court of Star-chamber hath abounded in extravagant Cenſures, not only for the maintenance and improvement of Monopolies and other unlawful Taxes, but for divers other Cauſes, where there hath been no offence, or very ſmall; whereby His Majeſties Subjects have been oppreſſed by grievous Fines, Impriſonments, Stigmatizings, Mutilations, Whippings, Pillories, Gags, Confinements, Baniſhments, after ſo rigid a manner, as hath not only deprived men of the ſociety of their Friends, exerciſe of their Profeſſions, comfort of Books, uſe of Paper or Ink, but even violated that near Union which God hath eſtabliſh'd betwixt Men and their Wives, by forced and conſtrained ſeparation; whereby they have been bereaved of the comfort and converſation one of another for many years together, without hope of relief, if God had not by his over-ruling Providence given ſome interruption to the prevailing power and counſel of thoſe who were the Authors and Promoters of ſuch peremptory and heady courſes.

Judges have been put out of their places for refuſing to doe againſt their Oaths and Conſciences: Others have been ſo awed, that they durſt not doe their duties; and the better to hold a rod over them, the Clauſe *Quamdiu ſe bene geſſerit* was left out of their Patents, and a new Clauſe *Durante beneplacito* inſerted. Lawyers have been checkt for being faithful to their Clients; Solicitors and Attorneys have been threatned, and ſome puniſhed, for following lawful Suites: And by this means all the approaches to Juſtice were interrupted and forecluded. New Oathes have been forced upon the Subject againſt Law; new Judicatories erected without Law. The Councel-Table have by their Orders offered to bind the Subjects in their Free-holds, Eſtates, Suites and Actions. The pretended Court of the Earl-Marſhal was Arbitrary and Illegal in its being and proceedings. The Chancery, Exchequer-Chamber, Court of Wards, and other Engliſh Courts have been grievous in exceeding their Juriſdiction: The eſtate of many Families weakned, and ſome ruined, by exceſſive Fines exacted from them for Compoſitions of Wardſhips: All Leaſes of above a hundred years made to draw on Wardſhip contrary to Law. Undue proceedings uſed in the finding of Offices, to make the Jury find for the King. The Common-Law Courts, ſeeing all men more inclined to ſeek Juſtice there where it may be fitted to their own deſire, are known frequently to forſake the Rules of the Common-Law,

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and ſtraining beyond their bounds, under pretence of Equity to doe Injuſtice. Titles of Honour, Judicial places, Serjeantſhips at Law and other Offices, have been ſold for great ſummes of money, whereby the common Juſtice of the Kingdom hath been much endangered; not only by opening a way of employment in places of great Truſt and advantage to men of weak parts, but alſo by giving occaſion to Bribery, Extortion, Partiality; it ſeldome hapning that places ill gotten are well uſed. Commiſſions have been granted for examining the exceſs of Fees: and when great Exactions have been diſcovered, Compoſitions have been made with Delinquents, not only for the time paſt, but likewiſe for immunity and ſecurity in offending for the time to come; which under colour of remedy, hath but confirmed and encreaſed the Grievance to the Subject. The uſual courſe of pricking Sheriffs not obſerved, but many times Sheriffs made in an extraordinary way: ſometimes as a puniſhment and charge unto them; ſometimes ſuch were pricked out as would be Inſtruments to execute whatſoever they would have to be done.

The Biſhops and the reſt of the Clergy did triumph in the Suſpenſions, Excommunications, Deprivations and Degradations of divers painful, learned and pious Miniſters, in the vexation and grievous oppreſsion of great numbers of His Majeſties good Subjects. The High-Commiſſion grew to ſuch exceſs of ſharpneſs and ſeverity, as was not much leſs then the *Romiſh* Inquiſition; and yet in many caſes by the Archbiſhops power was made much more heavy, being aſſiſted and ſtrengthened by authority of the Councel-Table.

The Biſhops and their Courts were as eager in the Country; and although their Juriſdiction could not reach ſo high in rigor and extremity of puniſhment, yet were they no leſs grievous in reſpect of the generality and multiplicity of vexations, which lighting upon the meaner ſort of Trades-men and Artificers, did impoveriſh many thouſands, and ſo afflict and trouble others, that great numbers, to avoid their miſeries, departed out of the Kingdom, ſome into *New-England* and other parts of *America*, others into *Holland*, where they have tranſported their Manufactures of Cloth; which is not only a loſs, by diminiſhing the preſent ſtock of the Kingdom, but a great miſchief, by impairing and endangering the loſs of that peculiar Trade of Cloathing, which hath been a plentiful fountain of Wealth and Honour to this Nation. Thoſe were fitteſt for Eccleſiaſtical preferment, and ſooneſt obtained it, who were moſt officious in promoting Superſtition, moſt virulent in railing againſt Godlineſs and Honeſty.

The moſt publick and ſolemn Sermons before His Majeſty were either to advance Prerogative above Law, and decry the Property of the Subject; or full of ſuch kind of Invectives whereby they might make thoſe odious who ſought to maintain the Religion, Laws & Liberties of the Kingdom: and ſuch men were ſure to be weeded out of the Commiſſion of the Peace, and out of all other imployments of power in the Government of the Countrey. Many noble Perſonages were Councellors in name, but the power and authority remained in a few of ſuch as were moſt addicted to this partie; whoſe reſolutions and determinations were brought to the Table for countenance and execution, and not for debate and deliberation; and no man could offer to oppoſe them without diſgrace and hazard to himſelf. Nay, all thoſe that did not wholly concurre and actively contribute to the furtherance of their deſignes, though otherwiſe perſons of never ſo great Honour and Abilities, were ſo farre from being employed in any place of truſt and power, that they were neglected, diſcountenanced, and upon all occaſions injured and oppreſſed. This Faction was grown to that height and entireneſs of power, that now they began to think of finiſhing their Work, which conſiſted of theſe three parts.

1. *The Government muſt be ſet free from all reſtraint of Laws concerning our Perſons and States.*

2. *There muſt be a Conjunction betwixt Papiſts and Proteſtants in Doctrine, Diſcipline and Ceremonies; only it muſt not yet be called Popery.*

3. *The* Puritans, *(under which name they include all thoſe that deſire to preſerve the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom, and to maintain Religion in the power of it) muſt be either rooted out of the Kingdom with force, or driven out with fear. For the effecting*

of this, it was thought neceſſary to reduce Scotland *to ſuch Popiſh Superſtitions and Innovations as might make them apt to joyn with* England *in that great Change which was intended. Whereupon new Canons and a new Liturgy were preſt upon them; and when they refuſed to admit of them, an Army was raiſed to force them to it, towards which the Clergy and the Papiſts were very forward in their contribution. The* Scots *likewiſe raiſed an Army for their defence: and when both Armies were come together, and ready for a bloody encounter, His Majeſties own Gracious Diſpoſition, and the Counſel of the* Engliſh *Nobility, and Dutiful ſubmiſſion of the* Scots, *did ſo far prevail againſt the evil Counſel of others, that a Pacification was made, and His Majeſty returned with Peace and much Honour to* London.

The unexpected Reconciliation was moſt acceptable to all the Kingdome, except to the malignant party; whereof the Archbiſhop and the Earle of *Strafford* being heads, they and their faction begun to inveigh againſt the Peace, and to aggravate the proceeding of the States, which ſo incenſed His Majeſty, that He forthwith prepared again for Warre. And ſuch was their confidence, that having corrupted and diſtempered the whole frame and Government of the Kingdom, they did now hope to corrupt that which was the onely means to reſtore all to a right frame and temper again. To which end they perſwaded His Majeſty to call a Parliament, not to ſeek counſel and advice of them, but to draw countenance and Supply from them, and engage the whole Kingdom in their Quarrel: and in the mean time continued all their unjuſt Levies of money, reſolving either to make the Parliament pliant to their Will, and to eſtabliſh miſchief by a Law, or elſe to break it; and with more colour to goe on by violence, to take what they could not obtain by conſent.

The ground alledged for the juſtification of this Warre was this, That the undutiful Demands of the Parliaments of *Scotland* was a ſufficient reaſon for His Majeſty to take Armes againſt them, without hearing the Reaſon of thoſe Demands. And thereupon a new Army was prepared againſt them, their Ships were ſeized in all Ports both of *England* and *Ireland*, and at Sea, their Petitions rejected, their Commiſſioners refuſed Audience, this whole Kingdom moſt miſerably diſtempered with Levies of Men and Money, and Impriſonments of thoſe who denied to ſubmit to thoſe Levies. The Earl of *Strafford* paſt into *Ireland*, cauſed the Parliament there to declare againſt the *Scots*, to give four Subſidies towards that Warre, and to ingage themſelves, their lives and fortunes for the proſecution of it; and gave directions for an Army of eight thouſand foot and one thouſand horſe to be levied there, which were for the moſt part Papiſts.

The Parliament met upon the thirteenth of *April* one thouſand ſix hundred and fourty. The Earle of *Strafford* & Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* with their Party ſo prevailed with His Majeſty, that the Houſe of Commons was preſt to yield to a Supply for maintenance of the Warre with *Scotland*, before they had provided any relief for the great and preſſing Grievances of the people: which being againſt the fundamental Privilege and proceeding of Parliament, was yet in humble reſpect to His Majeſty ſo farre admitted, as that they agreed to take the matter of Supply into conſideration, and two ſeveral daies it was debated. Twelve Subſidies were demanded for the releaſe of Ship-money alone. A third day was appointed for concluſion: when the Heads of that Party begun to fear the people might cloſe with the King in ſatisfying his deſire of money; but that withall they were like to blaſt their malicious deſignes againſt *Scotland*, finding them very much indiſpoſed to give any countenance to that Warre. Thereupon they wickedly adviſed the King to break off the Parliament, and to return to the waies of Confuſion, in which their own evil intentions were moſt like to proſper and ſucceed.

After the Parliament ended the fifth of *May* 1640. this Party grew ſo bold, as to counſel the King to ſupply Himſelf out of his Subjects ſtates by His own Power, at His own will, without their conſent. The very next day ſome Members of both Houſes had their ſtudies and cabinets, yea their pockets, ſearched: another of them not long after was committed cloſe priſoner, for not delivering ſome Petitions which he received by authority of that Houſe. And if harſher courſes were intended (as was reported) it is very probable that the ſickneſs of the Earle of *Strafford*, and the tumultuous riſing

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in *Southwark* and about *Lambeth*, were the cauſes that ſuch violent intentions were not brought to execution. A falſe and ſcandalous Declaration againſt the Houſe of Commons was publiſhed in his Majeſties Name; which yet wrought little effect with the people, but only to manifeſt the impudence of thoſe who were Authors of it.

A forced Loan of money was attempted in the City of *London*. The Lord Maior and Aldermen in their ſeveral Wards enjoyned to bring in a liſt of the names of ſuch perſons as they judged fit to lend, and of the ſumme they ſhould lend. And ſuch Aldermen as refuſed ſo to doe, were committed to priſon.

The Archbiſhop and the other Biſhops andClergy continued the Convocation, and by a new Commiſſion turned it to a Provincial Synod, in which, by an unheard-of preſumption, they made Canons that contain in them many matters contrary to the Kings Prerogative, to the fundamental Laws and Statutes of the Realm, to the Right of Parliaments, to the Property and Liberty of the Subject, and matters tending to Sedition and of dangerous conſequence, thereby eſtabliſhing their own Uſurpations, juſtifying their Altar-worſhip, and thoſe other ſuperſtitious Innovations which they formerly introduced without warrant of Law.

They impoſed a new Oath upon divers of his Majeſties Subjects, both Eccleſiaſtical and Lay, for maintenance of their own Tyranny, and laid a great taxe upon the Clergy for ſupply of his Majeſty; and generally they ſhewed themſelves very affectionate to the Warre with *Scotland*, which was by ſome of them ſtyled *Bellum Epiſcopale*, and a Prayer compoſed, and enjoyned to be read in all Churches, calling the *Scots* Rebels, to put the two Nations into blood, and make them irreconcilable. All thoſe pretended Canons and Conſtitutions were armed with the ſeveral Cenſures of Suſpenſion, Excommunication, Deprivation, by which they would have thruſt out all the good Miniſters, and moſt of the well-affected people of the Kingdome, and left an eaſie paſſage to their own deſign of reconciliation with *Rome*. The Popiſh party enjoyed ſuch exemptions from the Penal Laws as amounted to a Toleration, beſides many other encouragements and Court-favours: They had a Secretary of State, Sir *Francis Windebank*, a powerful Agent for the ſpeeding of all their deſires; a *Pope's Nuntio* reſiding here to act and govern them according to ſuch influences as he received from *Rome*, and to intercede for them with the moſt powerful concurrence of the forein Princes of that Religion. By his authority the Papiſts of all ſorts, Nobility, Gentry and Clergy were convocated after the manner of a Parliament, new Juriſdictions were erected of *Romiſh* Archbiſhops, Taxes levied, another State moulded within this State independent in Government, contrary in Intereſt and affection, ſecretly corrupting the ignorant or negligent Profeſſours of our Religion, and cloſely uniting and combining themſelves againſt ſuch as were ſound, in this poſture waiting for an opportunity by force to deſtroy thoſe whom they could not hope to ſeduce. For the effecting whereof they were ſtrengthened with Armes and Munition, encouraged by ſuperſtitious Prayers enjoyned by the *Nuntio* to be weekly made for the proſperity of ſome great Deſign. And ſuch power had they at Court, that ſecretly a Commiſſion was iſſued out, intended to be iſſued to ſome Great men of that profeſſion, for the levying of Souldiers, and to command and employ them according to private inſtructions, which we doubt were framed for the advantage of thoſe who were the contrivers of them. His Majeſties Treaſure was conſumed, His Revenue anticipated, His Servants and Officers compelled to lend great ſummes of mony; Multitudes were called to the Councel-Table, who were tired with long attendances there, for refuſing illegal payments. The Priſons were filled with their Commitments; many of the Sheriffs ſummoned into the Starre-Chamber, and ſome impriſoned for not being quick enough in levying the Ship-money; the people languiſhed under grief and fear, no viſible hope being left but in deſperation. The Nobility began to be weary of their ſilence and patience, and ſenſible of the duty and truſt which belongs to them: and thereupon ſome of the moſt eminent of them did petition His Majeſty, at ſuch a time when evil Counſels were ſo ſtrong that they had reaſon to expect more hazard to themſelves then redreſs of thoſe publick evils for which they interceded. Whileſt the Kingdome was in this agitation and diſtemper, the *Scots*, reſtrained in their Trades, impoveriſhed by the loſs of many of their

Ships, bereaved of all poſſibility of ſatisfying His Majeſty by any naked Supplication, entred with a powerful Army into the Kingdome, and without any hoſtile Act or ſpoil in the Countrey as they paſſed, more then forcing a paſſage over the *Tyne* at *Newborne* near *Newcaſtle*, poſſeſſed themſelves of *Newcaſtle*, and had a fair opportunity to preſs on further upon the Kings Army: but duty and reverence to His Majeſty, and brotherly love to the *Engliſh* Nation, made them ſtay there, whereby the King had leiſure to entertain better Counſels; wherein God ſo bleſſed and directed Him, that He ſummoned the great Councel of Peers to meet at *York* upon the twenty fourth of *September*, and there declared a Parliament to begin the third of *November* then following. The *Scots* the firſt day of the great Councel preſented an humble Petition to His Majeſty; whereupon the Treaty was appointed at *Rippon*, a preſent Ceſſation of armes agreed upon, and the full concluſion of all Differences referred to the wiſdome and care of the Parliament.

At our firſt meeting all Oppoſitions ſeemed to vaniſh; the miſchiefs were ſo evident which thoſe evil Counſellors produced, that no man durſt ſtand up to defend them. Yet the work it ſelf afforded difficulty enough. The multiplied evils and corruption of ſixteen years, ſtrengthned by Cuſtome and Authority, and the concurrent intereſt of many powerful Delinquents, were now to be brought to judgment and Reformation. The Kings Houſhold was to be provided for; they had brought Him to that want, that He could not ſupply His ordinary and neceſſary Expences without the aſſiſtance of His People. Two Armies were to be payed, which amounted very near to thirty thouſand pounds a moneth; the people were to be tenderly charged, having been formerly exhauſted with many burthenſome Projects. The Difficulties ſeemed to be inſuperable, which by the Divine Providence we have overcome; the Contrarieties incompatible, which yet in a great meaſure we have reconciled. Six Subſidies have been granted, and a Bill of Poll-money, which, if it be duly levied, may equal ſix Subſidies more, in all ſix hundred thouſand pounds. Beſides, we have contracted a debt to the *Scots* of two hundred & twenty thouſand pounds; and yet God hath ſo bleſſed the endeavours of this Parliament, that the Kingdome is a great gainer by all theſe charges. The Ship-money is aboliſhed, which coſt the Kingdom above 200000 pounds a year. The Coat and Conduct-money and other military charges are taken away, which in many Countries amounted to little leſs then the Ship-money. The Monopolies are all ſuppreſt, whereof ſome few did prejudice the Subject above a Million yearly: the Soap an hundred thouſand pounds, the Wine three hundred thouſand pounds, the Leather muſt needs exceed both, and Salt could not be leſs then that; beſides the inferiour Monopolies, which, if they could be exactly computed, would make up a great ſumme. That which is more beneficiall then all this is, that the root of theſe evils is taken away, which was the arbitrary power pretended to be in His Majeſty, of taxing the Subject, or charging their eſtates without conſent in Parliament, which is now declared to be againſt Law by the judgement of both Houſes, and likewiſe by an Act of Parliament. Another ſtep of great advantage is this, the living Grievances, the evil Counſellors and actors of theſe miſchiefs have been ſo quelled by the Juſtice done upon the Earle of *Strafford*, the flight of the Lord *Finch* and Secretary *Windebank*, the accuſation and impriſonment of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, of Judge *Bartlet*, and the impeachment of divers other Biſhops and Judges, that it is like not only to be an eaſe to the preſent times, but a preſervation to the future. The diſcontinuance of Parliaments is prevented by the Bill for a Triennial Parliament, and the abrupt diſſolution of this Parliament by another Bill; by which it is provided it ſhall not be diſſolved or adjourned without the conſent of both Houſes. Which two Laws well conſidered may be thought more advantageous then all the former, becauſe they ſecure a full operation of the preſent remedy, and afford a perpetual Spring of remedies for the future. The Star-chamber, the High-Commiſſion, the Courts of the Preſident and Councel in the North, were ſo many forges of Miſery, Oppreſſion, and Violence, and are all taken away; whereby men are more ſecured in their Perſons, Liberties and Eſtates, then they could be by any Law or Example for the regulation of thoſe Courts, or Terror of the Judges. The immoderate power of the Councel-Table and the exceſſive

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abuſe of that power is ſo ordered and reſtrained, that we may well hope that no ſuch things as were frequently done by them, to the prejudice of the publick Liberty, will appear in future times, but only in Stories, to give us and our poſterity more occaſion to praiſe God for his Majeſties Goodneſs, and the faithful endeavours of this Parliament. The Canons, and the power of Canon-making, are blaſted by the Vote of both Houſes. The exorbitant power of Biſhops and their Courts are much abated, by ſome Proviſions in the Bill againſt the High-Commiſſion Court. The authors of the many Innovations in Doctrine and Ceremonies, the Miniſters that have been ſcandalous in their lives, have been ſo terrified in juſt complaints and accuſations, that we may well hope they will be more modeſt for the time to come; either inwardly convicted by the ſight of their own folly, or outwardly reſtrained by the fear of puniſhment. The Foreſts are by a good Law reduced to their right bounds; the encroachments and oppreſſions of the Stannary Courts, the Extortions of the Clark of the Market, and the Compulſion of the Subject to receive the Order of Knighthood againſt his will, paying of Fines for not receiving it, and the vexatious proceedings thereupon for levying of thoſe Fines, are by other beneficial Laws reformed and prevented. Many excellent Laws and proviſions are in preparation for removing the inordinate power, vexation and uſurpation of Biſhops, for reforming the pride and idleneſs of many of the Clergy, for eaſing the people of unneceſſary Ceremonies in Religion, for cenſuring and removing unworthy and unprofitable Miniſters, and for maintaining godly and diligent Preachers through the Kingdome. Other things of main importance for the good of this Kingdome are in propoſition; though little could hitherto be done, in regard of the many other more preſſing buſineſſes, which yet before the end of this Seſſion we hope may receive ſome progreſs and perfection. The eſtabliſhing and ordering the Kings Revenue, that ſo the abuſe of Officers and ſuperfluity of expences may be cut off, and the neceſſary diſburſements for His Majeſties Honour, the defence and government of the Kingdome, may be more certainly provided for: The regulating of Courts of Juſtice, and abridging both the delaies and charges of Law-ſuits: The ſetling of ſome good courſes for preventing the exportation of Gold and Silver, and the inequality of exchanges betwixt us and other Nations; for the advancing of native Commodities, increaſe of our Manufactures, and well-balancing of Trade, whereby the ſtock of the Kingdome may be increaſed, or at leaſt kept from impairing, as through neglect hereof it hath done for many years laſt paſt; for improving the Herring-fiſhing upon our own Coaſts, which will be of mighty uſe in the imployment of the poor, and a plentiful Nurſery of Mariners for inabling the Kingdome in any great action.

The Oppoſitions, Obſtructions, and other Difficulties wherewith we have been encountred, and which ſtill lye in our way with ſome ſtrength and much obſtinacy, are theſe: The malignant party, whom we have formerly deſcribed to be the Actors and Promoters of all our Miſery, they have taken heart again: They have been able to preferre ſome of their own Factors and Agents to degrees of Honour, to places of Truſt and imployment, even during the Parliament: They have endeavoured to work in His Majeſty ill impreſſions and opinions of our proceedings, as if we had altogether done our own work, and not His, and had obtained from Him many things very prejudicial to the Crown, both in reſpect of Prerogative and Profit.

To wipe out this Slander, We think good only to ſay thus much, That all that we have done is for His Majeſty, His Greatneſs, Honour and Support. When we yielded to give twenty five thouſand pounds a moneth for the relief of the Northern Countries, this was given to the King, for He was bound to protect His Subjects; they were His Majeſties evil Counſellors and their ill inſtruments that were actors in theſe Grievances which brought in the *Scots*: and if His Majeſty pleaſe to force thoſe who were the authors of this War to make ſatisfaction, as He might juſtly and eaſily doe, it ſeems very reaſonable that the people might well be excuſed from taking upon them this burthen, being altogether innocent, and free from being any cauſes of it.

When we undertook the charge of the Army, which coſt above 50000. pound a moneth, was not this given to the King? was it not His Majeſties Army? were not

all the Commanders under contract with His Majeſty at higher rates and greater wages then ordinary? And have not we taken upon us to diſcharge all the brotherly aſſiſtance of three hundred thouſand pounds which we gave the *Scots*? was it not toward repair of thoſe damages and loſſes which they received from the Kings Ships and from His Miniſters? Theſe three particulars amount to above eleven hundred thouſand pounds; beſides His Majeſty hath received by Impoſitions upon Merchandiſe at leaſt four hundred thouſand pounds: ſo that His Majeſty hath had out of the Subjects purſe ſince the Parliament began one million and an half, and yet theſe men can be ſo impudent as to tell His Majeſty that we have done nothing for Him.

As to the ſecond branch of this Slander, we acknowledge with much thankfulneſs that his Majeſty hath paſſed more good Bils to the advantage of the Subjects then have been in many Ages: but withall we cannot forget that theſe venemous counſels did manifeſt themſelves in ſome endeavours to hinder theſe good Acts. And for both Houſes of Parliament we may with truth and modeſty ſay thus much, That we have ever been careful not to deſire any thing that ſhould weaken the Crown, either in juſt Profit or uſeful Power. The Triennial Parliament, for the matter of it, doth not extend to ſo much as by Law we ought to have required, there being two Statutes ſtill in force for a Parliament to be once a year; and for the manner of it, it is in the Kings power that it ſhall never take effect, if he by a timely ſummons ſhall prevent any other way of aſſembling. In the Bill for continuance of this preſent Parliament, there ſeems to be ſome reſtraint of the Royal power in diſſolving of Parliaments; not to take it out of the Crown, but to ſuſpend the execution of it for this time and occaſion onely; which was ſo neceſſary for the Kings own ſecurity and the publick Peace, that without it we could not have undertaken any of theſe great charges, but muſt have left both the Armies to diſorder and confuſion, and the whole Kingdome to blood and rapine. The Star-chamber was much more fruitful in oppreſſion then in profit, the great Fines being for the moſt part given away, and the reſt ſtalled at long times. The Fines of the High-Commiſſion were in themſelves unjuſt, and ſeldome or never came into the Kings purſe. Theſe four Bils are particularly and more ſpecially inſtanced, in the reſt there will not be found ſo much as a ſhadow of prejudice to the Crown.

They have ſought to diminiſh our reputation with the people, and to bring them out of love with Parliaments: the aſperſions which they have attempted this way have been ſuch as theſe; That we have ſpent much time and done little, eſpecially in thoſe Grievances which concern Religion. That the Parliament is a burthen to the Kingdome by the abundance of Protections, which hinder Juſtice and Trade; and by many Subſidies granted, much more heavy then any they formerly endured. To which there is a ready anſwer: If the time ſpent in this Parliament be conſidered in relation backward to the long growth and deep root of thoſe Grievances which we have removed, to the powerful ſupports of thoſe Delinquents which we have purſued, to the great neceſſities and other charges of the Commonwealth for which we have provided; or if it be conſidered in relation forward to many advantages which not only the preſent but future ages are like to reap by the good Laws and other proceedings in this Parliament; we doubt not but it will be thought by all indifferent judgements, that our time hath been much better imployed then in a far greater proportion of time in many former Parliaments put together; and the charges which have been laid upon the Subjects, and the other inconveniences which they have born, will ſeem very light in reſpect of the benefit they have and may receive. And for the matter of Protections, the Parliament is ſo ſenſible of it, that therein they intend to give them whatſoever eaſe may ſtand with Honour and Juſtice; and are in a way of paſſing a Bill to give them ſatisfaction.

They have ſought by many ſubtile practices to cauſe jealouſies and diviſions betwixt us and our brethren of *Scotland*, by ſlandering their proceedings and intentions towards us, and by ſecret endeavours to inſtigate and incenſe them and us one againſt another. They have had ſuch a party of Biſhops and Popiſh Lords in the Houſe of Peeres as hath cauſed much oppoſition and delay in the proſecution of Delinquents, hindered the proceedings of divers good Bils paſſed in the Commons Houſe concerning

cerning the reformation of ſundry great abuſes and corruptions both in Church and State. They have laboured to ſeduce and corrupt ſome of the Commons Houſe, to draw them into Conſpiracies and Combinations againſt the Liberty of the Parliament: and by their inſtruments and agents they have attempted to diſaffect and diſcontent his Majeſties Army, and to engage it for the maintenance of their wicked and traitorous deſignes, the keeping up of Biſhops in their Votes and Functions, and by force to compel the Parliament to order, limit and diſpoſe their proceedings in ſuch manner as might beſt concur with the intentions of this dangerous and potent faction. And when one miſchievous deſigne and attempt of theirs to bring on the Army againſt the Parliament and the City of *London* had been diſcovered and prevented, they preſently undertook another of the ſame damnable nature, with this addition to it, to endeavor to make the *Scotiſh* Army neutral, whilſt the *Engliſh* Army, which they had laboured to corrupt and invenome againſt us by their falſe and ſlanderous ſuggeſtions, ſhould execute their malice to the ſubverſion of our Religion and the diſſolution of our Government.

Thus they have been continually practiſing to diſturb the Peace, and plotting the deſtruction even of all the Kings dominions, and have employed their Emiſſaries and Agents in them all for the promoting of their deviliſh deſignes, which the vigilancy of thoſe who were well-affected hath ſtill diſcovered and defeated before they were ripe for execution in *England* and *Scotland*; only in *Ireland*, which was farther off, they have had time and opportunity to mould and prepare their work, and had brought it to that perfection, that they had poſſeſſed themſelves of that whole Kingdome, totally ſubverted the Government of it, rooted out Religion, and deſtroyed all the Proteſtants, whom the conſcience of their duty to God, their King and Countrey, would not have permitted to joyn with them, if by God's wonderful providence their main enterpriſe upon the City and Caſtle of *Dublin* had not been detected and prevented upon the very Eve before it ſhould have been executed. Notwithſtanding they have in other parts of that Kingdom broken out into open Rebellion, ſurpriſed Towns and Caſtles, committed murders, rapes and other villanies, and ſhaken off all bonds of Obedience to His Majeſty and the Laws of the Realm; and in general have kindled ſuch a fire, as nothing but God's infinite bleſsing upon the wiſdome and endeavours of this State will be able to quench it. And certainly, had not God in his great mercy unto this Land diſcovered and confounded their former deſigns, we had been the Prologue to this Tragedy in *Ireland*, and had by this time been made the lamentable ſpectacle of miſery and confuſion.

And now what hope have we but in God, when as the only means of our ſubſiſtence nd power of Reformation is under Him in the Parliament? But what can we the Commons, without the conjunction of the Houſe of Lords? and what conjunction an we expect there, when the Biſhops and Recuſant Lords are ſo numerous and prealent, that they are able to croſs and interrupt our beſt endeavours for Reformation, nd by that means give advantage to this malignant party to traduce our proceedngs?

They infuſe into the People, that we mean to aboliſh all Church-government, and eave every man to his own fancie for the Service and Worſhip of God, abſolving him f that Obedience which he owes under God unto his Majeſty, whom we know to be ntruſted with the Eccleſiaſtical Law as well as with the Temporal, to regulate all he members of the Church of *England* by ſuch rules of order and diſcipline as are ſtabliſhed by Parliament, which is his great Councel in all affairs both of Church nd State. We confeſs our intention is, and our endeavours have been, to reduce ithin bounds that exorbitant power which the Prelates have aſſumed unto themlves ſo contrary both to the Word of God and to the Laws of the Land: to which nd we paſt the Bill for the removing them from their Temporal power and employents, that ſo the better they might with meekneſs apply themſelves to the diſcharge f their functions: Which Bill themſelves oppoſed, and were the principal inſtruents of croſſing it. And we do here declare, that it is far from our purpoſe or ſire to let looſe the golden reines of Diſcipline and Government in the Church, to ive private perſons or particular Congregations to take up what form of Divine

Service they pleaſe : for we hold it requiſite that there ſhould be throughout the whole Realm a Conformity to that Order which the Laws enjoyn, according to the Word of God ; and we deſire to unburthen the Conſciences of men of needleſs and ſuperſtitious Ceremonies, ſuppreſs Innovations, and take away the monuments of Idolatry. And the better to effect the intended Reformation, we deſire there may be a general Synod of the moſt grave, pious, learned and judicious Divines of this Iland, aſſiſted with ſome from forein parts, profeſſing the ſame Religion with us, who may conſider of all things neceſſary for the peace and good Government of the Church, and repreſent the reſults of their conſultations unto the Parliament, to be there allowed of and confirmed, and receive the ſtamp of Authority, thereby to find paſſage and obedience throughout the Kingdome.

They have malitiouſly charged us that we intend to deſtroy and diſcourage Learning, whereas it is our chiefeſt care and deſire to advance it, and to provide a competent maintenance for conſcionable and preaching Miniſters throughout the Kingdome, which will be a great encouragement to Scholars, and a certain means whereby the want, meanneſs and ignorance to which a great part of the Clergy is now ſubject will be prevented. And we intend likewiſe to reform and purge the fountains of Learning, the two Univerſities, that the ſtreams flowing from thence may be clear and pure, and an honour and comfort to the whole Land.

They have ſtrained to blaſt our proceedings in Parliament, by wreſting the interpretation of our Orders from their genuine intention. They tell the people, that our medling with the power of Epiſcopacy hath cauſed Sectaries and Conventicles, when Idolatry and Popiſh Ceremonies introduced in the Church by the command of the Biſhops have not only debarred the people from thence, but expelled them from the Kingdome. Thus with *Eliah* we are called by this malignant party the Troublers of the State ; and ſtill while we endeavour to reform their abuſes, they make us the Authours of thoſe miſchiefs we ſtudy to prevent.

For the perfecting of the Work begun, and removing all future impediments, we conceive theſe courſes will be very effectual : ſeeing the Religion of the Papiſts hath ſuch Principles as do certainly tend to the deſtruction and extirpation of all Proteſtants, when they ſhall have opportunity to effect it ;

It is neceſſary in the firſt place to keep them in ſuch a condition as that they may not be able to doe us any hurt. And for avoiding of ſuch connivence and favour as hath heretofore been ſhewed unto them, that His Majeſty be pleaſed to grant a ſtanding Commiſſion to ſome choice men named in Parliament, who may take notice of their encreaſe, their counſels and proceedings, and uſe all due means by execution of the Laws to prevent all miſchievous deſigns againſt the Peace and Safety of this Kingdome. That ſome good courſe be taken to diſcover the counterfeit and falſe conformity of Papiſts to the Church ; by colour whereof perſons very much diſaffected to the true Religion have been admitted into place of greateſt authority and truſt in the Kingdome.

For the better preſervation of the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdome, that all illegal Grievances and Exactions be preſented and puniſhed at the Seſſions and Aſſizes : and that Judges and Juſtices be very carefull to give this in charge to the Grand-Jury, and both the Sheriffe and Juſtices to be ſworn to the due execution of the Petition of Right and other Laws. That His Majeſty be humbly petitioned by both Houſes, to employ ſuch Counſellours, Ambaſſadours and other Miniſters in managing His buſineſs at home and abroad, as the Parliament may have cauſe to confide in ; without which we cannot give His Majeſty ſuch Supplies for ſupport of His own eſtate, nor ſuch aſſiſtance to the Proteſtant party beyond the Sea as is deſired. It may often fall out that the Commons may have juſt cauſe to take exceptions at ſome men for being Counſellours, and yet not charge thoſe men with crimes: for there be grounds of diffidence which lye not in proof ; there are others which, though they may be proved, yet are not legally criminal. To be a known favourer of Papiſts, or to have been very forward in defending or countenancing ſome great Offendors queſtioned in Parliament, or to ſpeak contemptuouſly of either Houſe of Parliament or Parliamentary proceedings, or ſuch as are Factours or Agents for any forein

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Prince of another Religion, ſuch are juſtly ſuſpect to get Counſellours places, or any other of truſt concerning publick employment, for money. For all theſe and divers others we may have great reaſon to be earneſt with His Majeſty, not to put His great affairs into ſuch hands, though we may be unwilling to proceed againſt them in any legal way of charge or impeachment. That all Counſellours of State may be ſworn to obſerve thoſe Laws which concern the Subject in his Liberty. That they may likewiſe take an Oath, not to receive or give reward or penſion from any forein Prince, but ſuch as they ſhall within ſome reaſonable time diſcover to the Lords of His Majeſties Councel: And although they ſhould wickedly forſwear themſelves, yet it may herein doe good, to make them known to be falſe and perjured to thoſe who employ them, and thereby bring them into as little credit with them as with us. That His Majeſty may have cauſe to be in love with good counſel and good men, by ſhewing Him in an humble and dutiful manner how full of advantage it would be to Himſelf, to ſee His own eſtate ſetled in a plentiful condition to ſupport His Honour; to ſee His people united in waies of Duty to Him and endeavours of the publick good; to ſee Happineſs, Wealth, Peace and Safety derived to His own Kingdome, and procured to His Allies, by the influence of His own Power and Government. That all good courſes may be taken to unite the two Kingdomes of *England* and *Scotland*, to be mutually aiding and aſſiſting of one another for the common good of the Iland, and honour of both. To take away all differences amongſt our ſelves for matters indifferent in their own nature concerning Religion; and to unite our ſelves againſt the common enemies, which are the better enabled by our Diviſions to deſtroy us all, as they hope and have often endeavoured. To labour by all offices of friendſhip to unite the forein Churches with us in the ſame Cauſe, and to ſeek their liberty, ſafety and proſperity, as bound thereunto both by charity to them and by wiſdome for our own good. For by this means our own ſtrength ſhall be encreaſed, and by a mutual concurrence to the ſame common End we ſhall be enabled to procure the good of the whole body of the Proteſtant profeſſion.

If theſe things may be obſerved, we doubt not but God will crown this Parliament with ſuch ſucceſs as ſhall be the beginning and foundation of more Honour and Happineſs to His Majeſty then ever yet was enjoyed by any of His Royal Predeceſſours.

Die Mercurii, 15. *Decemb.* 1641.

It is this day reſolved upon the Queſtion by the Houſe of Commons, that Order ſhall be now given for the Printing of this REMONSTRANCE *of the State of the Kingdome.*

H. Elſinge Cler. Parl. D. Com.

His

His MAJESTIES *Answer to the Petition which accompanied the Declaration presented to Him at* Hampton-Court, 1 December 1641.

WE having received from you, soon after Our return out of *Scotland*, a long Petition, consisting of many desires of great moment, together with a Declaration of a very unusual nature annexed thereunto, We had taken some time to consider of it, as befitted Us in a matter of that consequence, being confident that your own reason and regard to Us, as well as Our expres intimation by Our Comptroller to that purpose, would have restrained you from the publishing of it, till such time as you should have received Our Answer to it: But, much against our expectation, finding the contrary, that the said Declaration is already abroad in Print by directions from your House, as appears by the printed Copy, We are very sensible of the disrespect. Notwithstanding, it is Our Intention that no failing on your part shall make Us fail in Ours, of giving all due satisfaction to the desires of Our People, in a Parliamentary way; and therefore We send you this Answer to your Petition, reserving Our self in point of the Declaration, which We think unparliamentary, and shall take a course to doe that which We shall think fit in Prudence and Honour.

To the Petition We say, That although there are divers things in the Preamble of it which We are so far from admitting, that We profess We cannot at all understand them, as, *Of a wicked and malignant party prevalent in the Government; of some of that party admitted to Our Privy Councel, and to other Imployments of trust, and neareſt to Us and Our Children; of endeavours to sow among the People false Scandals and imputations, to blemish and disgrace the Proceedings of the Parliament*; all or any of which did We know of, We should be as ready to remedy and punish as you to complain of: that the Prayers of your Petition are grounded upon such Premisses as We must in no wise admit: Yet notwithstanding We are pleased to give this Answer to you.

To the first, concerning Religion, consisting of several branches We say, That for the preserving the Peace and Safety of the King-

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dome from the deſignes of the Popiſh party, We have, and will ſtill concurre with all the juſt deſires of Our People in a Parliamentarie way. That for the depriving of the Biſhops of their Votes in Parliament, We would have you conſider, that their Right is grounded upon the Fundamental Law of the Kingdome and conſtitution of Parliament. This We would have you conſider: but ſince you deſire Our concurrence herein in a Parliamentarie way, We will give no farther anſwer at this time.

As for the abridging of the inordinate power of the Clergy, We conceive that the taking away the High-Commiſsion Court hath well moderated that: but if there continue any Uſurpations or Exceſſes in their Juriſdictions, We therein neither have nor will protect them.

Unto that Clauſe which concerneth Corruptions (as you ſtyle them) in Religion, in Church-Government and in Diſcipline, and the removing of ſuch unneceſſary Ceremonies as weak Conſciences might check at; That for any illegal Innovations which may have crept in, We ſhall willingly concurre in the removal of them. That if Our Parliament ſhall adviſe Us to call a National Synod, which may duely examine ſuch Ceremonies as give juſt cauſe of offence to any, We ſhall take it into conſideration, and apply Our ſelf to give due ſatisfaction therein. But We are very ſorry to hear in ſuch general termes Corruption in Religion objected, ſince We are perſwaded in Our Conſcience, that no Church can be found upon the earth that profeſſeth the true Religion with more purity of Doctrine then the Church of *England* doth, nor where the Government and Diſcipline are joyntly more beautified and free from Superſtition then as they are here eſtabliſhed by Law; which (by the grace of God) We will with Conſtancy maintain (while We live) in their Purity and Glory, not only againſt all invaſions of Popery, but alſo from the irreverence of thoſe many Schiſmaticks and Separatiſts wherewith of late this Kingdome and this City abounds, to the great diſhonour and hazard both of Church and State; for the ſuppreſsion of whom We require your timely and active aſsiſtance.

To the ſecond prayer of the Petition, concerning the removal and choice of Counſellours, We know not any of Our Councel to whom

whom the Character set forth in the Petition can belong. That by those whom We had exposed to Trial, We have already given you sufficient testimony, that there is no man so near unto Us in place or affection whom We will not leave to the Justice of the Law, if you shall bring a particular charge and sufficient proofs against him; and of this We do again assure you: but in the mean time We wish you to forbear such general aspersions as may reflect upon all Our Councel, since you name none in particular.

That for the choice of Our Counsellours and Ministers of State, it were to debarre Us that natural liberty all Free-men have: and as it is the undoubted right of the Crown of *England* to call such persons to Our secret Counsels, to publick employment, and Our particular service, as We shall think fit; so We are and ever shall be very careful to make election of such persons in those places of trust, as shall have given good testimonies of their abilities and integrity, and against whom there can be no just cause of exception whereon reasonably to ground a diffidence: and to choices of this nature We assure you that the mediation of the neareſt unto Us hath alwaies concurred.

To the third prayer of your Petition, concerning *Ireland*, We understand your desire of not alienating the forfeited lands thereof to proceed from your much care and love, and likewise that it may be a Resolution very fit for Us to take: but whether it be seasonable to declare Resolutions of that nature before the Events of a Warre be seen, that We much doubt of. Howsoever, We cannot but thank you for this care, and your chearfull ingagement for the suppression of that Rebellion; upon the speedy effecting whereof the Glory of God in the Protestant Profession, the safety of the *British* there, Our Honor, and that of the Nation, so much depends. All the Interests of this Kingdome being so involved in that business, We cannot but quicken your affections therein, and shall desire you to frame your Counsels, and to give such expedition to the Work, as the nature thereof and the pressures in point of Time require, and whereo you are put in mind by the daily insolence and increase of thos Rebels.

For Conclusion, your promise to apply your selves to such course as may support Our Royall Estate with Honour and Plenty at hom

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and with Power and Reputation abroad, is that which We have ever promiſed Our ſelf both from your Loyalties and Affections, and alſo for what We have already done, and ſhall daily goe adding unto, for the comfort and happineſs of Our People.

His MAJESTIES *Declaration to all His loving Subjects: Publiſhed with the Advice of His Privie Councel.*

ALthough We do not believe that Our Houſe of Commons intended by their Remonſtrance of the State of the Kingdom to put Us to any Apologie either for Our paſt or preſent Actions; notwithſtanding, ſince they have thought it ſo very neceſſary (upon their obſervation of the preſent Diſtemper) to publiſh the ſame, for the ſatisfaction of all Our loving Subjects, We have thought it very ſutable to the duty of Our place, (with which God hath truſted Us) to doe Our part to ſo good a Work: in which We ſhall not think it below Our Kingly Dignity to deſcend to any particular which may compoſe and ſettle the affections of Our meaneſt Subjects, ſince We are ſo conſcious to Our Self of ſuch upright Intentions and Endeavours, and onely of ſuch, (for which We give God thanks) for the Peace and Happineſs of Our Kingdom, in which the Proſperity of Our Subjects muſt be included, that We wiſh from Our heart that even Our moſt ſecret Thoughts were publiſhed to their view and examination. Though We muſt confeſs We cannot but be very ſorry in this conjuncture of time (when the unhappineſs of this Kingdom is ſo generally underſtood abroad) there ſhould be ſuch a neceſsity of publiſhing ſo many Particulars, from which We pray no Inconveniences may inſue that were not intended.

We ſhall in few words paſs over that part of the Narrative, wherein the Misfortunes of this Kingdom from Our firſt entering to the Crown to the beginning of this Parliament are remembred in ſo ſenſible expreſsions: and that other which acknowledgeth the many good Laws paſſed by Our Grace and Favour this Parliament, for the Security of Our People; of which We ſhall onely ſay thus much, That as We have not refuſed to paſs any Bill preſented to Us by Our Parliament for redreſs of thoſe Grievances mentioned in the

Remonſtrance, ſo We have not had a greater Motive for the paſsing thoſe Laws then Our own reſolution (grounded upon Our Obſervation and underſtanding the ſtate of Our Kingdom) to have freed Our Subjects for the future from thoſe Preſſures which were grievous to them, if thoſe Laws had not been propounded, which therefore We ſhall as inviolably maintain as We look to have Our own Rights preſerved, not doubting but all Our loving Subjects will look on thoſe Remedies with that full gratitude and affection, that even the memory of what they have formerly undergone by the Accidents and neceſsities of thoſe times will not be unpleaſant to them: and poſsibly in a pious ſenſe of God's bleſsing upon this Nation (how little ſhare ſoever We ſhall have of the acknowledgement) they will confeſs they have enjoyed a great meaſure of happineſs (even theſe laſt ſixteen years) both in Peace and Plenty, not onely comparatively in reſpect of their Neighbours, but even of thoſe times which were juſtly accounted Fortunate.

The Fears and Jealouſies which may make ſome impreſsion in the mindes of Our People We will ſuppoſe may be of two ſorts; either for Religion, or Liberty and their Civil Intereſts. The Fears for Religion may haply be, not onely as Ours here eſtabliſhed may be invaded by the *Romiſh* partie, but as it is accompanied with ſome Ceremonies, at which ſome tender Conſciences really are or pretend to be ſcandalized; for of any other, which have been uſed without any legal Warrant or Injunction, and already are or ſpeedily may be aboliſhed, We ſhall not ſpeak.

Concerning Religion, as there may be any ſuſpicion of favour or inclination to the Papiſts, We are willing to declare to all the world, That as We have been from Our Childehood brought up in, and practiſed the Religion now eſtabliſhed in this Kingdom, ſo it is well known, We have (not contented ſimply with the Principles of Our Education) given a good proportion of Our time and pains to the examination of the grounds of this Religion, as it is different from that of *Rome*; and are from Our Soul ſo fully ſatisfied and aſſured that it is the moſt pure and agreeable to the Sacred Word of God of any Religion now practiſed in the Chriſtian world, that as We believe We can maintain the ſame by unanſwerable reaſons, ſo We hope We ſhould readily ſeal to it by the effuſion of Our Blood, if it

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pleased God to call Us to that sacrifice. And therefore nothing can be so acceptable unto Us as any Proposition which may contribute to the advancement of it here, or the propagation of it abroad, being the onely means to draw down a Blessing from God upon Our selves and this Nation. And We have been extremely unfortunate, if this profession of Ours be wanting to Our People; Our constant practice in Our own Person having alwayes been (without ostentation) as much to the evidence of Our Care and Duty herein, as We could possibly tell how to express.

For differences amongst our selves for matters indifferent in their own nature concerning Religion, We shall, in tenderness to any number of Our loving Subjects, very willingly comply with the Advice of Our Parliament, that some Law may be made for the exemption of Tender Consciences from punishment or prosecution for such Ceremonies and in such cases which by the judgement of most men are held to be matters indifferent, and of some to be absolutely unlawful. Provided that this ease be attempted and pursued with that modesty, temper and submission, that in the mean time the Peace and Quiet of the Kingdom be not disturbed, the Decency and comelineſs of God's Service discountenanced, nor the pious, sober and devout actions of those Reverend Persons who were the first labourers in the blessed Reformation, or of that time, be scandal'd and defamed. For We cannot without grief of heart, and without some tax upon Our Self and Our Ministers for the not execution of Our Laws, look upon the bold Licence of some men, in printing of Pamphlets, in preaching and printing of Sermons, so full of bitterness and malice against the present Government, against the Laws established, so full of Sedition against Our Self and the Peace of the Kingdom, that We are many times amazed to consider by what Eyes these things are seen, and by what Ears they are heard. And therefore VVe have good cause to command, as VVe have done, and hereby do, all Our Judges and Ministers of Justice, Our Attorney and Sollicitor General, and the rest of Our learned Counsel, to proceed with all speed against such and their Abettors, who either by writing or words have so boldly and maliciously violated the Laws, disturbed the peace of the Commonwealth, and, as much as in them lies, shaken the very foundation upon which

that Peace and Happineſs is founded and conſtituted. And We doubt not but all Our loving Subjects will be very ſenſible that this buſie, virulent demeanour, is a fit Prologue to nothing but Confuſion; and if not very ſeaſonably puniſhed and prevented, will not only be a blemiſh to that wholeſome Accommodation We intend, but an unſpeakable ſcandal and imputation even upon the Profeſsion and Religion of this Our Kingdom of *England*.

Concerning the Civil Liberties and Intereſt of Our Subjects We ſhall need to ſay the leſs, having erected ſo many laſting Monuments of Our Princely and Fatherly care of Our People in thoſe many excellent Laws paſſed by Us this Parliament, which in truth (with very much content to Our Self) We conceive to be ſo large and ample, that very many ſober men have very little left to wiſh for.

We underſtood well the Right and pretences of Right We departed from in the conſenting to the Bills of the Triennial Parliament, for the Continuance of this preſent Parliament, and in the Preamble to the Bill of Tonnage and Poundage; the matter of which having begot ſo many diſturbances in late Parliaments, We were willing to remove, that no Intereſt of Ours might hereafter break that correſpondence, abundantly contenting Our ſelf with an Aſſurance (which We ſtill have) that We ſhould be repaired and ſupplied by a juſt proportion of Confidence, Bounty, and Obedience of Our People. In the Bills for the taking away the High-Commiſsion and Star-chamber Courts We believed We had given that real ſatisfaction, that all jealouſies and apprehenſions of arbitrary preſſures under the Civil or Eccleſiaſtical State would eaſily have been abandoned, eſpecially when they ſaw all poſsible doubts ſecured by the viſitation of a Triennial Parliament.

Theſe, and others of no mean conſideration, We had rather ſhould be valued in the hearts and affections of Our People, then in any mention of Our own; not doubting but as We have taken all theſe occaſions to render their condition moſt comfortable and happy, ſo they will alwayes, in a grateful and dutiful relation, be ready with equal tenderneſs and alacrity to advance Our Rights and preſerve Our Honour, upon which their own Security and ſubſiſtence ſo much depends. And We will be ſo careful, that no particular

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ſhall be preſented unto Us for the compleating and eſtabliſhing that Security, to which We will not with the ſame readineſs contribute Our beſt aſsiſtance.

If theſe Reſolutions be the effects of Our preſent Counſells, (and We take God to witneſs that they are ſuch, and that all Our loving Subjects may confidently exſpect the benefit of them from Us) certainly no ill deſign upon the Publick can accompany ſuch Reſolutions, neither will there be great cauſe of ſuſpicion of any Perſons preferred by Us to degrees of Honour and places of Truſt and imployment ſince this Parliament. And We muſt confeſs, that amongſt Our misfortunes We reckon it not the leaſt, That having not retained in Our Service, nor protected any one Perſon againſt whom Our Parliament hath excepted during the whole ſitting of it, and having in all that time ſcarce vouchſafed to any man an inſtance of Our Grace and Favour but to ſuch who were under ſome eminent character of Eſtimation amongſt Our People, there ſhould ſo ſoon be any miſunderſtanding or jealouſie of their Fidelity and uprightneſs, eſpecially in a time when We take all occaſions to declare, that We conceive Our ſelf onely capable of being ſerved by honeſt men and in honeſt wayes. However, if in truth We have been miſtaken in ſuch Our election, the particular ſhall be no ſooner diſcovered to Us, either by Our own obſervation or other certain information, then We will leave them to publick Juſtice under the marks of Our Diſpleaſure.

If notwithſtanding this any Malignant Party ſhall take heart, and be willing to ſacrifice the Peace and Happineſs of their Country to their own ſiniſter ends and ambitions, under what pretence of Religion and Conſcience ſoever; if they ſhall endeavour to leſſen Our Reputation and Intereſt, and to weaken Our lawful Power and Authority with Our good Subjects; if they ſhall go about, by diſcountenancing the preſent Laws, to looſen the bonds of Government, that all Diſorder and Confuſion may break in upon Us; We doubt not but God in his good time will diſcover them unto Us, and the wiſedome and courage of Our High Court of Parliament joyn with Us in their ſuppreſsion and puniſhment.

Having now ſaid all that We can to expreſs the clearneſs and uprightneſs of Our Intentions to Our People, and done all We can to

manifeſt thoſe Intentions, We cannot but confidently believe all Our good Subjects will acknowledge Our part to be fully performed, both in Deeds paſt and preſent Reſolutions, to doe whatſoever with Juſtice may be required of Us, and that their quiet and proſperity depends now wholly upon themſelves, and is in their own power, by yielding all obedience and due reverence to the Law, which is the inheritance of every Subject, and the onely ſecurity he can have for his Life, Liberty or Eſtate, and the which being neglected or diſeſteemed (under what ſpecious ſhews ſoever) a great meaſure of Infelicity, if not an irreparable Confuſion, muſt without doubt fall upon them. And We doubt not it will be the moſt acceptable Declaration a King can make to His Subjects, that for Our part We are reſolved not onely duly to obſerve the Laws Our Self, but to maintain them againſt what oppoſition ſoever, though with the hazard of Our Being.

And Our hope is, that not onely the Loyalty and good Affections of all Our loving Subjects will concur with Us in the conſtant preſerving a good underſtanding between Us and Our People, but at this time their own and Our Intereſt, and compaſsion of the lamentable condition of Our poor Proteſtant Subjects in *Ireland*, will invite them to a fair intelligence and Unity amongſt themſelves; that ſo We may with one heart intend the relieving and recovering that unhappy Kingdom, where thoſe barbarous Rebels practiſe ſuch inhumane and unheard-of Outrages upon Our miſerable people, that no Chriſtian eare can hear without horrour, nor Story parallel. And as We look upon this as the greateſt affliction it hath pleaſed God to lay upon Us; ſo Our unhappineſs is increaſed, in that by the Diſtempers at home ſo early remedies have not been applyed to thoſe growing evils as the exſpectation and neceſsity there requires: though for Our part, as We did upon the firſt notice acquaint Our Parliament of *Scotland* (where We then were) with that Rebellion, requiring their aid and aſsiſtance, and gave like ſpeedy intimation and recommendation to Our Parliament here; ſo ſince Our return hither, We have been forward to all things which have been propoſed to Us towards that Work, and have lately Our Self offered (by a Meſſage to Our Houſe of Peers, and communicated to Our Houſe of Commons) to take upon Us the care to raiſe ſpeedily

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ten thousand *English* Voluntiers for that Service, if the House of Commons shall declare that they will pay them. Which particulars We are (in a manner) necessitated to publish, since We are informed that the Malice of some persons hath whispered it abroad, That the no speedier advancing of this business hath proceeded from some want of alacrity in Us to this great Work; whereas We acknowledge it a high crime against Almighty God, and inexcusable to Our good Subjects of Our three Kingdomes, if We did not to the utmost imploy all Our powers and faculties to the speediest and most effectual assistance and protection of that distressed People.

And We shall now conjure all Our good Subjects (of what degree soever) by all the Bonds of Love, Duty or Obedience, that are precious to good men, to joyn with Us for the recovery of the Peace of that Kingdom, and the preservation of the Peace of this; to remove all their Doubts and Fears, which may interrupt their Affection to Us, and all their Jealousies and apprehensions, which may lessen their Charity to each other: and then (if the Sins of this Nation have not prepared an inevitable Judgement for us all) God will yet make Us a Great and a Glorious King over a Free and Happy People.

To the Kings most Excellent Majesty, and the Lords and Peers now assembled in Parliament,

The humble PETITION *and* PROTESTATION *of all the* Bishops *and* Prelates *now called by His Majesties Writs to attend the Parliament, and present about* London *and* Westminster *for that service.* MDCXLI.

THat whereas the Petitioners are called up by several and respective Writs, and under great Penalties, to attend in Parliament, and have a clear and indubitate Right to vote in Bills and other matters whatsoever debatable in Parliament, by the Ancient Customes, Laws and Statutes of this Realme, and ought to be protected by Your Majesty, quietly to attend and prosecute that great Service:

They humbly remonstrate and protest before God, Your Majesty, and the Noble Lords and Peers now assembled in Parliament, That as they have an indubitate Right to sit and vote in the House of the Lords, so are they (if they may be protected from Force and Violence) most ready and willing to perform their Duties accordingly: and that they do abominate all Actions or Opinions tending to Popery, and the maintenance thereof; as also all propension and inclination to any Malignant party, or any other side or party whatsoever, to the which their own Reasons and Consciences shall not move them to adhere.

But whereas they have been at ſeveral times violently Menaced, Affronted, and Aſſaulted by multitudes of people, in their coming to perform their ſervices in that Honourable Houſe, and lately chaſed away, and put in danger of their lives, and can find no redreſs or protection, upon ſundry complaints made to both Houſes in theſe particulars:

They likewiſe humbly proteſt before Your Majeſty and the Noble Houſe of Peers, That ſaving unto themſelves all their Rights and Intereſts of Sitting and Voting in that Houſe at other times, they dare not Sit or Vote in the Houſe of Peers, untill Your Majeſty ſhall further ſecure them from all Affronts, Indignities and Dangers in the premiſſes.

Laſtly, Whereas their Fears are not built upon Phantaſies and Conceits, but upon ſuch Grounds and Objects as may well terrifie men of good Reſolutions and much Conſtancy; they do in all humility proteſt before Your Majeſtie and the Peers of that moſt Honourable Houſe of Parliament, againſt all Laws, Orders, Votes, Reſolutions and Determinations, as in themſelves Null and of none effect, which in their abſence, ſince the twenty ſeventh of this inſtant Moneth of *December* 1641. have already paſſed; as likewiſe againſt all ſuch as ſhall hereafter paſs in that moſt Honourable Houſe, during the time of this their forced and violent abſence from the ſaid moſt Honourable Houſe: Not denying, but if their abſenting of themſelves were wilfull and voluntary, that moſt Honourable Houſe might proceed in all theſe premiſſes, their Abſence or this their Proteſtation notwithſtanding.

And humbly beſeeching Your moſt Excellent Majeſty to command the Clerk of that Houſe of Peers to enter this their Petition and Proteſtation among his Records,

They will ever pray to God to bleſs
and preſerve, &c.

Jo. Eborac.	*Geo. Hereford.*
Thomas Dureſme.	*Rob. Oxon.*
Rob. Co. Lich.	*Mat. Ely.*
Joſ. Norwich.	*Godfr. Glouc.*
Jo. Aſaphen.	*Jo. Peterburg.*
Guil. Ba. & Wells.	*Mor. Llandaff.*

Articles

ARTICLES *of* HIGH TREASON, *and other High Miſdemeanours, againſt the Lord* Kimbolton, *Mr.* Denzil Hollis, *Sir* Arthur Heſilrig, *Mr.* John Pym, *Mr.* John Hamden, *and Mr.* William Stroude.

MDCXLI *Jan.* 3.

I.

THAT they have traitorouſly endeavoured to ſubvert the Fundamental Laws and Government of the Kingdome of *England*, to deprive the King of His Regal Power, and to place in Subjects an Arbitrary and Tyrannical power over the Lives, Liberties, and Eſtates of His Majeſties Liege People.

II.

That they have traitorouſly endeavoured, by many foul Aſperſions upon His Majeſtie and His Government, to alienate the Affections of His People, and to make His Majeſty odious unto them.

III.

That they have endeavoured to draw His Majeſties late Army to diſobedience to His Majeſties Commands, and to ſide with them in their Traitorous Deſignes.

IV.

That they have traitorouſly invited and encouraged a forein Power to invade His Majeſties Kingdome of *England*.

V.

That they have traitorouſly indeavoured to ſubvert the Rights and very Being of Parliaments.

VI.

That for the compleating of their Traitorous Deſignes they have indeavoured (as far as in them lay) by force and Terror to compel the Parliament to joyne with them in their Traitorous Deſignes, and to that end have actually raiſed and countenanced Tumults againſt the King and Parliament.

VII.

That they have traitorouſly conſpired to levy, and actually have levied Warre againſt the King.

Propoſitions

MDCXLII. *Jun.* 2. **PROPOSITIONS** *made by both Houſes of Parliament to the* KINGS *Majeſtie, for a Reconciliation of the Differences between His Majeſtie and the ſaid Houſes.*

YOUR Majeſties moſt humble and faithful Subjects, the Lords and Commons in Parliament, having nothing in their thoughts and deſires more pretious and of higher eſteem (next to the Honour and immediate Service of God) then the juſt and faithful performance of their Duty to Your Majeſtie and this Kingdome; and being very ſenſible of the great Diſtractions and Diſtempers, and of the imminent Dangers and Calamities which thoſe Diſtractions and Diſtempers are like to bring upon Your Majeſtie and Your Subjects, all which have proceeded from the ſubtil Inſinuations, miſchievous Practices, and evil Counſels of men diſaffected to God's true Religion, Your Majeſties Honour and Safety, and the publick Peace and Proſperity of Your People; after a ſerious obſervation of the Cauſes of thoſe Miſchiefs, do in all humility and ſincerity preſent to Your Majeſty their moſt dutiful Petition and Advice, That out of Your Princely Wiſdome, for the eſtabliſhing Your own Honor and Safety, and gracious tenderneſs of the welfare and ſecurity of Your Subjects and Dominions, You will be pleaſed to grant and accept theſe their humble Deſires and Propoſitions, as the moſt neceſſary effectual means, through God's bleſsing, of removing thoſe Jealouſies and Differences which have unhappily fallen betwixt You and Your People, and procuring both Your Majeſty and them a conſtant courſe of Honour, Peace and Happineſs.

I. That the Lords and others of Your Majeſties Privy Councel, and ſuch great Officers and Miniſters of State, either at home or beyond the ſeas, may be put from Your Privy Councel, and from thoſe Offices and imployments, excepting ſuch as ſhall be approved of by both Houſes of Parliament. And that the perſons put into the places and imployments of thoſe that are removed may be approved of by both Houſes of Parliament. And that all Privie-Councellours ſhall take an Oath for the due execution of their places, in ſuch form as ſhall be agreed upon by both Houſes of Parliament.

II. That the great Affairs of this Kingdome may not be concluded or tranſacted by the advice of private men, or by any unknown or unſworn Counſellors; but that ſuch matters as concern the publick, and are proper for the High Court of Parliament, which is Your Majeſties great and ſupreme Councel, may be debated, reſolved, and tranſacted only in Parliament, and not elſwhere; and ſuch as ſhall preſume to doe any thing to the contrary, ſhall be reſerved to the cenſure and judgment of Parliament: And ſuch other matters of State as are proper for Your Majeſties Privy Councel, ſhall be debated and concluded by ſuch of the Nobility and others as ſhall from time to time be choſen for that place by approbation of both Houſes of Parliament. And that no publick Act concerning the affairs of the Kingdome, which are proper for Your Privy Councel, may be eſteemed of any validity as proceeding from the Royall Authority, unleſs it be done by the advice and conſent of the major part of Your Councel atteſted under their hands. And that Your Councel may be limited to a certain number, not exceeding twenty five, nor under fifteen. And if any Counſellors place happen to be void in the Intervals of Parliament, it ſhall not be ſupplied without the aſſent of the major part of the Councel; which choice ſhall be confirmed at the next ſitting of the Parliament, or elſe to be void.

III. That the Lord *High Steward* of *England*, Lord *High Conſtable*, Lord *Chancellour*, or Lord *Keeper* of the Great Seal, Lord *Treaſurer*, Lord *Privy-Seal*, Earle *Marſhal*, Lord *Admiral*, *Warden* of the *Cinque-Ports*, chief Governor of *Ireland*, *Chancellor* of the *Exchequer*, Maſter of the *Wards*, *Secretaries* of *State*, two *Chief Juſtices*

Juſtices and *Chief Baron*, may alwaies be choſen with the approbation of both Houſes of Parliament; and in the Intervals of Parliament, by aſſent of the major part of the Councel, in ſuch manner as is before expreſt in the choice of Counſellours.

IV. That he or they unto whom the government and education of the King's Children ſhall be committed, ſhall be approved of by both Houſes of Parliament, and in the Intervalls of Parliaments, by the aſſent of the major part of the Councel, in ſuch manner as is before expreſt in the choice of Counſellours: And that all ſuch Servants as are now about Them, againſt whom both Houſes ſhall have any juſt exception, ſhall be removed.

V. That no Marriage ſhall be concluded or treated for any of the King's Children, with any forein Prince, or other perſon whatſoever abroad or at home, without the conſent of Parliament, under the penalty of a *Præmunire* unto ſuch as ſhall ſo conclude or treat any Marriage as aforeſaid; and that the ſaid Penalty ſhall not be pardoned or diſpenſed with, but by the conſent of both Houſes of Parliament.

VI. That the Laws in force againſt *Jeſuites*, *Prieſts* and *Popiſh Recuſants*, be ſtrictly put in execution, without any toleration, or diſpenſation to the contrary; and ſome more effectual courſe may be enacted by authority of Parliament, to diſable them from making any diſturbance in the State, or eluding the Law by truſts or otherwiſe.

VII. That the Votes of Popiſh Lords in the Houſe of Peers may be taken away, ſo long as they continue Papiſts: And that His Majeſty would conſent to ſuch a Bill as ſhall be drawn, for the Education of the Children of Papiſts by Proteſtants in the Proteſtant Religion.

VIII. That Your Majeſty will be pleaſed to conſent that ſuch a Reformation be made in the Church-Government and Liturgy as both Houſes of Parliament ſhall adviſe, wherein they intend to have conſultations with Divines, as is expreſſed in their Declaration to that purpoſe. And that Your Majeſty will contribute Your beſt aſſiſtance to them, for the raiſing of a ſufficient maintenance for Preaching Miniſters through the Kingdome. And that Your Majeſty will be pleaſed to give Your conſent to Laws for the taking away of Innovations and Superſtition, and of Pluralities, and againſt Scandalous Miniſters.

IX. That Your Majeſtie will be pleaſed to reſt ſatisfied with that courſe that the Lords and Commons have appointed for ordering the *Militia*, untill the ſame ſhall be further ſetled by a Bill: And that Your Majeſty will recall Your Declarations and Proclamations againſt the Ordinance made by the Lords and Commons concerning it.

X. That ſuch Members of either Houſe of Parliament as have during this preſent Parliament been put out of any Place and Office, may either be reſtored to that Place and Office, or otherwiſe have ſatisfaction for the ſame, upon the Petition of that Houſe whereof he or they are Members.

XI. That all Privie-Counſellours and Judges may take an Oath, the form whereof to be agreed on and ſetled by Act of Parliament, for the maintaining of the Petition of Right, and of certain Statutes made by this Parliament which ſhall be mentioned by both Houſes of Parliament. And that an inquiry of all the breaches and violations of theſe Laws may be given in charge by the Juſtices of the King's Bench every Terme, and by the Judges of Aſſize in their Circuits, and Juſtices of Peace at the Seſſions, to be preſented and puniſhed according to Law.

XII. That all the Judges and all Officers placed by approbation of both Houſes of Parliament, may hold their places *Quam diu bene ſe geſſerint*.

XIII. That

XIII. That the Juſtice of Parliament may paſs upon all Delinquents, whether they be within the Kingdome or fled out of it: And that all perſons cited by either Houſe of Parliament may appear and abide the cenſure of Parliament.

XIV. That the General Pardon offered by Your Majeſty may be granted with ſuch Exceptions as ſhall be adviſed by both Houſes of Parliament.

XV. That the Forts and Caſtles of this Kingdome may be put under the Command and Cuſtody of ſuch perſons as Your Majeſty ſhall appoint with the approbation of Your Parliament; and in the Intervals of Parliament, with the approbation of the major part of the Councell, in ſuch manner as is before expreſſed in the choice of Counſellours.

XVI. That the extraordinary Guards and Military Forces now attending Your Majeſty may be removed and diſcharged: And that for the future You will raiſe no ſuch Guards or extraordinary Forces, but according to Law, in caſe of actual Rebellion or Invaſion.

XVII. That Your Majeſty will be pleaſed to enter into a more ſtrict Alliance with the States of the United Provinces, and other neighbour-Princes and States of the Proteſtant Religion, for the defence and maintenance thereof againſt all deſignes and attempts of the Pope and his adherents to ſubvert and ſuppreſs it; whereby Your Majeſty will obtain a great acceſs of ſtrength and reputation, and Your Subjects be much encouraged and enabled in a Parliamentary way for Your aide and aſſiſtance, in reſtoring Your Royal Siſter and the Princely Iſſue to thoſe Dignities and Dominions which belong unto them, and relieving the other diſtreſſed Proteſtant Princes, who have ſuffered in the ſame Cauſe.

XVIII. That Your Majeſty will be pleaſed by Act of Parliament, to clear the Lord *Kimbolton* and the Five Members of the Houſe of Commons in ſuch manner that future Parliaments may be ſecured from the conſequence of that evil Precedent.

XIX. That Your Majeſty will be graciouſly pleaſed to paſs a Bill for reſtraining Peers made hereafter from ſitting or voting in Parliament, unleſs they be admitted thereunto with the Conſent of both Houſes of Parliament.

And theſe our humble deſires being granted by Your Majeſty, we ſhall forthwith apply our ſelves to regulate Your preſent Revenue in ſuch ſort as may be for Your beſt advantage, and likewiſe to ſettle ſuch an ordinary and conſtant increaſe of it as ſhall be ſufficient to ſupport Your Royal Dignity in Honour and Plenty, beyond the proportion of any former grants of the Subjects of this Kingdome to Your Majeſties Royal Predeceſſors. We ſhall likewiſe put the Town of *Hull* into ſuch hands as Your Majeſty ſhall appoint with the conſent and approbation of Parliament, and deliver up a juſt account of all the Magazine; and chearfully imploy the uttermoſt of our power and endeavour in the real expreſſion and performance of our moſt dutiful and loyal Affections, to the preſerving and maintaining the Royall Honour, Greatneſs and Safety of Your Majeſty and Your Poſterity.

Die Jovis 2 die Junii, 1642.

Ordered by the Lords in Parliament, that theſe Propoſitions *ſhall be forthwith Printed and publiſhed.*

Jo. Brown *Cleric. Parliamentorum.*

His

His MAJESTIES *Answer to the Nineteen* Propositions *of both Houses of Parliament.*

BEfore We shall give you Our Answer to your Petition and Propositions, We shall tell you, that We are now clearly satisfied why the Method which We traced out to you by Our Message of the 20th of *January*, and have since so often pressed upon you, as the proper way to compose the Distractions of this Kingdom, and render it truly happy, hath been hitherto declined, and is at length thought fit to be looked upon; We now see plainly (and desire that you and all other Our good Subjects should do so too) that the Cabalists of this business have with great Prudence reserved themselves, until due preparations should be made for their Designe.

If they had unseasonably vented such Propositions as the Wisdom and Modestie of your Predecessours never thought fit to offer to any of Our Progenitours, nor We in honour or regard to Our Regal Authority (which God hath entrusted Us with for the good of Our People) could receive without just indignation, (and such many of your present Propositions are) their hopes would soon have been blasted, and those Persons to whom Offices, Honours, Power and Commands were designed, by such ill timing of their business would have failed of their expectation, not without a brand upon the attempt. Therefore before any of this nature should appear, they have (certainly with great wisdom in the conduct of it) thought fit to remove a troublesome Rub in their way, *the Law*: To this end, (that they might undermine the very foundations of it) a new Power hath been assumed to interpret and declare Laws without Us by extemporary Votes, without any Case judicially before either House, (which is in effect the same thing as to make Laws without Us;) Orders and Ordinances made onely by both Houses (tending to a pure Arbitrary power) were pressed upon the people as Laws, and their obedience required to them.

Their next step was, to erect an upstart Authoritie without Us, (in whom, and onely in whom, the Laws of this Realm have placed that Power) to command the *Militia*, (very considerable to this their

Design.) In further order to it they have wrested from Us Our Magazin and Town of *Hull*, and bestridde Sir *John Hotham* in his bold-faced Treason: they have prepared and directed to the People unprecedented Invectives against Our Government, thereby (as much as lay in their power) to weaken Our just Authority and due esteem among them: they have as injuriously as presumptuously (though We conceive by this time Impudence it self is ashamed of it) attempted to cast upon Us aspersions of an unheard-of nature, as if We had *favoured a Rebellion in Our own Bowels*: they have likewise broached new Doctrine, *That We are obliged to pass all Laws that shall be offered to Us by both Houses* (howsoever Our own Judgement and Conscience shall be unsatisfied with them) a point of Policy as proper for their present business, as destructive to all Our Rights of Parliament; and so with strange shamelesness will forget a Clause in a Law still in force, made in the second year of King *H.*5. wherein both Houses of Parliament do acknowledge, *That it is of the Kings Regality to grant or deny such of their Petitions as pleaseth Himself*: they have interpreted Our necessary Guard, legally assembled for the Defence of Us and Our Childrens Persons against a Traitour in open Rebellion against Us, to be *with intent to levie War against Our Parliament*, (the thought whereof Our very Soul abhorreth) thereby to render Us odious to Our People.

They have so awed Our good Subjects with Pursivants, long chargeable Attendance, heavie Censures and illegal Imprisonments, that few of them durst offer to present their tenderness of Our Sufferings, their own just Grievances, and their sense of those violations of the Law, (the Birthright of every Subject of this Kingdom) though in an humble Petition directed to both Houses; and if any did, it was stifled in the Birth, called *Sedition*, and burnt by the common Hangman.

They have restrained the Attendance of Our ordinary and necessary Houshold-servants, and seized upon those small sums of Money which Our Credit had provided to buy Us Bread, with Injunctions that none shall be suffered to be conveyed or returned to Us to *York*, or any of Our Peers or Servants with Us; so that (in effect) they have blocked Us up in that County.

They have filled the ears of the People with the noise of Fears and

and Jealouſies, (though taken up upon truſt) tales of Skippers, Salt-Fleets, and ſuch like; by which Alarms they might prepare them to receive ſuch impreſsions as might beſt advance this Deſigne when it ſhould be ripe. And now it ſeems they think We are ſufficiently prepared for theſe bitter Pills, We are in a handſome Poſture to receive theſe *Humble Deſires*, (which probably are intended to make way for a Superfœtation of a (yet) higher nature, (if We had not made this diſcovery to you) for they do not tell Us this is all.) In them We muſt obſerve that theſe Contrivers (the better to advance their true ends) diſguiſed as much as they could their intents with a mixture of ſome things really to be approved by every honeſt man, others ſpecious and popular, and ſome which are already granted by Us: All which are cunningly twiſted and mixed with thoſe other things of their main Deſigne of Ambition and private Intereſt; in hope that at the firſt view every eye may not ſo clearly diſcern them in their proper colours.

We would not be underſtood, that We intend to fix this Deſigne upon both or either Houſe of Parliament; We utterly profeſs againſt it, being moſt confident of the Loyalty, good Affections and Integrity of the intentions of that great Body, and knowing well that very many of both Houſes were abſent, and many diſſented from all thoſe particulars We complain of. But We do believe, and accordingly profeſs to all the world, that the Malignity of this Deſigne (as dangerous to the Laws of this Kingdom, the Peace of the ſame, and the Liberties of all Our good Subjects, as to Our Self and Our juſt Prerogative) hath proceeded from the ſubtil Informations, miſchievous Practices and evil Counſels of ambitious turbulent Spirits, diſaffected to God's true Religion and the Unity of the Profeſſors thereof, Our Honour and Safety, and the publick Peace and Proſperity of Our People, not without a ſtrong influence upon the very actions of both Houſes. But how faulty ſoever others are, We ſhall (with God's aſsiſtance) endeavour to diſcharge Our Duty with uprightneſs of heart: and therefore ſince theſe Propoſitions come to Us in the name of both Houſes of Parliament, We ſhall take a more particular notice of every of them.

If the 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 9, 10, 15, 16, 19. Demands had been writ and printed in a tongue unknown to Us and Our People, it might have

been possible We and they might have charitably believed the Propositions to be such as might have been in order to the ends pretended in the Petition, (to wit) *the establishing of Our Honour and Safety, the Welfare and Security of Our Subjects and Dominions, and the removing those Jealousies and Differences which are said to have unhappily fallen betwixt Us and Our People, and procuring both Us and them a constant course of Honour, Peace and Happiness.* But being read and understood by all, We cannot but assure Our Self that this Profession joyned to these Propositions will rather appear a Mockery and a Scorn; the Demands being such, as We were unworthy of the Trust reposed in Us by the Law, and of Our Descent from so many great and famous Ancestours, if We could be brought to abandon that Power which onely can inable Us to perform what We are sworn to, in protecting Our People and the Laws, and so assume others into it, as to devest Our Self of it; although not onely Our present Condition (which it can hardly be) were more necessitous then it is, and We were both vanquish'd and a Prisoner, and in a worse condition then ever the most unfortunate of Our Predecessours have been reduced to by the most criminal of their Subjects; and though the Bait laid to draw Us to it, and to keep Our Subjects from indignation at the mention of it, the promises *of a plentiful and unparallel'd Revenue*, were reduced from generals (which signifie nothing) to clear and certain particulars: since such a Bargain would have but too great a resemblance of that of *Esau*'s, if We should part with such Flowers of Our Crown as are worth all the rest of the Garland, and have been transmitted to Us from so many Ancestours, and have been found so useful and necessary for the Welfare and Security of Our Subjects, for any present Necessity, or for any low and sordid considerations of Wealth and Gain. And therefore all men knowing that those Accommodations are most easily made and most exactly observed that are grounded upon reasonable and equal Conditions, We have great cause to believe that the Contrivers of these had no intention of setling any firm Accommodation, but to increase those Jealousies, and widen that Division which (not by Our fault) is now unhappily fallen between Us and both Houses.

It is asked, *That all the Lords and others of Our Privy Councell, and such* (We know now what you mean by *such*, but We have cause to think you

you mean *all*) *great Officers and Miniſters of State, either at home or beyond the Seas,* (For care is taken to leave out no Perſon or Place, that Our Diſhonour may be ſure not to be bounded within this Kingdome, though no ſubtile Inſinuations at ſuch a diſtance can probably be believed to have been the cauſe of our Diſtractions and Dangers) *ſhould be put from Our Privie Councel, and from thoſe Offices and imployments, unleſs they be approved by both Houſes of Parliament,* how faithfull ſoever We have found them to Us and the publick, and how far ſoever they have been from offending againſt any Law, the only rule they had, or any others ought to have, to walk by. We therefore to this part of this Demand return you this Anſwer, That We are willing to grant that they ſhall take a larger Oath then you your ſelves deſire in your Eleventh Demand, for maintaining not of any part, but of the whole Law; and We have, and do aſſure you, That We will be careful to make election of ſuch Perſons in thoſe places of truſt, as ſhall have given good teſtimonies of their abilities and integrities, and againſt whom there can be no juſt cauſe of exception, whereon reaſonably to ground a diffidence: That if We have or ſhall be miſtaken in Our election, We have and do aſſure you, that there is no man ſo near to Us in place or affection, whom We will not leave to the Juſtice of the Law, if you ſhall bring a particular charge and ſufficient proofs againſt him; and that We have given you (the beſt pledge of the effects of ſuch a promiſe on Our part, and the beſt ſecurity for the performance of their duty on theirs) a *Triennial Parliament*, the apprehenſion of whoſe Juſtice will in all probability make them wary how they provoke it, and Us wary how We chuſe ſuch as by the diſcovery of their faults may in any degree ſeem to diſcredit Our Election. But that without any ſhadow of a Fault objected, only perhaps becauſe they follow their Conſcience, and preſerve the eſtabliſhed Laws, and agree not in ſuch Votes, or aſſent not to ſuch Bills, as ſome perſons, who have now too great an Influence even upon both Houſes, judge, or ſeem to judge, to be for the publick good, and as are agreeable to that new *Utopia* of Religion and Government into which they endeavour to transform this Kingdom; (for We remember what names, and for what Reaſons, you left out in the Bill offered Us concerning the *Militia*, which you had your ſelves recommended in the

Ordinance) We will never consent to the displacing of any whom for their former Merits from, and Affection to Us and the publick, We have intrusted, since We conceive that to doe so, would take away both from the affection of Our Servants, the care of Our Service, and the Honour of Our Justice. And We the more wonder that it should be ask'd by you of Us, since it appears by the Twelfth Demand, That your selves count it reasonable, after the present turn is served, *that the Judges and Officers who are then placed may hold their places quamdiu se bene gesserint.* And We are resolved to be as careful of those We have chosen, as you are of those you would chuse, and to remove none, till they appear to Us to have otherwise behaved themselves, or shall be evicted by Legal proceedings to have done so.

But this Demand (as unreasonable as it is) is but one link of a great Chain, and but the first round of that Ladder by which Our Just, Ancient, Regal Power is endeavoured to be fetched down to the ground. For it appears plainly, that it is not with the Persons now chosen, but with Our chusing, that you are displeased: For you demand, *That the persons put into the places and imployments of those who shall be removed may be approved by both Houses*; which is so far (as to some it may at first sight appear) from being less then the power of nomination, that of two things (of which We will never grant either) We would sooner be content that you should nominate and We approve, then you approve and We nominate; the mere nomination being so far from being any thing, that if We could doe no more, We would never take the paines to doe that, when We should only hazard those whom We esteemed to the scorn of a refusal, if they happened not to be agreeable not only to the Judgement, but to the Passion, Interest or Humor of the present major part of either House. Not to speak now of the great factions, animosities and divisions which this power would introduce in both Houses, between both Houses, and in the several Countries, for the choice of persons to be sent to that place where that power was, and between the persons that were so chosen. Neither is this strange Potion prescribed to Us only for once, for the cure of a present, pressing, desperate disease, but for a Diet to Us and Our Posterity: It is demanded, *That Our Councellors, all Chief Officers both*

of

of Law and State, Commanders of Forts and Caſtles, and all Peers hereafter made (as to voting, without which how little is the reſt?) *be approved of* (that is, choſen) *by them from time to time*; and rather then it ſhould ever be left to the Crown (to whom it onely doth and ſhall belong) *if any place fall void in the intermiſſion of Parliament, the major part of the approved Councel is to approve them.* Neither is it only demanded, that We ſhould quit the Power and Right our Predeceſſors have had of appointing Perſons in theſe places, but for Councellors We are to be reſtrained as well in the Number as in the Perſons, and a power muſt be annext to theſe places which their Predeceſſors had not: And indeed if this power were paſt to them, it were not fit VVe ſhould be truſted to chuſe thoſe who were to be truſted as much as We.

It is demanded, *That ſuch matters as concern the publick, and are proper for the High Court of Parliament,* (which is Our Great and Supreme Councel) *may be debated, reſolved and tranſacted onely in Parliament, and not elſewhere; and ſuch as preſume to doe any thing to the contrary ſhall be reſerved to the Cenſure and Judgement of the Parliament: and ſuch other matters of State as are proper for Our Privy Councel, ſhall be debated and concluded by ſuch of Our Nobility* (though indeed, if being made by Us they may not vote without the Conſent of both Houſes, We are rather to call them *your* Nobility) *and others, as ſhall be from time to time choſen for that place by approbation of both Houſes of Parliament; and that no publick Act concerning the affairs of the Kingdome which are proper for Our Privie Councel, may be eſteemed of any validity as proceeding from the Royal Authority, unleſs it be done by the Advice and Conſent of the major part of Our Councel, atteſted under their hands.* Which Demands are of that nature, that to grant them were in effect at once to depoſe both Our Self and Our Poſterity.

Theſe being paſt, We may be waited on bare-headed; We may have Our hand kiſt, the ſtyle of Majeſty continued to Us, and the Kings Authority, declared by both Houſes of Parliament, may be ſtill the ſtyle of your Commands; We may have Swords and Maces carried before Us, and pleaſe Our Self with the ſight of a Crown and Scepter, (and yet even theſe Twigs would not long flouriſh, when the Stock upon which they grew were dead:) but as to true and real Power We ſhould remain but the outſide, but the Picture,

but the Signe of a King. We were ever willing that Our Parliament ſhould debate, reſolve, and tranſact ſuch matters as are proper for them, as far as they are proper for them: and We heartily wiſh, that they would be as careful not to extend their Debates and Reſolutions beyond what is proper to them, that multitudes of things puniſhable and Cauſes determinable by the ordinary Judicatures may not be entertained in Parliament, and ſo cauſe a long, chargeable, fruitleſs attendance of Our People, and (by degrees) draw to you as well all the Cauſes as all the faults of *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and divert your proper Buſineſs: That the courſe of Law be no wayes diverted, much leſs diſturbed, as was actually done by the ſtop of the proceedings againſt a Riot in *Southwark* by Order of the Houſe of Commons, in a time ſo riotous and tumultuous, as much increaſed the danger of Popular Inſolencies by ſuch a countenance to Riots and diſcountenance of Law: That you deſcend not to the leiſure of recommending Lecturers to Churches, nor aſcend to the Legiſlative power, by commanding (the Law not having yet commanded it) that they whom you recommend be received, although neither the Parſon nor Biſhop do approve of them; and that the Refuſers (according to the courſe ſo much formerly complained of to have been uſed at the Councel Table) be not ſent for to attend to ſhew cauſe; at leaſt that you would conſider Conveniency, if not Law, and recommend none but who are well known to you to be Orthodox, Learned and Moderate, or at leaſt ſuch as have taken Orders, and are not notorious depravers of the Book of Common-Prayer; a care which appeareth by the Diſcourſes, Sermons and Perſons of ſome recommended by you, not to have been hitherto taken, and it highly concerns both you in duty, and the Commonwealth in the conſequences, that it ſhould have been taken: That neither one Eſtate tranſact what is proper for two, nor two what is proper for three; and conſequently, that (contrary to Our declared will) Our Forts may not be ſeized, Our Arms may not be removed, Our Moneys may not be ſtop'd, Our legal Directions may not be countermanded by you, nor We deſired to countermand them Our Self, nor ſuch entrances made upon a real War againſt Us upon pretence of an imaginary War againſt you, and a *Chimæra* of Neceſsity. So far do you paſs beyond your limits,

whileſt

whileſt you ſeem by your Demand to be ſtrangely ſtreightned within them. At leaſt We could have wiſh'd you would have expreſſed what matters you meant as *fit to be tranſacted onely in Parliament*, and what you meant by *onely in Parliament*. You have (of late) been perſwaded by the new doctrines of ſome few, to think that proper for your debates which hath not uſed to be at all debated within thoſe walls, but been truſted wholly with Our Predeceſſors and Us, and to tranſact thoſe things which without the Regal Authority, ſince there were Kings of this Kingdom, were never tranſacted: It therefore concerns Us the more that you ſpeak out, and that both We and Our People may either know the bottom of your Demands, or know them to be bottomleſs. What concerns more the Publick, and is more (indeed) proper for the high Court of Parliament, then the making of Laws? which not only ought there to be tranſacted, but can be tranſacted no where elſe: but then you muſt admit Us to be a part of the Parliament, you muſt not (as the ſenſe is of this part of this Demand, if it have any) deny the freedom of Our Anſwer, when We have as much right to reject what We think unreaſonable as you have to propoſe what you think convenient or neceſſary; nor is it poſsible Our Anſwers either to Bills or any other Propoſitions ſhould be wholly free, if We may not uſe the Liberty of every one of you, and of every Subject, and receive advice (without their danger who ſhall give it) from any perſon known or unknown, ſworn or unſworn, in theſe matters in which the manage of Our Vote is truſted by the Law to Our own Judgement and Conſcience, which how beſt to inform is (and ever ſhall be) left likewiſe to Us: and moſt unreaſonable it were that two Eſtates propoſing ſomething to the third, that third ſhould be bound to take no advice whether it were fit to paſs, but from thoſe two that did propoſe it. We ſhall ever in theſe things which are truſted wholly to Us by the Law, not decline to hearken to the Advice of Our great Councel, and ſhall uſe to hear willingly the free debates of Our Privie Councel (whenſoever We may be ſuffered to have them for ſending for, and they ſhall not be terrified from that freedom by Votes, and Brands of Malignants and Enemies to the State, for adviſing what no Law forbids to adviſe:) but We will retain Our power of admitting no more to any

Counſel

Counsel then the nature of the business requires, and of discoursing with whom We please, of what We please, and informing Our Understanding by debate with any Persons who may be well able to inform and advise Us in some particular, though their Qualities, Education or other Abilities may not make them so fit to be of Our sworn Councel, and not tye Our Self up not to hear any more then twenty five (and those not chosen absolutely by Us) out of a Kingdom so repleniſhed with Judicious and experienced Persons in several kindes. And though We shall (with the proportionable Consideration due to them) alwayes weigh the Advices both of Our Great and Privy Councel, yet We shall also look upon their Advices as Advices, not as Commands or Impositions; upon them as Our Counsellours, not as Our Tutors and Guardians; and upon Our Self as their King, not as their Pupill or Ward. For whatsoever of Regality were by the Modesty of interpretation left in Us in the first part of the Second Demand, as to the Parliament, is taken from Us in the second part of the same, and placed in this new-fangled kinde of Counsellours, whose power is such and so expressed by it, that in all publick Acts concerning the Affairs of this Kingdom which are proper for Our Privy Councel (for whose Advice all publick Acts are sometimes proper, though never necessary) they are desired to be admitted joynt-Patentees with Us in the Regality, and it is not plainly expressed whether they mean Us so much as a single Vote in these Affairs: but it is plain they mean Us no more at most then a single Vote in them, and no more power then every one of the rest of Our Fellow-Counsellours; onely leave to Us, out of their respect and duty, (and that onely is left of all Our ancient Power) a Choice whether these that are thus to be joyned with (or rather set over) Us shall be fifteen, or twenty five; and great care is taken that the Oath which these men shall take shall be such, in the framing the form of which (though sure We are not wholly unconcerned in it) We may be wholly excluded, and that wholly reserved to be agreed upon by both Houses of Parliament.

And to shew that no more care is taken of Our Safety then of Our Power, after so great Indignities offered to Us, and countenanced by those who were most obliged to resent them, after Our Town and Fort kept from Us (from which, if it were no otherwise

Ours

Ours then the whole Kingdom is, We can no more legally be kept out then out of Our whole Kingdom, which ſure your ſelves will not deny to be Treaſon) Our Arms, Our Goods ſent away, and Our Money ſtopt from Us, Our Guards (in which We have no other Intention then to hinder the End of theſe things from being proportionable to their Beginnings) are not onely deſired to be diſmiſſed before ſatisfaction for the Injury, puniſhments of the Injurers, and care taken for Our future Security from the like; but it is likewiſe deſired, (and for this Law is pretended, and might as well have been for the reſt, which yet with ſome ingenuity are it ſeems acknowledged to be but Deſires of Grace) that We ſhall not for the future raiſe any Guards or extraordinary Forces but in caſe of actual Rebellion or Invaſion: which if it had been Law, and ſo obſerved in the time of Our famous Predeceſſours, few of thoſe Victories which have made this Nation famous in other Parts could have been legally atchieved, nor could Our bleſſed Predeceſſour Queen *Elizabeth* have ſo defended Her ſelf in 88. And if no Forces muſt be levied till Rebellions and Invaſions (which will not ſtay for the calling of Parliaments, and their conſent for raiſing Forces) be actual, they muſt undoubtedly (at leaſt moſt probably) be effectual and prevalent.

And as neither care is taken for Our Rights, Honour, nor Safety as a Prince, ſo Our Rights as a Private perſon are endeavoured to be had from Us; it being asked, that it may be unlawful and puniſhable, not only to *conclude*, but even to *treat of any Marriage with any Perſon for Our own Children, or to place Governours about them, without conſent of Parliament, and in the intermiſſion of thoſe, without the conſent of Our good Lords of the Councell*; that We may not only be in a more deſpicable ſtate then any of Our Predeceſſours, but in a meaner and viler condition then the loweſt of Our Subjects, who value no Liberty they have more then that of the free Education and Marriage of their Children; from which We are asked to debar Our Self, and have the more reaſon to take it ill that We are ſo, becauſe for Our choice of a Governour for Our Son, and of a Husband for Our Daughter, (in which the Proteſtant Religion was Our principal Conſideration) We conceived We had reaſon to expect your preſent thanks, and the increaſe of your future truſts.

We ſuppoſe theſe Demands by this time to appear ſuch, as the

Demanders

Demanders cannot be supposed to have any such real fear of Us as hath been long pretended, they are too much in the style not only of Equals, but of Conquerours, and as little to be intended for removing of Jealousies (for which end they are said to be asked, and that is not as Merchants ask at first, much more then they will take, but as most necessary to effect it; which if they be, God help this poor Kingdom, and those who are in the hands of such persons whose Jealousies nothing else will remove:) which indeed is such a way, as if there being differences and suits between two persons, whereof one would have from the other several parcels of his ancient Land, he should propose to him by way of Accommodation, that he would quit to him all those in question, with the rest of his Estate, as the most necessary and effectual means to remove all those suits and differences. But We call God to witness, that as for Our Subjects sake these Rights are vested in Us; so for their sakes, as well as for Our own, We are resolved not to quit them, nor to subvert (though in a Parliamentary way) the ancient, equal, happy, welpoised and never-enough-commended Constitution of the Government of this Kingdom, nor to make Our Self of a King of *England* a Duke of *Venice*, and this of a Kingdom a Republick.

There being three kindes of Government amongst men, absolute Monarchy, Aristocracy and Democracy, and all these having their particular conveniences and inconveniences, the experience and wisdom of your Ancestors hath so moulded this out of a mixture of these, as to give to this Kingdom (as far as humane Prudence can provide) the conveniences of all three without the inconveniences of any one, as long as the Balance hangs even between the three Estates, and they run joyntly on in their proper Chanel (begetting Verdure and Fertility in the Meadows on both sides) and the overflowing of either on either side raises no Deluge or Inundation. The ill of absolute Monarchy is Tyranny, the ill of Aristocracy is Faction and Division, the ills of Democracy are Tumults, Violence and Licentiousnes. The good of Monarchy is the uniting a Nation under one Head to resist Invasion from abroad, and Insurrection at home: the good of Aristocracy is the Conjunction of Counsel in the ablest Persons of a State for the publick benefit: the good of Democracy is Liberty, and the Courage and Industry which Liberty begets.

In

In this Kingdom the Laws are joyntly made by a King, by a Houſe of Peers, and by a Houſe of Commons choſen by the People, all having free Votes and particular Privileges. The Government according to theſe Laws is truſted to the King; power of Treaties of War and Peace, of making Peers, of chuſing Officers and Counſellours for State, Judges for Law, Commanders for Forts and Caſtles, giving Commiſsions for raiſing men to make War abroad, or to prevent or provide againſt Invaſions or Inſurrections at home, benefit of Confiſcations, power of Pardoning, and ſome more of the like kind are placed in the King. And this kind of regulated Monarchy having this power to preſerve that Authority, without which it would be diſabled to preſerve the Laws in their force, and the Subjects in their Liberties and Proprieties, is intended to draw to Him ſuch a Reſpect and Relation from the Great ones as may hinder the ills of Diviſion and Faction, and ſuch a Fear and Reverence from the People as may hinder Tumults, Violence and Licentiouſneſs. Again, that the Prince may not make uſe of this high and perpetual Power to the hurt of thoſe for whoſe good He hath it, and make uſe of the name of publick Neceſsity for the gain of His private Favourites and Followers, to the detriment of His People, the Houſe of Commons (an excellent Conſerver of Liberty, but never intended for any ſhare in Government, or the chuſing of them that ſhould govern) is ſolely intruſted with the firſt Propoſitions concerning the Levies of Moneys (which is the ſinews as well of Peace as War) and the impeaching of thoſe who for their own ends, though countenanced by any ſurreptitiouſly-gotten Command of the King, have violated that Law which He is bound (when He knows it) to protect, and to the protection of which they were bound to adviſe Him, at leaſt not to ſerve Him in the contrary. And the Lords being truſted with a Judicatory power, are an excellent Screen and Bank between the Prince and People, to aſsiſt each againſt any Incroachments of the other, and by juſt Judgements to preſerve that Law which ought to be the Rule of every one of the Three. For the better enabling them in this, beyond the Examples of any of Our Anceſtors, We were willingly contented to oblige Our Self both to call a Parliament every three years, and not to diſſolve it in fiftie daies, and for the preſent Exigent, the better to raiſe Money, and avoid the preſſure

(no less grievous to Us then them) Our People must have suffered by a longer continuance of so vast a Charge as two great Armies, and for their greater certainty of having sufficient time to remedy the inconveniences arisen during so long an absence of Parliaments, and for the punishment of the Causers and Ministers of them, We yielded up Our Right of dissolving this Parliament, expecting an extraordinary moderation from it in gratitude for so unexampled a Grace, and little looking that any *Malignent Partie* should have been encouraged or enabled to have perswaded them, first to countenance the Injustices and Indignities We have endured, and then by a new way of Satisfaction for what was taken from Us, to demand of Us at once to confirm what was so taken, and to give up almost all the rest.

Since therefore the Power Legally placed in both Houses is more then sufficient to prevent and restrain the power of Tyranny, and without the Power which is now asked from Us We shall not be able to discharge that Trust which is the End of Monarchy; since this would be a total Subversion of the Fundamental Laws, and that excellent Constitution of this Kingdom which hath made this Nation so many years both Famous and Happy to a great degree of Envie; since to the power of Punishing (which is already in your hands according to Law) if the power of Preferring be added, We shall have nothing left for Us but to look on; since the incroaching of one of these Estates upon the power of the other is unhappy in the effects both to them and all the rest; since this power of at most a joynt-Government in Us with Our Counsellors, (or rather Our Guardians) will return Us to the worst kind of Minority, and make Us despicable both at home and abroad, and beget eternal Factions and Dissentions (as destructive to publick Happiness as War) both in the chosen, and the Houses that chuse them, and the People who chuse the Chusers; since so new a Power will undoubtedly intoxicate persons who were not born to it, and beget not only Divisions among them as Equals, but in them contempt of Us as become an Equal to them, and Insolence and Injustice towards Our People, as now so much their Inferiors, which will be the more grievous unto them, as suffering from those who were so lately of a nearer degree to themselves, and being to have redress only from those that placed

them,

them, and fearing they may be inclined to preſerve what they have made both out of kindneſs and policy; ſince all great Changes are extremely inconvenient, and almoſt infallibly beget yet greater Changes, which beget yet greater Inconveniences; ſince as great an one in the Church muſt follow this of the Kingdom; ſince the Second Eſtate would in all probability follow the Fate of the Firſt, and by ſome of the ſame turbulent ſpirits Jealouſies would be ſoon raiſed againſt them, and the like Propoſitions for reconciliation of Differences would be then ſent to them as they now have joyned to ſend to Us, till (all Power being veſted in the Houſe of Commons, & their number making them incapable of tranſacting Affairs of State with the neceſſary Secrecie and Expedition, thoſe being re-truſted to ſome cloſe Committee) at laſt the Common people (who in the mean time muſt be flattered, and to whom Licence muſt be given in all their wilde humours, how contrary ſoever to eſtabliſhed Law or their own real Good) diſcovering this *Arcanum Imperii*, That all this was done by them, but not for them, grow weary of Journey-work, and ſet up for themſelves, call Parity and Independence Liberty, devour that Eſtate which had devoured the reſt, deſtroy all Rights and Proprieties, all diſtinctions of Families and Merit, and by this means this ſplendid and excellently-diſtinguiſhed form of Government end in a dark equal *Chaos* of Confuſion, and the long Line of Our many noble Anceſtors in a *Jack Cade* or a *Wat Tyler*:

For all theſe Reaſons to all theſe Demands Our Anſwer is, *Nolumus Leges Angliæ mutari.* But this We promiſe, that We will be as careful of preſerving the Laws in what is ſuppoſed to concern wholly Our Subjects, as in what moſt concerns Our Self. For indeed We profeſs to believe that the preſervation of every Law concerns Us, thoſe of Obedience being not ſecure when thoſe of Protection are violated; and We being moſt of any injured in the leaſt violation of that by which We enjoy the higheſt Rights and greateſt Benefits, and are therefore obliged to defend no leſs by Our Intereſt then by Our Duty, and hope that no Jealouſies to the contrary ſhall be any longer nouriſhed in any of Our good People by the ſubtil inſinuations and ſecret practices of men, who for private ends are diſaffected to Our Honour and Safety, and the Peace and Proſperity of Our People. And to ſhew you that no juſt indignation at ſo re-

proachful offers shall make Us refuse to grant what is probable to conduce to the good of Our good People, because of the ill company it comes in, We will search carefully in this heap of unreasonable Demands for so much as We may (complying with Our Conscience and the Duty of Our Trust) assent unto, and shall accordingly agree to it.

In pursuance of which Search, in the Fourth Proposition, under a Demand which would take from Us that Trust which God, Nature, and the Laws of the Land have placed in Us, and of which none of you could endure to be deprived, We finde something to which We give this Answer; That We have committed the principal places about Our Children to persons of Quality, Integrity and Piety, with special regard that their tender years might be so seasoned with the Principles of the true Protestant Religion, as (by the blessing of God upon this Our Care) this whole Kingdom may in due time reap the fruit thereof. And as We have likewise been very careful in the choice of Servants about them, that none of them may be such as by ill Principles or by ill Examples to cross Our endeavours for their Pious and Vertuous Education; so if there shall be found (for all Our care to prevent it) any person about Our Children (or about Us, which is more then you ask) *against whom both Houses* shall make appear to Us *any just exception*, We shall not onely *remove* them, but thank you for the Information: Onely We shall exspect, that you shall be likewise careful that there be no underhand dealing by any to seek faults, to make room for others to succeed in their places.

For the Fifth Demand, As We will not suffer any to share with Us in our power of Treaties, which are most improper for Parliaments, and least in those Treaties in which We are nearliest concerned, not only as a King, but as a Father; yet We do (such is Our desire to give all reasonable satisfaction) assure you by the word of a King, that We shall never propose or entertain any Treaty whatsoever for the Marriage of any of Our Children, without due regard to the true Protestant Profession, the good of Our Kingdoms, and the Honour of Our Family.

For the Sixth Demand, concerning *the Laws in force against Jesuits, Priests, and Popish Recusants*, We have by many of Our Messages to you,

you, by Our voluntary promiſe to you, ſo ſolemnly made, never to pardon any Popiſh Prieſt, by Our ſtrict Proclamations lately publiſhed in this point, and by the publick Examples which We have made in that caſe ſince Our Reſidence at *York*, and before at *London*, ſufficiently expreſſed Our zeal herein. Why do you then ask that in which Our own Inclination hath prevented you? And if you can yet finde any more effectual courſe to diſable them from diſturbing the State, or eluding the Law by truſts or otherwiſe, We ſhall willingly give Our Conſent to it.

For the Seventh, concerning *the Votes of Popiſh Lords*, We underſtand that they in diſcretion have withdrawn themſelves from the Service of the Houſe of Peers, (and had done ſo when uſe was publickly made of their Names to aſperſe the Votes of that Houſe, which was then counted as Malignant as thoſe who are called *Our Unknown and Unſworn Counſellors* are now.) Neither do We conceive that ſuch a Poſitive Law againſt the Votes of any whoſe blood gives them that Right is ſo proper in regard of the Privilege of Parliament; but are content, that ſo long as they ſhall not be conformable to the Doctrine and Diſcipline of the Church of *England*, they ſhall not be admitted to ſit in the Houſe of Peers, but only to give their Proxies to ſuch Proteſtant Lords as they ſhall chuſe, who are to diſpoſe of them as they themſelves ſhall think fit, without any reference at all to the giver.

As to the deſires for *a Bill for the Education of the Children of Papiſts by Proteſtants in the Proteſtant Profeſſion*, many about Us can witneſs with Us, that We have often delivered Our Opinion, that ſuch a courſe (with God's bleſsing upon it) would be the moſt effectual for the rooting out of Popery out of this Kingdom; We ſhall therefore thank you for it, and encourage you in it, and, when it comes unto Us, doe Our Duty: And We heartily wiſh, for the publick good, that the time you have ſpent in making Ordinances without Us, had been imployed in preparing this and other good Bills for Us.

For the Eighth, touching *the Reformation to be made of the Church-Government and Liturgie*, We had hoped, that what We had formerly declared concerning the ſame had been ſo ſufficiently underſtood by you and all good Subjects, that We ſhould not need to have expreſſed Our Self further in it. We told you in Our Anſwers to

your Petition presented to Us at *Hampton-Court* the first of *December*, *That for any illegal Innovations which may have crept in, We should willingly concurre in the removal of them; that if Our Parliament should advise Us to call a National Synod, which may duely examine such Ceremonies as give just cause of Offence to any, We should take it into Consideration, and apply Our Self to give due satisfaction therein; that We were perswaded in Our Conscience, that no Church could be found upon the Earth, that professeth the true Religion with more Purity of Doctrine then the Church of* England *doth, nor where the Government and Discipline are joyntly more beautified, and free from Superstition, then as they are here established by Law; which (by the grace of God) We will with Constancy maintain (while We live) in their Purity and Glory, not onely against all Invasions of Popery, but also from the Irreverence of those many Schismaticks and Separatists wherewith of late this Kingdome and Our City of* London *abounds, to the great dishonour and hazard both of Church and State; for the suppression of whom We required your timely and active assistance.* We told you in Our first Declaration, printed by the Advice of Our Privy Councel, *That for differences amongst our selves for matters indifferent in their own nature concerning Religion, We should in tenderness to any number of Our loving Subjects very willingly comply with the Advice of Our Parliament, that some Law might be made for the exemption of tender Consciences from punishment or prosecution for such Ceremonies, and in such Cases, which by the judgement of most men are held to be matters indifferent, and of some to be absolutely unlawful: Provided, that this ease should be attempted and pursued with that modestie, temper and submission, that in the mean time the Peace and Quiet of the Kingdom be not disturbed, the Decency and Comelinesse of God's Service discountenanced, nor the Pious, Sober, Devout actions of those Reverend Persons who were the first Labourers in the blessed Reformation, or of that time, be scandalled and defamed.* And We heartily wish, that others whom it concerned had been as ready (as their Duty bound them, though they had not received it from Us) to have pursued this Caution as We were, and still are willing and ready to make good every particular of that Promise. Nor did We onely appear willing to joyn in so good a Work when it should be brought Us, but prest and urged you to it by Our Message of the fourteenth of *February* in these words; *And because His Majestie observes great and*

different

different troubles to ariſe in the hearts of His People concerning the Government and Liturgy of the Church, His Majeſtie is willing to declare, That He will refer the whole conſideration to the wiſdom of His Parliament, which He deſires them to enter into ſpeedily, that the preſent Diſtractions about the ſame may be compoſed: but deſires not to be preſſed to any ſingle Act on His part, till the whole be ſo digeſted and ſetled by both Houſes, that His Majeſtie may clearly ſee what is fit to be left, as well as what is fit to be taken away. Of which We the more hoped of a good ſucceſs to the general ſatisfaction of Our People, becauſe you ſeem in this Propoſition to deſire but *a Reformation*, and not (as is daily preached for as neceſſary in thoſe many Conventicles which have within theſe nineteen moneths begun to ſwarm, and which, though their Leaders differ from you in this opinion, yet appear to many as countenanced by you, by not being puniſhed by you; few elſe, by reaſon of the Order of the Houſe of Commons of the 9th of *September*, daring to doe it) a deſtruction of the preſent Diſcipline and Liturgie. And We ſhall moſt chearfully *give Our beſt aſſiſtance for raiſing a ſufficient maintenance for Preaching Miniſters*, in ſuch courſe as ſhall be moſt for the encouragement and advancement of Piety and Learning.

For the Bills you mention, and the Conſultation you intimate, knowing nothing of the particular matters of the one (though We like the Titles well) nor of the manner of the other, but from an Informer (to whom We give little credit, and We wiſh no man did more) common Fame, We can ſay nothing till We ſee them.

For the Eleventh, We would not have the *Oath of all Privie Councellors and Judges* ſtreightned to particular Statutes of one or two particular Parliaments, but extend to all Statutes of all Parliaments, and the whole Law of the Land; and ſhall willingly conſent *that an enquiry of all the breaches and violations of the Law may be given in charge by the Juſtices of the Kings Bench every Term, and by the Judges of Aſſize in their Circuits, and Juſtices of Peace at the Seſſions, to be preſented and puniſhed according to Law.*

For the Seventeenth, We ſhall ever be moſt ready, (and We are ſorry it ſhould be thought needfull to move Us to it) not only to joyn with any (particularly *with the States of the United Provinces*, of which We have given a late proof in the Match of Our Daughter)

for the defence and maintenance of the Protestant Religion, against all designes and attempts of the Pope and his Adherents; but singly (if need were) to oppose with Our Life and Fortune *all such Designes* in all other Nations, were they joyned: And that for Considerations of Conscience, far more then any temporal end *of obtaining access of Strength and Reputation*, or any natural end *of restoring Our Royal Sister and her Princely Issue to their Dignities and Dominions*; though these be likewise much considered by Us.

For the Eighteenth, It was not Our fault that an Act was not passed *to clear the Lord* Kimbolton *and the Five Members of the House of Commons*, but yours, who inserted such Clauses into both the Preamble and Act (perhaps perswaded to it by some who wish not that you should in any thing receive satisfaction from Us) as by passing the Preamble We must have wounded Our Honour against Our Conscience, and by another Clause have admitted a Consequence from which We could never have been secured, by declaring, *That no Member of either House, upon any Accusation of Treason, could have his Person seized without the Consent of that House of which he is a Member*; though the known Law be, *That Privilege of Parliament extends not to Treason*, and if it did, any Member (the House being for a short time adjourned, and so their Consent not being so had) how treasonable soever his Intentions were, how clearly soever known, and how suddenly soever to be executed, must have fair leave given him to go on and pursue them, no way, how Legal soever, after the passing such a Clause, being left to prevent it.

To conclude, We conjure you and all men to rest satisfied with the Truth of Our Professions, and the Reality of Our Intentions; not to ask such things as deny themselves; that you declare against Tumults, and punish the Authours; that you allow Us Our Propriety in Our Towns, Arms and Goods, and Our share in the Legislative Power, which would be counted in Us not only breach of Privilege, but Tyranny and Subversion of Parliaments to deny to you: And when you shall have given Us satisfaction upon those Persons who have taken away the one, and recalled those Declarations (particularly that of the 26. of *May*, and those in the point of the *Militia*, Our just Rights wherein We will no more part with then with Our Crown, lest We enable others by them to take that from Us) which would take away the other, and declined the beginnings

nings of a War againſt Us under pretence of Our Intention of making one againſt you; as We have never oppoſed the firſt part of the Thirteenth Demand, ſo We ſhall be ready to concurre with you in the latter.

And being then confident that the Credit of thoſe men who deſire a general Combuſtion will be ſo weakned with you, that they will not be able to doe this Kingdom any more harm, We ſhall be willing to grant Our general Pardon, with ſuch Exceptions as ſhall be thought fit, and ſhall receive much more joy in the hope of a full and conſtant Happineſs of Our People in the True Religion, and under the Protection of the Law, by a bleſſed Union between Us and Our Parliament (ſo much deſired by Us) then in any ſuch increaſe of Our Own Revenue (how much ſoever beyond former Grants) as (when Our Subjects were wealthieſt) Our Parliament could have ſetled upon Us.

His MAJESTIES *Declaration, made the* 13. *of* June 1642. *to the Lords attending his Majeſty at* York, *and to others of His Majeſties Privie Councel there.*

Together with their Promiſe *thereupon ſubſcribed by them.*

Charles R.

WE do declare, That We will not require nor exact any Obedience from you, but what ſhall be warranted by the known Law of the Land; as We do exſpect, that you ſhall not yield to any Commands not legally grounded, or impoſed by any other.

And We do further declare, That We will defend every one of you, and all ſuch as ſhall refuſe any ſuch Commands, whether they proceed from Votes and Orders of both Houſes or any other way, from all dangers and hazards whatſoever.

And We do further declare, That We will defend the true Proteſtant Religion eſtabliſhed by the Law of the Land, the lawful Liberties of the Subjects of *England*, and juſt Privileges of all the three Eſtates of

Parliament:

Parliament: and ſhall require no further Obedience from you; then as accordingly We ſhall perform the ſame.

And We do declare, That We will not (as is falſly pretended) engage you, or any of you, in any War againſt the Parliament, except it be for Our neceſſary defence and ſafety againſt ſuch as do inſolently invade or attempt againſt Us or ſuch as ſhall adhere to Us.

York, 13. *Junii*, 1642.

The *Promiſe* of the ſaid *Lords* and others.

WE do engage our ſelves, not to obey any Orders or Commands whatſoever, not warranted by the known Laws of the Land.

We do engage our ſelves to defend Your MAJESTIES Perſon, Crown and Dignity, together with Your Majeſties juſt and Legal Prerogative, againſt all perſons and power whatſoever.

We will defend the true Proteſtant Religion eſtabliſhed by the Law of the Land, the lawful Liberties of the Subject of *England*, and juſt Privileges of Your Majeſtie and both your Houſes of Parliament.

And laſtly, we engage our ſelves, not to obey any Rule, Order or Ordinance whatſoever, concerning any *Militia*, that hath not the Royal Aſſent.

York, 13. *Junii*, 1642.

Subſcribed by

Lord Keeper.
L. D. of *Richmond*.
L. Marqueſs *Hartford*.
E. of *Lindſey*.
E. of *Cumberland*.
E. of *Huntington*.
E. of *Bath*.
E. of *Southampton*.
E. of *Dorſet*.
E. of *Salisbury*.
E. of *Northampton*.
E. of *Devonſhire*.
E. of *Cambridge*.
E. of *Briſtol*.
E. of *Weſtmorland*.
E. of *Berkſhire*.
E. of *Monmouth*.
E. of *Rivers*.
E. of *Newcaſtle*.
E. of *Dover*.
E. of *Carnarvon*.
E. of *Newport*.

L. *Mowbray* and *Maltravers*.
L. *Willoughby* of *Eresby*.
L. *Rich*.
L. *Ch. Howard* of *Charleton*.
L. *Newark*.
L. *Paget*.
L. *Chandos*.
L. *Falconbridge*.
L. *Paulet*.
L. *Lovelace*.
L. *Savile*.
L. *Coventry*.
L. *Mohun*.
L. *Dunſmore*.
L. *Seymour*.
L. *Grey* of *Ruthen*.
L. *Capell*.
L. *Falkland*.
Mr. Comptroller.
Mr. Secretary *Nicholas*.
Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.
L. Chief Juſtice *Banks*.

His

His MAJESTIES *Declaration to all His loving Subjects, occaſioned by a falſe and Scandalous Imputation laid upon His Majeſty, of an intention of Raiſing or Levying War againſt His Parliament, and of having raiſed Force to that end.*

Publiſhed at His Court at York, *the* 16 *day of* June.

THough We have theſe laſt ſeven moneths met with ſo many ſeveral Encounters of ſtrange and unuſual Declarations, under the names of both Our Houſes of Parliament, that We ſhould not be amazed at any new Prodigy of that kind; and though their laſt of the ſix and twentieth of *May* gave Us a fair warning, that the Contrivers of it having ſpent all their ſtock of bitter and reproachful Language upon Us, We were to expect they ſhould now break out into ſome bold and diſloyal Actions againſt Us, and having by that Declaration (as far as in them lies) deveſted Us of that Preeminence and Authority which God, the Law, the Cuſtom and Conſent of this Nation had placed in Us, and aſſumed it to themſelves, that they ſhould likewiſe with expedition put forth the fruits of that ſupreme Power for the violating and ſuppreſsing that Power they deſpiſed, (an effect of which Reſolution their wild Declaration againſt Our Proclamation concerning the pretended Ordinance for the *Militia*, and the puniſhing of the Proclaimers, appears to be:) yet We muſt confeſs, in their laſt Attempt (We ſpeak of the laſt We know, they may probably ſince, or at this preſent, have outdone that too) they have outdone what We conceive was their preſent intention; and whoſoever hears of Propoſitions and Orders for bringing in of Money or Plate to maintain Horſe, Horſmen and Arms, for the preſervation of the publick Peace, or for the Defence of the King and both Houſes of Parliament, (ſuch is their Declaration, or what elſe they pleaſe to call it, of the tenth of *June*) will ſurely believe the Peace of this Kingdom to be extremely ſhaken, and at leaſt the King himſelf to be conſulted with, and privie to theſe Propoſitions. But We hope that when Our good Subjects ſhall find, that this goodly pretence of the Defence of the King is but a ſpecious bait to ſeduce weak

and

and inconſiderate men into the higheſt Acts of Diſobedience and Diſloyalty againſt Us, and of Violence and Deſtruction upon the Laws and Conſtitutions of the Kingdom, they will no longer be captivated by an implicite Reverence to the name of both Houſes of Parliament, but will carefully examine and conſider what number of perſons are preſent, and what perſons are prevalent in thoſe Conſultations, and how the Debates are probably managed from whence ſuch horrid and monſtrous Concluſions do reſult; and will, at leaſt, weigh the Reputation, Wiſdom and Affection of thoſe who are notoriouſly known, out of the very horrour of their Proceedings, to have withdrawn themſelves, or by their skill and violence to be driven from them and their Counſels.

Whilſt their Fears and Jealouſies did ariſe, or were infuſed into the people from Diſcourſes of the Rebels in *Ireland*, of Skippers at *Roterdam*, of Forces from *Denmark*, *France*, or *Spain*, (how improbable and ridiculous ſoever that bundle of Informations appeared to all wiſe and knowing men) it is no wonder if the eaſineſs to deceive and the willingneſs to be deceived did prevail over many of Our weak Subjects, to believe that the Dangers which they did not ſee might proceed from Cauſes which they did not underſtand: But for them to declare to all the world, That We intend to make War againſt Our Parliament, (whileſt We ſit ſtill, complaining to God Almighty of the Injury offered to Us and to the very Being of Parliaments) and that We have already begun actually to levie Forces both of Horſe and Foot (whileſt We have onely, in a Legal way, provided a ſmaller Guard for the ſecurity of Our own Perſon ſo near a Rebellion at *Hull*, then they have had, without lawfull Authority, above theſe eight Moneths upon imaginary and impoſsible Dangers) to impoſe upon Our peoples Senſe as well as their Underſtanding, by telling them We are doing that which they ſee We are not doing, and intending that they all know (as much as Intentions can be known) We are not intending, is a boldneſs agreeable to no power, but the Omnipotencie of thoſe Votes whoſe abſolute Supremacy hath almoſt brought Confuſion upon King and People, and againſt which no Knowledge in matter of Fact, or Conſent and Authority in matter of Law, they will endure ſhall be oppoſed.

We have upon all occaſions with all poſsible Expreſsions profeſſed

feſſed Our faſt and unſhaken Reſolutions for Peace. And We do again (in the preſence of Almighty God, Our Maker and Redeemer) aſſure the World, that We have no more thought of making a War againſt Our Parliament then againſt Our own Children; that We will maintain and obſerve the Acts aſſented to by Us this Parliament without Violation, (of which that for the frequent aſſembling of Parliaments is one;) and that We have not, or ſhall not have any thought of uſing any force, unleſs We ſhall be driven to it for the ſecurity of Our Perſon, and for the defence of the Religion, Laws and Liberty of the Kingdom, and the juſt Rights and Privileges of Parliament. And therefore We hope the Malignant Party, who have ſo much deſpiſed Our Perſon and uſurped our Office, ſhall not by their ſpecious fraudulent inſinuations prevail with Our good Subjects to give credit to their wicked Aſſertions, and ſo to contribute their Power and Aſsiſtance for the ruine and deſtruction of Us and themſelves.

For Our Guard about Our Perſon, (which not ſo much their Example as their Provocation inforced Us to take) 'tis known, it conſiſts of the prime Gentry (in Fortune and Reputation) of this County, and of one Regiment of Our Trained Bands, who have been ſo far from offering any Affronts, Injuries or Diſturbance to any of Our good Subjects, that their principal end is to prevent ſuch; and ſo may be Security, can be no Grievance to Our People. That ſome ill-affected perſons, or any perſons, have been employed in other parts to raiſe Troops under colour of Our Service, or have made large (or any) offers of Reward and Preferment to ſuch as will come in, is, for ought We know, and as We believe, an Untruth deviſed by the Contrivers of this falſe Rumour; We diſavow it, and are confident there will be no need of ſuch Art or Induſtry to induce Our loving Subjects, when they ſhall ſee Us oppreſſed, and their Liberties and Laws confounded (and till then We ſhall not call on them) to come in to Us and to aſsiſt Us.

For the Delinquents whom We are ſaid with a high and forcible hand to protect, let them be named, and their Delinquency, and if We give not ſatisfaction to Juſtice, when We ſhall have received ſatisfaction concerning Sir *John Hotham*, by his legal Triall, then let Us be blamed. But if the Deſigne be (as it is well known to be)

after We have been driven by force from Our City of *London*, and kept by force from our Town of *Hull*, to protect all those who are Delinquents against Us, and to make all those Delinquents who attend on Us or execute Our lawful Commands, We have great reason to be satisfied in the Truth and Justice of such Accusation, lest to be Our Servant and to be a Delinquent grow to be termes so convertible, that in a short time We be left as naked in Attendance as they would have Us in Power, and so compell Us to be waited on only by such whom they shall appoint and allow, and in whose presence We should be more miserably alone then in Desolation it self. And if the seditious Contrivers and Fomenters of this Scandal upon Us shall have (as they have had) the power to mis-lead the major part present of either or both Houses, to make such Orders and send such Messages and Messengers as they have lately done, for the apprehension of the great Earls and Barons of *England*, as if they were Rogues or Felons, and whereby Persons of Honour and Quality are made Delinquents merely for attending upon Us and upon Our Summons, whilest other men are forbid to come near Us (though obliged by the Duty of their Places and Oaths) upon Our lawful Commands; 'tis no wonder if such Messengers are not very well intreated, and such Orders not obeyed: Neither can there be a surer and a cunninger way found out to render the Authority of both Houses scorned and vilified, then to assume to themselves (merely upon the Authority of the Name of Parliament) a power monstrous to all Understandings, and to doe Actions and to make Orders evidently and demonstrably contrary to all known Law and Reason, (as to take up Arms against Us, under colour of defending Us; to cause Money to be brought in to them, and to forbid Our own Money to be paid to Us or to Our use, under colour that We will imploy it ill; to beat Us and starve Us for Our own good, and by Our own Power and Authority) which must in short time make the greatest Court and the greatest Person cheap and of no estimation.

Who those sensible men are of the publick Calamities, of the Violations of the Privileges of Parliament, and the common Liberty of the Subject, who have been baffled & injured by Malignant men and Cavaliers about Us, We cannot imagine: And if those Cavaliers are

so

ſo much without the fear of God and Man, and ſo ready to commit all manner of Outrage and Violence as is pretended, Our Government ought to be the more eſteemed, which hath kept them from doing ſo, inſomuch as We believe no Perſon hath cauſe to complain of any injury or of any damage in the leaſt degree by any man about, or who hath offered his ſervice to Us. All which being duly conſidered, if the Contrivers of theſe Propoſitions and Orders had been truly ſenſible of the Obligation which lies upon them in Honour, Conſcience and Duty, according to the high Truſt repoſed in them by Us and Our People, they would not have publiſhed ſuch a ſenſe and apprehenſion of imminent Danger, when themſelves in their Conſciences know, that the greateſt, and indeed onely, Danger which threatens this Church and State, the bleſſed Religion and Libertie of Our People, is in their own deſperate and ſeditious Deſignes; and would not endeavour upon ſuch weak and groundleſs Reaſons to ſeduce Our good Subjects from their Affection and Loyalty to Us, to run themſelves into Actions unwarrantable, and deſtructive to the Peace and Foundation of the Commonwealth.

And that all Our loving Subjects may ſee how cauſleſs and groundleſs this ſcandalous Rumour and Imputation of Our raiſing War upon Our Parliament is, We have, with this Our Declaration, cauſed to be printed the Teſtimony of thoſe Lords and other Perſons of Our Councel who are here with Us, who being upon the place, could not but diſcover ſuch Our Intentions and Preparations, and cannot be ſuſpected for their Honours and their Intereſts to combine in ſuch miſchievous and horrid Reſolutions. And therefore We ſtreightly charge and command all Our loving Subjects upon their Allegiance, and as they will anſwer the contrary at their peril, That they yield no Obedience or Conſent to the ſaid Propoſitions and Orders, and that they preſume not, under any ſuch Pretences, or by colour of any ſuch Orders, to Raiſe or Levy any Horſe or Men, or to bring in any Money or Plate to ſuch purpoſe. But if notwithſtanding this clear Declaration and Evidence of Our Intentions, theſe men (whoſe Deſigne is to compell Us to raiſe War upon Our Parliament, which all their Skill and Malice ſhall never be able to effect) ſhall think fit by theſe Alarms to

awaken Us to a more neceſſary care of the defence of Our Self and Our People, and ſhall themſelves (under colour of Defence) in ſo unheard-of a manner provide (and ſeduce others to doe ſo too) to offend Us, having given Us ſo lively teſtimony of their Affections what they are willing to doe, when they have once made themſelves able, all Our good Subjects will think it neceſſary to look to Our Self: and We do then excite all Our well-affected people, according to their Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacie, and according to their ſolemn Vow and Proteſtation (whereby they are obliged to defend Our Perſon, Honour and Eſtate) to contribute their beſt Aſsiſtance to the Preparations neceſſary for the oppoſing and ſuppreſsing of the Traitorous Attempts of ſuch wicked and Malignant perſons, who would deſtroy Our Perſon, Honour and Eſtate, and ingage the whole Kingdom in a Civil War, to ſatisfie their own lawleſs Fury and Ambition, and ſo rob Our good Subjects of the bleſſed fruit of this preſent Parliament; which they already in ſome degree have, and might ſtill reap, to the abundant ſatisfaction and joy of the whole Kingdom, if ſuch wicked hands were not ready to ruine all their poſſeſsion, and fruſtrate all their hopes.

We do therefore declare, That whoſoever, of what degree or quality ſoever, ſhall then, upon ſo urgent and viſible neceſsity of Ours, and ſuch an apparent Diſtraction of the Kingdom (cauſed and begotten by the Malice and Contrivance of this Malignant Party) bring in to Us, and to Our uſe, ready Money or Plate, or ſhall under-write to furniſh any number of Horſe, Horſmen and Arms, for the preſervation of the publick Peace, the defence of Our Perſon, and the vindication of the Privilege and Freedom of Parliament, We ſhall receive it as a moſt acceptable Service, and as a teſtimony of his ſingular Affection to the Proteſtant Religion, the Laws, Liberties and Peace of the Kingdom, and ſhall no longer deſire the continuance of that Affection, then We ſhall be ready to juſtifie and maintain thoſe with the hazard of Our Life.

And We do farther declare, That whoſoever ſhall then bring in any ſummes of Money or Plate to aſsiſt Us in this great Extremity, ſhall receive conſideration after the rate of eight pounds *per cent.* for all ſuch Moneys as he ſhall furniſh Us withall, and ſhall, upon

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the payment of ſuch Money to ſuch perſons whom We ſhall appoint to receive the ſame, receive Security for the ſame, by good lawful Aſſurance of ſuch of Our Lands, Foreſts, Parks and Houſes, as ſhall be ſufficient for the ſame, and more real Security then the name of *Publick Faith*, given without Us and againſt Us, as if We were no part of the Publick; and beſides, We ſhall alwayes look upon it as a ſervice moſt affectionately and ſeaſonably performed for the preſervation of Us and the Kingdom. But We ſhall be much gladder that their ſubmiſsion to thoſe Our Commands, and their deſiſting from any ſuch attempts of raiſing Horſe or Men, may eaſe all Our good Subjects of that trouble, charge and vexation.

His MAJESTIES *Declaration and Profeſsion, diſavowing any Preparations or Intentions in Him to Levy War againſt His Houſes of Parliament.*

By the KING.

THere having been many Rumours ſpread, and Informations given, which may have induced many to believe that We intend to make War againſt Our Parliament; We profeſs before God, and declare to all the World, that We alwayes have, and do abhorre all ſuch Deſignes, and deſire all Our Nobility and Councel who are here upon the place to declare, whether they have not been witneſſes of Our frequent and earneſt Declarations and Profeſsions to this purpoſe; whether they ſee any colour of Preparations or Counſels that might reaſonably beget a belief of any ſuch Deſigne; and whether they be not fully perſwaded that We have no ſuch Intention, but that all Our Endeavours, according to Our many Profeſsions, tend to the firm and conſtant ſettlement of the true Proteſtant Religion, the juſt Privileges of Parliament, the Liberty of the Subject, the Law, Peace and Proſperity of this Kingdom.

Given at Our Court at York, *this* 15. *of* June, 1642.

The Declaration and Profeſſion of the Lords now at York, *and others of His Majeſties moſt Honourable Privy Councel, diſavowing that they ſee any apparence of Preparations or Intentions in His* Majeſtie *to levy War againſt the Parliament.*

WE whoſe names are under-written, in Obedience to His Majeſties Deſire, and out of the Duty which we owe to His Majeſties Honour and to Truth, being here upon the place, and witneſſes of His Majeſties frequent and earneſt Declarations and Profeſſions of His abhorring all Deſignes of making War upon His Parliament, and not ſeeing any colour of Preparations or Counſels that might reaſonably beget the belief of any ſuch Deſigne, do profeſs before God, and teſtifie to all the World, that we are fully perſwaded that His Majeſtie hath no ſuch Intentions; but that all His Endeavours tend to the firm and conſtant ſettlement of the true Proteſtant Religion, the juſt Privileges of Parliament, the Liberty of the Subject, the Law, Peace and Proſperity of this Kingdom.

York, June 15. 1642.

Subſcribed by

Lord Keeper.
L. D. of *Richmond.*
L. Marqueſs *Hartford.*
L. Great Chamberlain.
E. of *Cumberland.*
E. of *Bath.*
E. of *Southampton.*
E. of *Dorſet.*
E. of *Salisbury.*
E. of *Northampton.*
E. of *Devon.*
E. of *Cambridge.*
E. of *Briſtol.*
E. of *Clare.*
E. of *Weſtmorland.*
E. of *Berkſhire.*
E. of *Monmouth.*
E. of *Rivers.*
E. of *Dover.*
E. of *Carnarvon.*
E. of *Newport.*
L. *Mowbray* and *Maltravers.*
L. *Willoughby*
L. *Grey* of *Ruthen.*
L. *C. Howard Andover.*
L. *Lovelace.*
L. *Paget.*
L. *Falconberge.*
L. *Rich.*
L. *Paulet.*
L. *Newark.*
L. *Coventry.*
L. *Savile.*
L. *Mohun.*
L. *Dunſmore.*
L. *Seymour*
L. *Capell.*
L. *Falkland.*
Mr Comptroller.
Mr Secretary *Nicholas.*
Mr Chancellor of the Exchequer.
L. Chief Juſtice *Banks.*

By

By the King.

A Proclamation forbidding all Levies of Forces without His MAJESTIES *expreſs Pleaſure ſignified under His Great Seal, and all Contributions or Aſſiſtance to any ſuch Levies.*

MDCXLII. June 8.

WHereas, under pretence that We intend to make War againſt the Parliament (the contrary whereof is notoriouſly known to all that are here, and as We hope by this time apparent to all other Our Subjects, as well by Our Declaration of the ſixteenth of *June*, as by the Teſtimony of all Our Nobility and Councel who are here upon the place) and by colour of the Authority of both Houſes of Parliament (a major part whereof are now abſent from *London*) by the contrivance of ſome few evil perſons, diſguiſing and colouring their pernicious Deſignes and hoſtile Preparations, under the plauſible names of, *the preſervation of publick Peace, and defence of Us and both Houſes of Parliament from Force and violence*, it hath been endeavoured to raiſe Troops of Horſe and other Forces;

And for that purpoſe they have prevailed, not onely to prohibit Our own Moneys to be paid to Us or to Our uſe, but, by the Name and Authority of Parliament, to excite Our Subjects to contribute their Aſsiſtance to them, by bringing in Moneys, Plate, or under-writing to furniſh and maintain Horſes, Horſemen and Arms; and to that purpoſe certain Propoſitions or Orders (as they are ſtyled by them) have been printed, whereby they have endeavoured to engage the Power and Authority of Parliament (as if the two Houſes without Us had that Power and Authority) to ſave harmleſs all thoſe that ſhall ſo contribute from all Prejudice and Inconvenience that may befall them by occaſion thereof;

And although We well hope that theſe Malignant perſons (whoſe Actions do now ſufficiently declare their former Intentions) will be able to prevail with few of Our good People to contribute their Power or Aſsiſtance unto them: Yet leſt any of Our Subjects, taking upon truſt what thoſe men affirm without weighing the grounds of it, or the danger to Us, themſelves and the Com-

monwealth, which would enſue thereupon, ſhould indeed believe (what theſe perſons would inſinuate, and have them to believe) that ſuch their Contribution and Aſsiſtance would tend to the preſervation of the publick Peace, and the Defence of Us and both Houſes of Parliament, and that thereby they ſhould not incur any danger;

We, that We might not be wanting (as much as in Us lyeth) to foreſhew and to prevent the danger which may fall thereupon, have hereby thought good to declare and publiſh unto all Our loving Subjects, That by the Laws of the Land, the power of raiſing of Forces or Arms, or levying of War for the defence of the Kingdom, or otherwiſe, hath alwayes belonged to Us, and to Us only; and that by no Power of either or both Houſes of Parliament, or otherwiſe, contrary to Our perſonal Commands, any Forces can be raiſed, or any War levied.

And therefore, by the Statute of the ſeventh year of Our famous Progenitor King *Edward* the Firſt, whereas there had been then ſome variances betwixt Him and ſome great Lords of the Realm, and, upon Treaty thereupon, it was agreed, that in the next Parliament after proviſion ſhould be made, that in all Parliaments and all other Aſſemblies which ſhould be in the Kingdom for ever, every man ſhould come without Force and Armour, well and peaceably: yet at the next Parliament, when they met together to take advice of this Buſineſs, (though it concerned the Parliament it ſelf) the Lords and Commons would not take it upon them, but anſwered, That it belonged to the King to defend force of Armour, and all other force againſt the Peace, at all times when it pleaſed Him, and to puniſh them which ſhould doe contrary, according to the Laws and Uſages of the Realm; and that they were bound to aid Him, as their Sovereign Lord, at all ſeaſons when need ſhould be. And accordingly in Parliament in after-times, the King alone did iſſue His Proclamations, prohibiting bearing of Arms by any perſon in or near the City where the Parliament was, excepting ſuch of the Kings Servants as He ſhould depute, or ſhould be deputed by His Commandment, and alſo excepting the Kings Miniſters. And by the Statute of *Northampton*, made in the ſecond year of King *Edward* the Third, it is enacted, That no man, of what condition

ſoever

ſoever he be, (except the Kings Servants, in His preſence, and His Miniſters in executing the Kings Precepts, or of their Office, and ſuch as be in their company aſsiſting them) go nor ride armed by night or day in Fairs, Markets, nor in the preſence of the Juſtices or other Miniſters, nor in no part elſewhere.

And this power of raiſing Forces to be ſolely in the King, is ſo known and inſeparable a Right to the Crown, that when, in the reign of King *Henry* the Eighth, there being a ſudden Rebellion, the Earle of *Shrewsbury*, without Warrant from the King, did raiſe Arms for the ſuppreſsion thereof, and happily ſuppreſſed it, yet was he forced to obtain his Pardon. And whereas the Duke of *Glouceſter* and other great Lords in the eleventh year of King *Richard* the Second (upon pretence of the good of the King and Kingdome, the King being then not of age, and led away, as they alleaged, by evil Counſellors) did raiſe Forces, and by them maſtered their Adverſaries; in that Parliament (ſuch as it was, for it was held and kept with force, how good uſe ſoever hath been made of the Precedents therein) they procured a ſpecial Act of Pardon for their raiſing of men, and that thoſe Aſſemblies ſhould not be drawn into example for the time to come.

And as no man can levy War or raiſe Forces without the King, ſo much leſs againſt the perſonal Commands of the King oppoſed thereunto. For by the Satute of the 25. year of King *Edward* the Third (which is but declaratory of the old Law in that point) it is Treaſon to levy War againſt the King in His Realm: Within the conſtruction of which Statute, it is true (which was ſaid in the late Declaration under the name of both Houſes of Parliament, of the 26. of *May* laſt) levying War (in ſome ſenſe) againſt the Kings Authority (though not intended againſt His Perſon) is levying War againſt the King. And therefore the raiſing of Forces, though upon pretence of removing of ſome evil Counſellors from about the Queen, hath been adjudged Treaſon in the Caſe of the late Earl of *Eſſex*, in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, and in divers other Caſes. (And We wiſh all Our Subjects to conſider, whether if men ſhall be raiſed contrary to Our Proclamation and againſt Our Will, it be not againſt Our Authority.) But it is as true (and was never denied but in that Declaration) that the raiſing of Forces againſt the Kings

perſonal

perſonal Command (being no Ideot nor Infant, uncapable of underſtanding to Command) being accompanied with His Preſence, is, and is moſt properly, levying of War againſt the King. For if it be a ſufficient pretence for raiſing of men againſt the Kings Perſon, that it is for the defence of the Kings Authority and of His Kingdom (though againſt His expreſs Command and Proclamation) the *Iriſh* Rebels will have colour for their horrid Rebellion; for they ſay (though it be notoriouſly falſe) it is for the defence of the Kings Authority and of His Kingdom. And *Wat Tyler* and *Jack Cade* and *Kett* the Tanner wanted not publick Pretences, which were perhaps juſt cauſes of Complaints, though not of raiſing of men.

And though theſe perſons have gone about ſubtilly to diſtinguiſh betwixt Our Perſon and Our Authority, as if, becauſe Our Authority may be where Our Perſon is not, that therefore Our Perſon may be where Our Authority is not; We require all Our good Subjects to take notice of the Law (which is in print and full force) * That their Allegiance is due unto the natural Perſon of their Prince, and not to His Crown or Kingdom diſtinct from His natural Capacity; and that by the Oath of Ligeance at the Common Law (which all perſons above the age of twelve years are, or ought to be, ſworn unto) they are bound to be true and faithful, not to the King onely as King, but to Our Perſon as King CHARLES, and to bear Us truth and faith of Life and Member, and earthly Honour; and that they ſhall neither know nor hear of any ill or damage intended to Us that they ſhall not defend: And that when, in the time of K. *Edward* the Second, *Hugh Spencer*, being diſcontented with the King, cauſed a Bill to be written, wherein was contained amongſt other things, That Homage and the Oath of Allegiance was more by reaſon of the Kings Crown (that is, His Kingdom) then of His Perſon; and that ſeeing the King cannot be reformed by ſuit of Law, if the King will not redreſs and put away that which is ill for the Common People and hurtful to the Crown, that the thing ought to be put away by force, and that His Lieges be bound to Govern in aid of Him and in default of Him; he was condemned for it by two Parliaments, and perpetually baniſhed the Kingdom.

* Cook 7. Report. Calvin's Caſe.

We

We have made mention of theſe Caſes, not ſo much to clear Our Right, that We alone have the power of raiſing Forces, and none of Our Subjects, either in Parliament or out of Parliament, againſt Our Will or perſonal Command (which We think no man that hath the leaſt knowledge in Our Laws, and is not led away by private Intereſts, and may ſpeak his minde freely, will deny, nor was ever queſtioned in any Parliament before this time) as to let them ſee how dangerous the effect and conſequence of raiſing of Forces without Us may be unto Us and to the Commonwealth, under pretence of Defence of both.

And though We cannot doubt of the Affections of Our good Subjects, conſidering their Intereſt is involved with Ours, and how precious the Peace of the Kingdom is, and ought to be unto them; and that, according to the words of the Statute of the eleventh year of King *Henry* the Seventh and the eighteenth Chapter, by the duty of their Allegiance they are bounden to ſerve and aſsiſt Us at all ſeaſons when need ſhall require:

Yet, to the end that Our good Subjects may know what their Duty is, and what We expect from them, and that all others who, through Malice or private Intereſts, ſhall be tranſported beyond their Duties, may be left without excuſe; We do therefore by this Our Proclamation charge and command all Our Subjects upon their Allegiance, and as they tender Our Honour and Safety, and the Peace and Safety of the Kingdom, that they preſume not to raiſe or levy any Horſes, Horſmen, or Arms, or any Forces whatſoever, by colour of any Authority whatſoever, without Our expreſs pleaſure ſignified under Our great Seal, (other then ſuch as ſhall be raiſed, levied and impreſted by the Order as well of Our Self as of both Houſes of Parliament, according to an Act made this Seſsions, intituled, *An Act for the better raiſing and levying of Souldiers for the preſent defence of the Kingdoms of* England *and* Ireland, by Juſtices of Peace, and otherwiſe, in ſuch manner as is preſcribed in the ſaid Act) or Contribute, or give any Aſsiſtance in Money, Plate, finding of Horſes, Horſmen, or Arms, or any other waies, to or for any ſuch Preparation, Levie, or Forces: And that ſuch of Our good Subjects who through Ignorance have been miſ-led to conſent or ſubſcribe to any ſuch Levie, Contribution or Aſsiſtance, forthwith, upon publication of this

Our

Our Proclamation, deſiſt from continuing ſuch their Contribution or Aſsiſtance, or giving any countenance to any ſuch Levies, at their utmoſt perils.

And We do likewiſe ſtreightly charge and command as well all Our Sheriffs, Juſtices of Peace, Maiors, Bailiffs, Conſtables, and all other Our Officers whatſoever, that they uſe their utmoſt endeavours as well for publiſhing this Our Proclamation, as for the ſuppreſsing of all Levies, or Forces raiſed, or to be raiſed, without or againſt Our conſent: as alſo all other Our loving Subjects, that they be attending, aiding and aſsiſting Our ſaid Officers and Miniſters therein, as they and every of them will anſwer it at their utmoſt perils.

Given at Our Court at York *the eighteenth day of* June, *in the eighteenth year of Our Reign*, 1642.

Votes of the Lower Houſe for raiſing an Army *againſt the* KING.

Die Martis, 12 *Julii*, 1642.

Reſolved upon the Queſtion,

THAT an Army ſhall be forthwith raiſed for the Safety of the King's Perſon, defence of both Houſes of Parliament, and of thoſe who have obeyed their Orders and Commands, and preſerving of the true Religion, the Laws, Liberty and Peace of the Kingdome.

Reſolved upon the Queſtion,

That the Earle of *Eſſex* ſhall be the General.

Reſolved upon the Queſtion,

That this Houſe doth declare, that in this Cauſe, for the Safety of the King's Perſon, defence of both Houſes of Parliament, and of thoſe who have obeyed their Orders and Commands, and preſerving of the true Religion, the Laws, Liberty and Peace of the Kingdome, they will live and die with the Earle of *Eſſex*, whom they have nominated General in this Cauſe.

A Decla-

A Declaration of the Lords and Commons, for raiſing of Forces againſt the KING:

MDCXLII. Aug. 8.

Together with His MAJESTIES *Declaration in Anſwer to the ſame.*

A Declaration of the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament, for the raiſing of all Power and Force, as wel Trained Bands as others, in ſeveral Counties of this Kingdome; to lead againſt all Traitors and their Adherents, and them to Arreſt and Impriſon, and to Fight with, Kill and Slay all ſuch as ſhall oppoſe any of His Majeſtie's *loving Subjects that ſhall be imployed in this Service by either or both Houſes of Parliament.*

WHereas certain Information is given from ſeveral parts of the Kingdom, That divers Troops of Horſe are imployed in ſundry Counties of the Kingdome, and that others have Commiſſion to raiſe both Horſe and Foot, to compel His Majeſties Subjects to ſubmit to the Illegal Commiſſion of Array, out of a Traitorous intent to ſubvert the Liberty of the Subject and the Law of the Kingdome; and for the better ſtrengthening themſelves in this wicked attempt, do joyn with the Popiſh and Jeſuitical Faction, to put the Kingdome into a Combuſtion and Civil Warre, by levying Forces againſt the Parliament, and by theſe Forces to alter the Religion, and the antient Government, and lawful Liberty of the Kingdome, and to introduce Popery and Idolatry, together with an Arbitrary Form of Government; and in purſuance thereof have Traitorouſly and Rebelliouſly levied Warre againſt the King, and by force robb'd, ſpoil'd, and ſlain divers of His Majeſties good Subjects, travelling about their lawful and neceſſary occaſions, in the Kings Protection, according to Law; and namely, that for the end and purpoſe aforeſaid, the Earle of *Northampton*, the Lord *Dunſmore*, Lord *Willoughby* of *Eresby*, Son to the Earl of *Lindſey*, *Henry Haſtings* Eſquire, and divers other unknown perſons in the Counties of *Lincoln*, *Nottingham*, *Leiceſter*, *Warwick*, *Oxford*, and other places, the Marqueſs of *Hartford*, the Lord *Paulet*, Lord *Seymour*, Sir *John Stawell*, Sir *Ralph Hopton*, *John Digby* Eſquire, and other their Accomplices, have gotten together great Forces in the County of *Somerſet*:

The Lords and Commons in Parliament, duly conſidering the great Dangers which may enſue upon ſuch their wicked and traitorous Deſignes, and if by this means the Power of the Sword ſhould come into the hands of Papiſts and their Adherents, nothing can be expected but the miſerable ruine and deſolation of the Kingdom, and the bloody maſſacre of the Proteſtants; they do Declare and Ordain, That it is and ſhall be lawfull for all His Majeſties loving Subjects, by force of Armes to reſiſt the ſaid ſeveral Parties and their Accomplices, and all other that ſhall raiſe or conduct any other Forces for the ends aforeſaid; and that the Earl of *Eſſex*, Lord General, with all his Forces raiſed by the Authority of Parliament, as likewiſe the Lord *Say*, Lieutenant of *Oxfordſhire*, Earl of *Peterborough*, Lieutenant of *Northamptonſhire*, Lord *Wharton*, Lieutenant of *Buckinghamſhire*, Earl of *Stamford*, Lieutenant of *Leiceſterſhire*, Earl of *Pembroke*, Lieutenant of *Wiltſhire* and *Hampſhire*, Earl of *Bedford*, Lieutenant of *Somerſetſhire* and *Devon*, Lord *Brook*, Lieutenant of *Warwickſhire*, the Lord *Cranborne*, Lieutenant of *Dorſetſhire*, the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, Lieutenant of *Lincolnſhire*, and all thoſe who are or ſhall be appointed by Ordinance of both

Houſes to perform the place of Deputy-Lieutenants, and their Deputy-Lieutenants reſpectively, *Denzil Hollis* Eſquire, Lieutenant of the City and County of *Briſtol*, and the Maiors and Sheriffs of the City and Deputy-Lieutenants there, and all other Lieutenants of Counties, Sheriffs, Maiors, Deputy-Lieutenants, ſhall raiſe all their Power and Forces of their ſeveral Counties, as well Trained Bands as others, and ſhall have power to conduct and lead the ſaid Forces of the ſaid Counties againſt the ſaid Traitors and their Adherents, and with them to fight, kill and ſlay all ſuch as by force ſhall oppoſe them, and the Perſons of the ſaid Traitors, and their Adherents and Accomplices, to Arreſt and Impriſon, and them to bring up to the Parliament, to anſwer theſe their Traitorous and Rebellious Attempts, according to Law; and the ſame or any other Forces to tranſport and conduct from one County to another, in aide and aſſiſtance one of another, and of all others that ſhall joyn with the Lords and Commons in Parliament for the defence of the Religion of Almighty God, and of the Liberties and Peace of the Kingdome, and in purſuit of thoſe wicked and Rebellious Traitors, their Conſpirators, Aiders and Abettors and Adherents: requiring all Lieutenants of Counties, Sheriffes, Maiors, Juſtices of Peace, and other His Majeſties Officers and loving Subjects, to be aiding and aſſiſting to one another in the Execution hereof. And for ſo doing, all the parties above mentioned, and all others that ſhall joyn with them, ſhall be juſtified, defended and ſecured by the Power and Authority of Parliament.

Die Lunæ, Aug. 8. 1642.

Ordered that this Declaration be forthwith Printed and Publiſhed.

Hen. Elſinge *Cler. Parl. D. Com.*

His MAJESTIES *Declaration, in Anſwer to a Declaration of the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament, for the raiſing of all Power and Force, as well Trained Bands, &c.*

AS much experience as We have had of the inveterate Rancour and high Inſolence of the Malignant Party againſt Us, We never yet ſaw any expreſsion come from them ſo evidently declaring it as the Declaration entituled, *A Declaration of the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament, for the raiſing of all Power and Force, as well Trained Bands as others, in ſeveral Counties of this Kingdome, to lead againſt all Traitors and their Adherents*, &c. In which that Faction hath, as it were, diſtilled and contracted all their Falſehood, Inſolence and Malice; there being in it not one period which is not either Slanderous or Treaſonable. And nothing can more grieve Us, then that by their infinite Arts and Subtilty (employed by their perpetual and indefatigable Induſtry) and by that Rabble of *Browniſts* and other *Schiſmaticks*, declaredly ready to appear at their Call, they ſhould have been

been able ſo to draw away ſome, and drive away others of Our good Subjects from Our Parliament, as to prevail with the major part remaining of both Houſes, (how much ſoever that major part be the ſmaller in compariſon of the whole) to ſuffer that name (whoſe Reverence by all means We deſire to preſerve) to be ſo ſoyl'd, as to be prefixed to a Paper of this unſufferable nature, that tends not only to the Deſtruction of Our Perſon, but to the Diſſolution of this Government and of all Society: If at leaſt this Declaration (which We rather ſee cauſe to hope it hath not) have ſo much as been ſeen in the Houſes, and be not the ſingle work of the ſame Omnipotent Committee to which is devolved the whole power of the Parliament, and which, as We underſtand, is truſted (without acquainting the Houſes) to break up any mans houſe, and take away the Armes and Money intended to defend and feed him (if they ſhall ſee cauſe to ſuſpect that he meant to aſsiſt his Sovereign with them) and may well be as fully and implicitly truſted to Declare, as to Act, whatſoever they pleaſe. And though We doubt not but to their utmoſt they will continue that injury to Us, and that violation of the Subjects Liberty and of publick Right, to vex and impriſon thoſe who ſhall publiſh any of our Anſwers to their Declarations (and indeed whilſt they affirm againſt all Truth, and command againſt all Law, it concerns them to take care that nothing be heard but what they ſay;) yet Our comfort is, that Our Intentions and the Duty of Our Subjects are ſo well and ſo generally known to Our People, that We cannot fear (from whomſoever it come, and though no Anſwer came out with it) that either what is there ſaid ſhould be believed, or what is there commanded ſhould be obeyed. Who knows not that Our Commiſsions for Horſe and Foot were not granted out till not onely Our Prerogative, but Our Propriety, Our Goods, Arms, Towns, *Militia* and Negative Voice were taken from Us, and all the Kingdom commanded to be in Arms, and invited to bring in Horſe, Plate and Money, to frame an Army againſt Our Command and Proclamation, and till Horſe were raiſed and muſtered accordingly; and then, with no Intention (nor hath any Action in any of Our Miniſters given the leaſt ſuſpicion of ſuch an Intention) by them to compell Our Subjects to ſubmit to Our Commiſsions of Array, or make uſe of them

againſt the Parliament, but to regain *Hull*, held out in Rebellion againſt Us, and to ſuppreſs all ſuch as without Our Authority and againſt Our Commands ſhould raiſe Forces in this Our Kingdome, and levy Warre againſt Us, under pretence of any Order or Ordinance of one or both Houſes? And ſuch traitorous Aſſemblies and Marches have been the only lawful and neceſſary Occaſions of Our good Subjects, which have not been ſo much as interrupted by any Troops of Ours. And what is affirmed of the ſpoiling and killing them as they were ſo travelling under Our Protection, and according to Law, is a moſt malicious Affirmation, as well without truth as without inſtance, invented at once to make Our Troops terrible, and Us odious to Our People. What care have We taken that by this means the power of the Sword ſhould not come into the hands of Papiſts, who have by Our Proclamation ſtrictly charged that no Papiſt ſhould preſume to liſt himſelf either as Officer or Souldier in this Our Army, having directed how he ſhould be diſcovered if he did preſume, and ſuffer if he were diſcovered? What care have We taken to avoid Combuſtion and Civil Warre, offering to lay down Our Arms when they ſhall have lay'd down theirs, in whom it was Treaſon to take them up, and reſtored Us thoſe things which could not, without Treaſon as well as Injuſtice, be forced away and kept from Us, Our Armes, Ships, Town, &c. and when We might meet both Our Houſes in a ſafe and ſecure place to debate freely of all the Differences in a Parliamentary way? And by whoſe Influences theſe Propoſitions were rejected, and whether the Propoſer or Rejecters were moſt careful to avoid this Ruine and Deſolation of the Kingdom, We leave all the world to judge; and whether they, who divert the men and money collected for the relief of Diſtreſſed *Ireland*, to raiſe Forces againſt their Prince (Who asks them nothing but what is Legal, nor will deny them any thing that is) do not joyn with the Popiſh and Jeſuitical Faction in the bloudy Maſſacre of many Thouſand Proteſtants in that miſerable Kingdom. We propoſe likewiſe to every mans judgement, whether the declaring thoſe to be Traitors who execute Our Commiſsion of *Array* (iſſued in ſo many Kings Reigns, agreed upon by Parliament, and there yielded to by the King to be ſetled, as now it is, as a matter of great grace; and ſince that time, which

was

was in the 5. *Hen.*IV. in no Parliament complained of) whilst Our good Subjects are vexed and imprisoned, not onely for resisting, but for humbly petitioning so as may seem but to insinuate something against their most illegal Commands concerning the *Militia*; (To which power of commanding no Title can be made by any Statute or any Precedent; nor can We ever finde by search, nor obtain to be told, what those Fundamental Laws are by which it is pretended: so deep those Foundations are laid, beyond all means of discovery) and the declaring that those who raise men by virtue of Our Command and Commission (the onely Legal way) traitorously and rebelliously levy Warre against the King, and ordaining it to be lawful for all Our Subjects by force of Arms to resist them and their Accomplices; and the raising of Forces by Authority of Parliament (that is, by the remaining part of both Houses) never in the most outragious times before attempted, and commanding several persons, whom they call Lieutenants, to lead, and giving them power to transport from one County to another the Forces of several of Our Counties against them, and to kill and slay all such as by force shall oppose them, Our Self not excepted, commanding all Our Officers and Subjects to be assisting to them, and undertaking to secure them for so doing by the Power and Authority of Parliament (which is first to allow, and next to command, and then to pardon Treason;) be not to have already subverted, as much as in them lyes, the Liberty of the Subject, the Law of the Land, and altered the antient Government of the Kingdom, leaving Our Subjects without all Rule to walk by, when the most clear Laws cannot direct and secure them, and they see all those antient bounds passed over, which were ever as much known to be the Duty of both Houses to observe, as it was evident that there were, and that it was necessary that there should be, Two Houses of Parliament, and at once behold the Law (which is to defend and protect the Subject) and Us (Who are to protect and defend the Law) need Defence and Protection. We doubt not therefore but all Our good Subjects will come in to Our Assistance, and that this wicked Charge of intending to introduce Popery, Idolatry, and Arbitrary Government, laid by Implication upon Us (because We defend Our Selves, and would recover Our own) will be so farre from

being a Motive againſt Us, that this intolerable Indignity and damnable Scandal (ſo daily and viſibly confuted by all Our Profeſsions and Actions) will encreaſe Our good Subjects zeal towards Us, and their Indignation againſt the Contrivers; and they will eſteem themſelves obliged by the Religion of Almighty God to oppoſe this Warre, ſo impiouſly, ſo treaſonably, and ſo groundleſly made upon Us their King and His Anointed.

We therefore require all Our Commiſsioners of Array, Sheriffs, and all Our other Officers and Miniſters, to raiſe all the Power and Forces of their ſeveral Counties to aſsiſt the Marqueſs of *Hartford*, the Earl of *Northampton*, the Lord *Willoughby* of *Eresby*, the Lord *Dunſmore*, the Lord *Paulet*, the Lord *Seymour*, *Henry Haſtings* Eſquire, Sir *John Stawell*, Sir *Ralph Hopton*, *John Digby* Eſquire, and all other, in the legal and neceſſary Execution of Our Commiſsions of Array, and in the raiſing and conducting of ſuch Horſe and Foot as ſhall be raiſed by Our Commiſsion; and by force of Arms to oppoſe the Earl of *Eſſex*, the Lord *Say*, and all other that ſhall raiſe or conduct any Forces raiſed by pretence of Authority of both Houſes; and the Perſons of all ſuch Traitors, and their Adherents and Accomplices, to Arreſt and Impriſon, to the end they may be brought to a fair and legal Trial by their Peers, and according to the Law. And this We require from them, as they tender the Defence of Our Perſon, the true Religion, the Law of the Land, the Liberty and Property of the Subject, and the true and juſt Priviledges of Parliament. And for ſo doing they ſhall be defended and ſecured by Us, and by the Law; with whom and with which We doubt not but Our Subjects will ſooner chuſe to live and dye, then with the Earl of *Eſſex* and his Adherents.

By

By the KING.

A Proclamation for the ſuppreſſing of the preſent Rebellion under the Command of Robert *Earl of* Eſſex.

MDCXLII. Aug. 9.

And the gracious offer of His Majeſties free Pardon to him, and all ſuch of his Adherents as ſhall within ſix dayes after the date hereof lay down their Arms.

WHereas now at the laſt thoſe Seditious and Traitorous Counſels and Conſultations which have been long in deſign, and which long ſince We foreſaw, have produced ſuch manifeſt and open effects of Treaſon and Rebellion againſt Us, that there are already great numbers of Horſe and Foot Raiſed, Arraied, Muſtered and Trained, under pretence of Authority of Our two Houſes of Parliament, without and againſt Our Conſent, in and about Our Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, in a warlike manner, and there are many more in Raiſing with ſpeed; and *Robert* Earl of *Eſſex*, by the ſaid pretended Authority, without Our Conſent, hath been nominated to be Captain General of thoſe Troops and Forces, and forgetting the Duty and Allegiance which he oweth to Us his Sovereign, hath taken upon him and accepted that Title and Command of Captain General, and in that quality appeareth amongſt the Souldiers, animating and encouraging himſelf and them in theſe Traitorous and Rebellious Deſigns; and, as it is now notoriouſly known, the ſaid Earl and his Adherents intend ſpeedily to march from thence towards the North, where We now reſide, and in a warlike manner to aſſail and oppoſe Us, and thoſe who ſhall attend or aſsiſt Us, under pretence of defending Our Perſon and the two Houſes of Parliament, and prepare traitorouſly to ſurpriſe or beſiege Our Town of *Portſmouth*, and to poſſeſs themſelves thereof with force, the ſame being a Town and Port of great importance in the Weſtern parts of this Kingdome, and alſo to ſurpriſe, or by force to take and poſſeſs themſelves of all other Caſtles, Forts and places of ſtrength within this Kingdom, and all this to ſtrengthen them and their Party in theſe their Trai-

torous and Rebellious Deſignes; all which are not now taken up by Us upon Information of others, and by Conjecture, but do manifeſtly appear to the whole World, by that inſolent and prodigious Commiſsion of Captain General over the whole Kingdom of *England* and Dominion of *Wales*, which in the name of the two Houſes of Parliament is granted unto the ſaid Earle, but hath indeed been contrived by ſome few Malignant perſons, Members of either Houſe, whereby they have mentioned to conferre upon him, and the ſaid Earl under that colour hath aſſumed unto himſelf, thoſe Titles, and begun to put in execution thoſe Powers and Authorities which are inconſiſtable with Our Sovereignty; all which is ſo done contrary to all Rules of Religion, Laws, Allegiance, or common Honeſty:

We do now therefore publiſh and declare by this Our Royal Proclamation, That the ſaid publick and notorious Acts and Actions of the ſaid Earl are Acts and Actions of High Treaſon, being a manifeſt levying of Warre againſt his natural Liege Lord and King, expreſly within the words and meaning of the Statute made in the twenty fifth year of King *Edward* the Third, declaring the ſame, of which in Law there neither is nor can be any doubt; and that the ſaid Earl of *Eſſex* is a Rebel and Traitour unto Us and to Our Crown, and that he, and all Colonels, Captains and Officers, which upon notice hereof ſhall not immediately quit their Commands under him, or any others, by the like unlawful and uſurped power without and againſt Us, are alſo guilty of High Treaſon within that Statute, and ought to be adjudged and eſteemed and proceeded againſt as Traitors and Rebels.

And yet, out of Our Grace and Clemency towards ſuch of Our Subjects as have been abuſed and miſled by the ſaid Earl, and ſuch others as joyn themſelves with him in theſe deſperate Courſes, and to preſerve the Peace of this Kingdom, (if it be poſsible) and to avoid the ſhedding of blood, We abhorring the name of a Civile Warre, if it can by any good means be avoided, do by this Our Royal Proclamation admoniſh the ſaid Earl, and all Our Subjects whom it may concern, which are now already joyned, or ſhall joyn themſelves to the ſaid Earl in this act of Hoſtility, that forthwith they lay down their Arms, as well Horſe as Foot, and all

other

other preparations for the Warre, and inſtantly, without delay, return to their own homes and habitations, and there quietly and peaceably imploy and beſtow themſelves in their proper Vocatious and Callings, and that hereafter they meddle not or interpoſe themſelves in theſe or any the like Rebellious and Traitorous Undertakings or Actions. Which if they do readily and really perform within ſix dayes after the date of theſe preſents, We do hereby promiſe and undertake, in the Word of a King, that We will freely extend Our Mercy unto them, and grant unto them Our free and full Pardon for all that hath been or ſhall be committed before that time. But if they ſhall neglect this Our Grace and Favour now extended unto them, and perſiſt in any acts of Hoſtility againſt Us, or not disband upon notice of this Our Proclamation, We ſhall eſteem of them as Rebels and Traitors to Us and to Our Crown, and as publick Enemies to the happy Peace of this Kingdom; and that from thence We ſhall proceed againſt them and deal with them as Rebels and Traitours: and by the bleſsing of God, in whom We put Our confidence, and by the aſsiſtance of Our faithful and good Subjects, upon whoſe Fidelity and Affections We rely, We doubt not but We ſhall ſo prevail againſt all their Traitorous Conſpiracies and Rebellious Machinations, as ſhall vindicate Our Honour and the Honour of Our Crown, preſerve Our good and loyal Subjects from their Malice and Fury, and reſtore and ſettle the Peace of this Kingdome, and make the Delinquents ſo exemplary, as ſhall deterre others from ever attempting the like Inſolencies.

And We hereby require and command all Our Commiſsioners of Array, Leiutenants, Deputy-Leiutenants, Sheriffs, Juſtices of Peace, Maiors, and all other Our Officers; Miniſters, and loving Subjects, that they and every of them in their ſeveral places doe their beſt and uttermoſt endeavours to reſiſt and ſubdue the ſaid Earl and his Adherents, and thoſe who ſhall aſsiſt them or any of them, and to apprehend, or otherwiſe to deſtroy them and every of them, that ſo they may receive condigne puniſhment for their Diſloyalty; and that they be ready, according to their Duties and Allegiance, to aſsiſt Us, and thoſe Our good Subjects who do adhere unto Us, according to Our juſt Commands in or concerning the Premiſſes.

And

And more particularly, We require and command Our Commiſsioners of Array, Lords Lieutenants, Deputy-Lieutenants, Captains and Officers of Our Trained Bands, of or in Our Counties of *Southampton*, *Suſſex* and *Surrey*, that ſo many of them as to that purpoſe Colonel *Goring* ſhall call to his aid, as he ſhall ſee cauſe, ſhall, with ſuch Forces as are under their command, repair unto Our ſaid Town of *Portſmouth* to aſsiſt the ſaid Colonel *George Goring*, Our Captain and Governour of the ſaid Town, for the defence of the ſaid Town, and to Oppoſe, Reſiſt, and Deſtroy all thoſe who under the command of the ſaid Earl of *Eſſex*, or any other, ſhall attempt any Violence againſt the ſaid Town.

And We do further require and command Our Right Truſty and Right Well-beloved Couzin and Counſellour, *William* Marqueſs *Hartford*, that with all ſpeed he raiſe all the Forces he can within all or any the Counties contained within that Commiſsion We have given unto him, whereby he is made Our Lieutenant General of all Our Forces within Our Counties of *Devon*, *Cornwall*, *Somerſet*, *Dorſet*, *Wilts*, *Southampton*, *Glouceſter*, *Berks*, *Oxford*, *Hereford*, *Monmouth*, *Radnor*, *Brecknock*, *Glamorgan*, *Carmarthen*, *Pembroke*, *Cardigan*, Our Cities of *Exceſter*, *Briſtol*, *Glouceſter*, *Oxford*, *Bath* and *Wells*, new *Salisbury*, and *Hereford*, and the Counties of the ſame, the Towns of *Pool*, and *Southampton*, and *Haverford-Weſt*, and the Counties of the ſame; and with the Trained Bands of thoſe Counties, and others who ſhall voluntarily offer their Service, to march againſt the ſaid Earl or any others under his command, or under the command of any others not authorized by Us, and them to Reſiſt, Oppoſe and Subdue; and eſpecially for the defence of the ſaid Town of *Portſmouth*, and for the Iſle of *Wight*, in Our County of *Southampton*, as there ſhall be occaſion.

And We do hereby deſire and require Our loyal and loving Subjects of and within the ſaid Counties, being of the Trained Bands or voluntary Levies within the ſaid Commiſsion, to repair with their Horſe and Foot, well Armed, Arrayed and Furniſhed, to ſuch place or places as the ſaid Marqueſs ſhall appoint; and that they, and all other Our good and loving Subjects within this Realm, ſhall, according to ſuch Directions as We ſhall give to that purpoſe, repair to Us at ſuch place where We ſhall pitch

and

and ſet up Our Royal Standard, and where We purpoſe in Our own Perſon to be preſent, and there and in ſuch places whither We ſhall conduct them, or cauſe them to be conducted, to ſerve Us for the Defence of Us, and of Our Kingdome, and of the true Proteſtant Religion, and the known Laws of the Land, and the juſt Liberties of Our Subjects, and the juſt Privileges of Parliament, and to ſuppreſs the notorious and inſolent Rebellion of the ſaid Earl and his Adherents, and reduce them to their due Obedience, and for re-ſetling of the happy Peace of this Kingdome.

And in this time of urgent Neceſsity, which ſo much importeth the Safety and even the very Subſiſtence of Us and Our Good People, We ſhall take it as an acceptable Service to Us, and much conducing to the Peace of Our Kingdome, if Our loving and wel-affected Subjects within Our ſaid Counties contained within Our Commiſsion granted to the ſaid Marqueſs, do and will chearfully and voluntarily contribute unto Us, and give unto Us ſuch aſsiſtance in Money or Plate as they ſhall think fit, by loan or otherwiſe, to be delivered to the hands of the ſaid Marqueſs, or of the Commiſsioners of Array for thoſe ſeveral Counties reſpectively, to be diſpoſed of to this publick uſe, and not otherwiſe; and that Our loving and well-affected Subjects of all other the Counties of this Kingdome will, to the ſame uſe and not otherwiſe, contribute unto and aſsiſt Us in like manner ſuch Contribution and aſsiſtance, to be paid and delivered to Our uſe into the hands of Our Commiſsioners of Array for thoſe other Counties reſpectively, or to ſuch of them as they ſhall nominate and appoint to that purpoſe.

And laſtly, in all theſe Our juſt and neceſſary Commands, We require that ready Obedience from all Our Commiſsioners, Sheriffs, Juſtices of Peace, Maiors, Conſtables, and other Officers and loving Subjects, in their ſeveral and reſpective places, which appertaineth to their ſeveral Duties, as they tender Our Honour and Safety, and the Honour, Safety, Peace and Proſperity of the Church and Kingdome of *England*, and as they will anſwer their neglects at their uttermoſt perils.

Given at Our Court at York, *the ninth day of* Auguſt, *in the eighteenth year of Our Reign*, 1642.

By

By the KING.

A Proclamation by His MAJESTIE, *requiring the Aid and Aſsiſtance of all His Subjects on the North ſide* Trent, *and within twenty miles Southward thereof, for the ſuppreſsing of the Rebels now marching againſt Him.*

WHereas divers Perſons, bearing an inward Hatred and Malice againſt Our Perſon and Government, and ambitious of Rule and places of Preferment and Command, have raiſed an Army, and are now Traitorouſly and Rebelliouſly (though under the ſpecious pretence of Our Royal Name and Authority, and of the defence of Our Perſon and Parliament) marching in battell-array againſt Us their Liege-Lord and Sovereign, contrary to their Duty and Allegiance, whereby the common Peace is like to be wholly deſtroyed, and this flouriſhing Kingdome in danger to periſh under the miſeries of a Civil War, if the Malice and Rage of theſe Perſons be not inſtantly reſiſted: And as We do and muſt rely on Almighty God (the Protector and Defender of his Anointed) to defend Us and Our good People againſt the Malice and pernicious Deſignes of theſe men, tending to the utter Ruine of Our Perſon, the true Proteſtant Religion, the Laws eſtabliſhed, the Property and Liberty of the Subject, and the very Being of Parliaments; ſo We doubt not but Our good People will in this neceſsity contribute unto Us, with all Alacrity and Chearfulneſs, their aſsiſtance in their Perſons, Servants and Money, for the ſuppreſsion of the ſame Rebellion: And therein We cannot but with much contentment of heart acknowledge the Love and Affection of Our Subjects of Our County of *York* and divers other Counties, in their free and ready aſsiſtance of Us, which We ſhall never forget; and Our Poſterity will, as We hope, ever remember, for their good.

Neverthleſs, in this Our extreme neceſsity, though We have been moſt unwilling, We are now inforced, for Our moſt juſt and neceſſary Defence, again to call and invite them, and all other Our Subjects of the true Proteſtant Religion, reſiding on the North-ſide of *Trent*, or within twenty miles Southward thereof, whoſe hearts

God

God Almighty ſhall touch with a true ſenſe and apprehenſion of Our Sufferings, and of the ill uſe which the Contrivers and Fomenters of this Rebellion have made of Our Clemency and deſire of Peace, That, according to their Allegiance, and as they tender the Safety of Our Perſon, the Property of their Eſtates, their juſt Liberties, the true Proteſtant Religion, and Privileges of Parliament, and indeed the very Being of Parliaments, they attend Our Perſon upon Monday, the two and twentieth day of this inſtant *Auguſt*, at Our Town of *Nottingham*, where and when We intend to erect Our Standard-Royal in Our juſt and neceſſary Defence, and whence We reſolve to advance forward for the ſuppreſsion of the ſaid Rebellion, and the Protection of Our good Subjects amongſt them from the burthen of the Slavery and Inſolence under which they cannot but groan till they be relieved by Us.

And We likewiſe call and invite all Our Subjects of the true Proteſtant Religion in the remoter parts of this Our Kingdome, to whom notice of this Our Proclamation cannot ſo ſoon arrive, That with all ſpeed poſsible, as they tender the forenamed Conſiderations, they attend Our Perſon in ſuch place as We ſhall then happen to encamp. And ſuch of Our ſaid Subjects as ſhall come unto Us (either to Our ſaid Town of *Nottingham*, or to any other place where We ſhall happen to encamp) Armed and Arrayed, with Horſe, Piſtols, Muskets, Pikes, Corſlets, Horſes for Dragoons, or other fitting Arms and Furniture, We ſhall take them into Our pay, (ſuch of them excepted who ſhall be willing as Voluntiers to ſerve Us in this Our neceſsity without pay.) And whoſoever ſhall in this Our Danger and Neceſſity ſupply Us either by Gift or Loan of Money or Plate for this Our neceſſary Defence, (wherein they alſo are ſo nearly concerned) We ſhall, as ſoon as God ſhall enable Us, repay whatſoever is ſo lent, and upon all occaſions remember and reward thoſe Our good Subjects, according to the meaſure of their Love and Affections to Us and their Countrey.

Given at Our Court at York *the twelfth day of* Auguſt, *in the eighteenth year of Our Reign*, 1642.

His MAJESTIES *Declaration to all His Loving Subjects, of the* 12th *of* Auguſt, 1642.

TIS more then time now, after ſo many Injuries and Indignities offered to Our Royal Perſon, ſo many Affronts and Scorns put upon Our Kingly Office, ſo many Scandalous, Seditious and Traitorous Pamphlets againſt Our Self and Our Government, to vindicate Our Self from thoſe wicked and damnable Combinations and Conſpiracies, which the implacable Malice and inſatiable Ambition of ſome Perſons have contrived againſt Us; and to let all Our loving Subjects know how much they are concerned in Our Sufferings, and how much their Peace and Security is ſhaken in the Aſſaults which are made and the Wounds which are given to Our Honour and Authority, and (how ſpecious ſoever their pretences are of Religion and Liberty) that in truth their end is nothing but Anarchie and Confuſion in either. In the relation and conſideration whereof (though We take no delight in the ſharpneſs and bitterneſs of expreſsions) 'tis no wonder if being compelled to take notice of Actions of an high and injurious nature, and to conſider and anſwer words impetuouſly directed againſt Majeſtie it ſelf, We be likewiſe enforced to uſe a Dialect rougher, and different from what We have uſed to treat in, ('tis a weapon We bluſh to find Our Self put to exerciſe:) and We call the Almighty God to witneſs, That though We were extremely ſenſible of the violent and unjuſtifiable Impoſitions upon Our Royal Office and Authority, of the apparent Hazard and Danger which threatned Our own Perſon and Safety; yet not ſo much the particular conſideration of Our Self hath engaged Us in the reſolution We have now taken, as the publick Care of the true Proteſtant Religion, the Preſervation of the Law, and the Liberty of the Subject, and the upholding the whole Frame and Conſtitution of this Kingdome, ſo admirably founded and continued by the Bleſsing of God and the wiſedome of Our Anceſtours, to the wonder and envy of all the neighbouring Kingdoms, which the Faction and Ambition of a few diſcontented ſpirits, with their counterfeit ſhews of Religion and

pretences

pretences of Liberty, endeavour to ſhake and rend aſunder; and to bring Our Self, and all the Subjects of this Kingdom, into perpetual Subjection unto their vaſt, unlimited, Arbitrary, Seditious Juriſdiction.

We ſhall begin Our diſcourſe from the beginning of this Parliament, (for of the unhappy Diſſolution of the laſt, by the miſ-information and advice of ſome perſons, looked upon now under another Character, We ſhall forbear to ſpeak, being reſolved that no diſregard or undutifulneſs of other men towards Us ſhall ever prevail with Us, to doe what We think unſuteable to the Honour and Reputation of a Juſt Prince and of a good and loving Maſter.)

When We reſolved to ſummon this Parliament (which We did out of Our own earneſt and affectionate deſire to beget a good and right intelligence between Us and Our People, and before the meeting of Our great Councel at *York*, and uncompelled by any violence, but of Our love to Peace) We preſented to Our Self the unhappy Condition wherein the ſtate of this Kingdom then ſtood, conſidered the nature of the Preſſures, (then more freely repreſented to Us) which in themſelves were grievous to Our good Subjects, and in the Conſequences of them might appear more terrible. We took a full and clear proſpect of the Inconveniences and miſchiefs which had grown by the long intermiſsion of Parliaments, and by the parting too much from the known Rule of the Law to an Arbitrary power; and upon the whole reſolved (without putting any Gloſs upon Our own former Commands, or endeavouring to make any excuſe for the Actions of Our Miniſters) That the meaſure of Our Juſtice and Favour, by way of Reparation, ſhould far exceed the proportion of the Sufferings Our good Subjects had undergone by Us, which We were confident would beget ſo mutual an Affection and confidence between us, that ſuch a foundation of firm and ſtable Happineſs would immediately have been laid for the whole Kingdom, that all memory of former Grievances would have been eaſily buried, and that this Parliament ſhould receive a glorious celebration both by King and People to the end of the world. And therefore upon the firſt Convention, on the third of *November*, We declared Our reſolution in that point, and then, or ſoon after, deſired, that whatever miſtaking had grown in the Government either of Church or

State might be removed, and all things reduced to the Order of the time (the memory whereof is juſtly precious to this Nation) of Queen *Elizabeth*: and for any expreſsion of their Affection to Us in ſupply of Our known Neceſsities, We were ſo farre from preſsing, We reſolved not to think of it, till all Our good People ſhould be abundantly ſatisfied in all neceſſary proviſion for their Liberty and Property, and whatſoever elſe might diſturb them in their Eſtates or Conſciences. How firmly We have kept Our Self to this Reſolution is evident to all the world.

At the beginning of the Parliament We quickly diſcerned, by ſome Circumſtances of their proceedings, that they meant not to confine or contain themſelves within the Paths of their Predeceſſors; which We imputed to the diſorder and impatience the former Sufferings of the Kingdom had begot in them; and therefore We reſolved to take no exceptions to any particular, but to doe Our part in any point of Reformation as ſoon and as often as any opportunity ſhould be offered unto Us, believing that as ſoon as they ſhould find themſelves reſtored to their old ſecurity, and the matter and ſubſtance of their Doubts and Fears to be removed, they would eaſily and willingly reduce themſelves into their good old way, and apply themſelves to the uſual form of their Predeceſſors in the courſe of their proceedings. And though We well knew the Combination entred into by ſeveral perſons for an alteration in the Government of the Church, which could not but have an Influence upon the Civil Government of the State too, and obſerved that thoſe men had greateſt Intereſt and power of perſwading in both Houſes who had entred into ſuch Combination; yet Our Reſolution was ſo full for the publick ſatisfaction of Our People, that We believed even thoſe men would either have been converted in their Conſciences by the clearneſs and juſtice of Our Actions, or would have appeared ſo unreaſonable, or been diſcovered ſo ſeditious, that their Malice and Fury would not have been able to have done miſchief. And therefore We took no notice of the great labour and skill the prime Leaders amongſt them had uſed to get men of their Faction nominated and elected to ſerve as Members of the Houſe of Commons, and did uſe to remove others (whom they knew to be of different Opinions) though they were fairly and legally elected; wherein

wherein there was no other meaſure or Rule of Juſtice obſerved, then ſingly with reference to the Opinions or Affections of the Perſons; witneſs (beſides their putting out or keeping in men upon queſtionable Elections, without the leaſt colour or ſhadow of Juſtice) their Order whereby they at one clap expelled a very great number of Perſons fairly elected by their Countrey, upon pretence that they had ſome hand, or their names uſed in ſome Project, Monopoly or Patent, without charging them with any Crime, or to this day proceeding againſt them: and yet they continue amongſt them Sir *Henry Mildmay*, Maſter *Laurence Whitakers*, and others (whoſe Affections and Opinions they are well pleaſed with;) though the firſt of them is notoriouſly known to be the chief Promoter of the buſineſs of the Gold and Silver Thred, (a Commiſsion complained of, viewed and examined, and therefore his name might have been eaſily taken notice of;) and the other as converſant, and as much imployed as a Commiſsioner in matters of that nature as any man. We ſpeak not this to excuſe Monopolies (the Inconveniences of which We are ſenſible of, and ſhall for the future prevent) but to ſhew the partiality of that Faction, and the uſe they make of them to their own advantage.

The firſt Remedy (after the impeaching ſeveral Perſons of High Treaſon whom they looked upon as the chief cauſes of the publick Sufferings) they propoſed was, The Bill for the Triennial Parliament: to the which, though We might juſtly have pauſed upon ſeveral Expreſsions and Clauſes in it, and might very well have inſiſted upon Our old Privilege and Cuſtome, not to paſs any Bill till the end of the Seſsion; yet ſince We really did believe moſt of the Miſchiefs then complained of proceeded from the too-long intermiſsion of Parliaments, and were reſolved for the future to communicate freely and frequently that way with Our Subjects, We paſſed over thoſe Exceptions, and conſented to it, eſpecially upon this Confidence, That when ſuch other Acts ſhould be agreed upon for the eaſe and ſecurity of Our People as We deſired and exſpected ſhould be preferred to Us, this Act would be a ſufficient earneſt and aſſurance that all thoſe Acts ſhould be faithfully obſerved by Us, and ſo there ſhould be no room left for any Fears and Jealouſies, which might prevent that mutual Confidence between

Us and Our People We earneſtly deſired to raiſe: and for ſometime after the paſsing this Act We found ſuch an acknowledgement from both Houſes of Our ſingular Grace and Favour in conſenting to it, and ſo great expreſsions of their Affections and purpoſes towards Us, that We believed the ſenſe of it would never have been forgotten, and were as much pleaſed that We had taken that way of obliging Our People, as they were with the Benefit it ſelf.

But We were very well able to diſcover, that whatſoever ſeemed to be asked of Us or to be complained of to Us, there was ſtill a Faction of a few Ambitious, Diſcontented and Seditious perſons, who, under pretence of being enemies to Arbitrary Power, and of compaſsion towards thoſe who out of Tenderneſs of Conſcience could not ſubmit to ſome things enjoyned or commended in the Government of the Church, had in truth a deſire (and had entred into a Combination to that purpoſe) to alter the Government both of Church and State; which they were yet to diſguiſe, till by their Art or Induſtry they had infected ſome with their Opinions, and by their cunning Demeanour and Managery of the publick Intereſts they had ſeduced others to an implicit confidence in their Power, Wiſdom and Integrity. And againſt this Deſigne We onely oppoſed a reſolution to contribute all Our aſsiſtance for the Peace, Happineſs and Security of Our People, and ſo to convince their Underſtandings (if their Errour proceeded from Weakneſs) that no alteration could produce that Happineſs they imagined, and (if their natures were capable of ſuch Truſts) to take ſome of the chief of them ſo near Us, that they might be witneſſes of Our Actions and privie to Our Counſels, that either Ingenuity or Gratitude might recover them from their deſperate Inclinations. Hereupon, becauſe moſt of the Grievances of Our People were conceived to proceed from the great liberty of Our Councel-board, or from ſome Orders and Directions from them, We admitted to Our Privy Councel ſeven or eight of thoſe Lords who were eminently in eſteem with Our People for their reputation of Honour and Juſtice; ſome of whom We knew to be moſt paſsionately diſ-inclined to the preſent managery of Civil affairs and to the Government of the Church; and hoped that by a free communication of their Doubts, Opinions and

and Counſels, they would have received that ſatisfaction, that they would have been excellent Inſtruments of a bleſſed Reformation and Confirmation in Church and State. Having begun with this foundation of Confidence in Our Court by electing ſuch Perſons, We made the ſame haſt to apply particular Remedies to the viſible known Diſeaſes, reſolving thoſe Remedies ſhould be proportioned to the Counſel and Deſires of both Houſes, which We thought the ſureſt way to win at leaſt a major part to the confeſsion and acknowledgement of Our Juſtice and Affection. The Starre-Chamber had in the exceſs of Juriſdiction, or tediouſneſs and charge of Proceedings, or meaſure and ſeverity of Puniſhment, invaded the Laws of the Land and Liberty of the Subject by the exerciſe of an Arbitrary Power: We preſſed not the Reformation of this Court, though erected or ſetled by Act of Parliament in a wiſe time; but, at the inſtance of both Houſes, conſented to the Abolition of it. The High-Commiſsion Court had proceeded with too much ſtrictneſs in many caſes, where the Tender Conſciences of many of Our weak Subjects were concerned, and had ſo farre out-grown the power of the Law, that it would not be limited and guided by it, but cenſured, fined and impriſoned Our People for matters unpuniſhable by the Law: We preſſed not the Review of that Statute by which that Court was erected, that ſuch power might be qualified and proviſions altered as had been grievous to the Subject, nor deſired that any other care might be taken for the upholding the Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline then what the wiſdom and piety of both Houſes ſhould think neceſſary; but, in compliance to the ſufferings of Our People and the deſires of both Houſes, conſented to the Repeal of that branch of that Statute. The Writs for Ship-money, whereby ſeveral ſummes of money had been received from Our good Subjects for defence and ſafeguard of the Kingdom, had lain heavy upon Our People, yet were judged to be Legal: Both Our Houſes of Parliament declared that the grounds and reaſons of that Judgement (being, That when the good and ſafety of the Kingdom in general is concerned, and that the whole Kingdom is in Danger, We might compel our Subjects to provide Ships, Men and Victuals, for the defence and ſafeguard of the Kingdom; and that We were the ſole Judge of that Danger, and how the ſame might be prevented) were

contrary to and againſt the Laws and Statutes of this Realm, the Property and Liberty of the Subject, and to the Petition of Right: without diſputing Our Right, We were contented that all the proceedings in that buſineſs ſhould be adjudged void and diſannulled, and the Judgements, Enrolments and Entries thereupon ſhould be vacated and cancelled, in ſuch manner as was deſired. Under colour of executing the Foreſt-Laws, and of keeping the Juſtice in Eyres Seat, very many Perſons had been grieved and vexed by Preſentments, Fines, Judgements and Impriſonments, the Meets, Limits and Bounds of Foreſts extended, and ſome endeavours been made to ſet on foot Foreſts where in truth none had been: We no ſooner received complaint of this, but We paſſed an Act for the certainty of the Meets, Limits and Bounds of all the Foreſts in *England*, with ſuch further Proviſions for the eaſe of Our Subjects as were deſired at Our hands. If by the negligence or wilfulneſs of perſons truſted by Us any Grievance or inconvenience had been contracted in any part of Our Kingdom, (which ſeemed not to have ſo general an influence upon the whole) upon the firſt clear Information We did Our part for the eaſing of them; and therefore We paſſed, for the benefit of Our good Subjects of *Devon* and *Cornwall*, an Act againſt divers Incroachments and Oppreſsions in the Stannary-Courts. And We were ſo confident this way to win the Hearts and Affections of all Our good Subjects, and that both Our Houſes of Parliament would at laſt finde a time to give too, that We made their Asking the only Rule to Our Grants, and parted with any thing they deſired Us to relinquiſh. So in the Preamble to the Bill of Tonnage and Poundage, We parted with Our Title of Impoſing; a Power adjudged good, and exerciſed by Our Anceſtors, and though diſputed, never reſolved againſt by Judgement in Parliament. So in the Act for regulating the Office of Clark of the Market, becauſe the undue execution thereof had been grievous to many of Our loving Subjects, We conſented, that no Clark of the Market of Our Houſe ſhall hereafter execute His Office in any part of Our Kingdome, but onely within the verge of Our Court, and granted the Execution of that Office to the Maiors and Bailiffs of Towns Corporate, and to the Lords of Liberties and Franchiſes, and to their Deputies. So, becauſe about the beginning of Our Reign ſeveral

Writs

Writs had iſſued out of Our Court of Chancery in the buſineſs of Knighthood, and been tranſmitted with their Returns into Our Court of Exchequer, where the proceedings were not fit and warrantable, We were contented, by the Act for the prevention of vexatious proceedings touching the Order of Knighthood, abſolutely to part with and diſcharge a Right and Duty as unqueſtionably due to Us by the Law as any Service We can challenge. So (which is the higheſt inſtance of Truſt that ever King gave His Subjects) upon Information that Credit could not be obtained for ſo much Money as was requiſite for the relief of Our Army and People in the Northern parts, for preventing the imminent Danger the Kingdome was in, and for ſupply of Our preſent and urgent Occaſions, for fear the Parliament might be diſſolved before Juſtice ſhould be done upon Delinquents, publick Grievances be redreſſed, a firm Peace between the two Nations of *England* and *Scotland* concluded, and before proviſion ſhould be made for the repayment of ſuch Moneys as ſhould be ſo raiſed (though We knew what power We parted from, and truſted Our Houſes with, by ſo doing, and what might be the Conſequence of ſuch a Truſt if unfaithfully managed) We neglected all ſuch ſuſpicions, which all men now ſee deſerved not to be ſlighted, and We willingly and immediately paſſed that Act for the continuance of this Parliament, being reſolved that it ſhould not be Our fault if all thoſe particulars were not ſpeedily provided for, which ſeemed then to be the grounds of their deſire. Let all the world now judge what greater Obligations of Juſtice, Favour, Affection and Truſt, can a Prince lay upon His Subjects, then We did upon both Our Houſes of Parliament by theſe Acts; and whether We did not, in Our free Grace and Favour, grant much more then had been asked of Us by that Petition preſented to Us by ſome Lords at *York*, in which was then thought to be contracted all that was grievous to Our People, and all that was juſt and gracious for Us to doe for them. And in all the time in which theſe Acts were framing and paſsing, though Our own perſonal Wants were notoriouſly known and unkindly unprovided for, and themſelves had asked leave to look into and ſettle Our Revenue, which We conſented to, and therefore We might have exſpected ſome fruit of that pretended Care, We never preſſed them, or made the leaſt overture to them

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for Our own ſupply; onely deſired them (and 'twas almoſt the only thing We did deſire of them) that they would uſe all poſsible expedition in the buſineſs of the Treaty, that the two Armies might be ſpeedily disbanded, and Our Subjects eaſed of that heavie burthen which in time would grow inſupportable, and waſte the whole ſtock of the Kingdom. But We found the Faction We feared in the beginning grew ſtill ſtronger, and nothing converted or reconciled by all thoſe Acts of Ours, which would have made any Nation happy; That whilſt We were buſie in providing for the publick, they were contriving particular Advantages of Offices and Places for themſelves, made uſe under-hand of the former Grievances of the Subject in things concerning Religion and Law, to change the Religion and Law of this Kingdome, labouring, that neither any thing the Subject had ſuffered from the Crown might be forgotten, nor any ſatisfaction from the Crown to the Subject might be remembred. And therefore in ſtead of acknowledging Our great Juſtice and ſingular Favour in paſsing thoſe Acts, they infuſed into Our People, that We paſſed them unwillingly, (whereas We never made the leaſt pauſe upon any of them but one, that for the High-Commiſſion Court; and whether that was penned with that warineſs and animadverſion, that there be not more determined by it then the major part of both Houſes intended at the paſsing of it, let themſelves judge) and that We meant not to obſerve them; and grew ſo much confounded with the full meaſure of Our Favour, that they would allow themſelves no ſecurity of enjoying what We had freely given, but by taking away any power from Us of giving more, they muſt have a through alteration both in Church and State, or elſe they ſhould never enjoy the benefit of the Reformation We had willingly made. Hereupon they oppoſe the disbanding of the Armies, and give all delayes to the *Scots* Treaty, though the Commiſsioners for that Nation very earneſtly preſſed the haſtning of it, and in plain *Engliſh* declare, *That they cannot yet ſpare them, that*
Mr. Stroud. *the ſons of Zerviah were too ſtrong for them*: And finding more haſte to be made in the aſſerting the Civil Intereſts then they deſired, having a deſign to ingage this Kingdom into ſo vaſt a Debt, that there might be no way of paying it but by the Lands of the Church, and leſt Our good Subjects might be too ſoon ſatisfied, they haſtned on

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to their deſign upon the Church; which they at firſt diſguiſed with a purpoſe onely of removing the Biſhops from their Votes in the Lords Houſe. This Bill paſſed the Houſe of Commons; in the Houſe of Peers it endured ſeveral long, free debates; and in the end, upon great and ſolemn deliberation, was by the conſent of very much the major part of that Houſe abſolutely rejected. This was no ſooner done, but that Faction (glad of the miſcarriage of their former Bill, the paſsing whereof they knew would have ſatisfied many of thoſe whom they hoped now further to ſeduce) produced a Bill to be tendred in the Houſe of Commons for the abolition of Biſhops out of the Church of *England*, Root and Branch, (according to their firſt reſolution, as Mr *Pym* told a Member of the Lords Houſe by way of reproof, *That it was not enough to be againſt the Perſons of the Biſhops, if he were not againſt the Function*,) and for extirpation of all Deans and Chapters, and reducing that admirable Frame of Government and ſupport of Learning into a *Chaos* of Confuſion, that out of it they might mold an *Utopia* no ſix of them had, nor We believe yet have, agreed on, further then to deſtroy the preſent; and out of the goodly Revenue which the pious Bounty and Devotion of former Ages had been ſo long in raiſing, for the encouragement and advancement of Learning and Religion, and which God hath bleſſed with ſo many eminent men, whoſe Learning and Lives have advanced the Doctrine of the Proteſtant Religion, and many of them given their Bodies to the Fire, as a Sacrifice to that Truth and Religion, to erect Stipends to their own Clergie, and to raiſe eſtates to repair their own broken fortunes. And for the free paſsing of this Bill (which to this hour they could never tell what to make of) two Armies muſt be kept in the bowels of the Kingdome at 80000. pound a Moneth charge to the Commonwealth: For about this Bill the Houſe of Commons was ſo wholly taken up, that in ten weeks none, or very little, other buſineſs could be thought of. About this time, or a little before, (after ſeveral Intimations of Treaſons, Plots and Conſpiracies by the Papiſts, of great Proviſions of Armes by them, and training men under ground, and many other falſe reports, created, ſpread and countenanced by themſelves) upon ſome general apprehenſions of Deſignes againſt them, a Proteſtation is made in the Houſe of Commons for ſome union and conſent amongſt

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themſelves, to perform thoſe Duties which, if they had meant no more then they expreſſed, had been ſufficiently provided for by the Oaths they had already taken, and what their former Duties obliged them to. Hereupon a Proteſtation is framed, and being put into ſuch words as no honeſt man could believe himſelf obliged by it to any unlawful Action, was voluntarily taken by all the Members of the Houſe of Commons, and preſently recommended to the Houſe of Lords; where it received the ſame countenance, that is, was looked upon as containing nothing in it ſelf unlawful, though ſome Members of that Houſe refuſed to take it, being voluntary, and not impoſed by any Lawful Authority: Then 'tis recommended to the City of *London*, and over all the Kingdome, by order from the Houſe of Commons (a ſtrange and unheard-of Uſurpation) to be taken by all perſons. But in very few dayes, upon conference amongſt themſelves and with thoſe Clergy-men who daily ſolicit their unlawful and unwarrantable deſignes with the People, they find they were by this Proteſtation ſo far from having drawn people into their Combination, that in truth all men conceived that they were even engaged by it againſt their main Deſign, by promiſing *to defend the true Reformed Proteſtant Religion expreſſed in the Doctrine of the Church of England*, &c. And thereupon ſome perſons of that Faction prevailed, that after the Members of the Houſes had taken it, a Declaration was ſet forth by the Houſe of Commons, That by thoſe words, *The Doctrine of the Church of England*, was intended only ſo far as it was oppoſite to Popery, and Popiſh Innovations, and that the words were not to be extended to the maintenance of the *Diſcipline and Government*, &c. And ſo under this Explication and Declaration publiſhed only by the Houſe of Commons, and never aſſented to by the Houſe of Peers, this Proteſtation was directed to be generally taken throughout *England*: And to that purpoſe a Bill is drawn, paſſed the Houſe of Commons, and ſent up to the Lords; who, at the ſecond reading, finding many particulars in it unfit to be ſo ſeverely impoſed upon the Subject, abſolutely rejected it. Upon this enſued a new and unheard-of diſtemper in the Houſe of Commons, as if it had been great preſumption in the Houſe of Peers to refuſe any Bill ſent from them, and thereupon a Vote paſſed in the Houſe of Commons, That that Houſe did conceive that the Proteſtation made by them

them is fit to be taken by every perſon that is well-affected in Religion, and to the good of the Commonwealth; and therefore doth declare, That what perſon ſoever ſhall not take the Proteſtation, is unfit to bear Office in the Church or Commonwealth; and ordered, That the Knights, Citizens and Burgeſſes ſhould ſend down to the ſeveral places for which they ſerve Copies of that Vote of the Houſe concerning the Proteſtation, and that thoſe Votes ſhould be printed. Let all men judge whether before that time, from the beginning of Parliaments, the Houſe of Commons had ever preſumed to trench ſo farre upon Our Privilege, to make a Declaration ſo like Law without Us; or upon the Privilege of the Lords, to make and publiſh ſuch a Declaration after they had rejected the Bill, and ſome of them refuſed to take the Proteſtation; or upon the Liberty of the Subject, ſo farre to impoſe any ſuch thing upon them without conſent of Parliament. Yet of this We took no notice, but preſſed ſtill the disbanding of the Armies, and interpoſed and quickned them in nothing elſe; which was again with all earneſtneſs deſired by the *Scots* at *Newcaſtle*, and preſſed by their Commiſsioners at *London*. But a new Fright was now found to ſtartle the People, and to bring Us into Hatred or Jealouſie with them: the general Rumors of Treaſons and Conſpiracies began to loſe credit with all men, who began to conſider what they felt more then what others feared; and therefore they had now found out a Treaſon indeed, even ready to be put in execution upon the whole Kingdom, the Repreſentative body thereof, a Plot to bring up the whole Army out of the Northern parts to *London*. A ſtrange Plot indeed, which, conſidering the conſtitution of that time, no man can believe Us guilty of: and though they made great uſe of it, to the filling the mindes of Our People with fears and apprehenſions, they ſeemed not then to charge Us with any knowledge of or privity to it. What they have done ſince all the world knows, notwithſtanding Our many Proteſtations in that point. And We cannot but ſay, that by thoſe Examinations of Colonel *Goring*, Sir *Jacob Aſhly*, and Sir *John Conyers*, and Maſter *Piercy*'s Letter, which is all the Evidence We have ſeen, and by which they ſeem principally to be guided, We cannot ſatisfie Our own private Conſcience, that there was ever a reſolution of bringing up the Army to *London*; and upon

the ſtricteſt examination We can make of that buſineſs, We can finde it to be no other then this: Obſervation being made of the great Tumults about *Weſtminſter*, which ſeemed to threaten the ſafety of the Members of both Houſes, at leaſt of thoſe who were known not to agree with the deſignes of that Faction We have before ſpoken of, and the manner of delivering Petitions by multitudes of people atteſted (or pretended to be ſo) by the hands of many thouſands, againſt the known Laws and eſtabliſhed Government of the Kingdom, which yet ſeemed to receive ſome countenance, and to carry ſome Authority, as inſtances of the Affections of ſo many perſons; it fell into the thoughts of ſome Officers of the Army, of known and publick Affections to their Countrey, That a Petition of a modeſt and a dutiful nature from the whole Army, for the compoſing and ſettling all Grievances in the Church and State by Law, might, for the reaſon of it, prevail with the whole Houſe, and coming from ſuch a Body, might confirm thoſe who might be ſhaken with any fears of Power or Force by the Tumults: and with this Propoſition We being made acquainted, gave Our full approbation to it, taking great care that no Circumſtances in the framing it or delivering it might be any blemiſh to the matter of it. This, We call God to witneſs, as We have done before, was all We gave Our Conſent unto, or which We believe was ever intended to be put in practice. (What attempts other men made to ſeduce the Affections of the Army from Us is known to many.) If in the managery of this debate any raſh diſcourſes happened of bringing up the Army, it is evident, whether they were propoſed in earneſt or no, they were never entertained, and the whole matter laid aſide above two moneths before any diſcovery; ſo that that Danger was never prevented by the Power or Wiſdom of Parliament. And for the Petition it ſelf, which hath been ſo often preſſed againſt Us as a ſpecial Argument of Our privity to the bringing up the Army, after We have ſo fully and particularly anſwered every particular circumſtance of that Petition, ſigned with *C. R.* We have herewith publiſhed a true Copy of that Petition, that all Our good Subjects may ſee how juſtly We have been traduced, and judge, when Petitions of all natures were ſo frequently and ſo willingly received, whether

ther ſuch a Petition might not with modeſty and duty enough have been preſented unto them. And if in truth that deſigne of bringing up the Army had been then believed when it was firſt pretended to be diſcovered, which was about the middle of *May*, they would ſurely have thought it neceſſary to have disbanded that Army ſooner then *Auguſt*, which no preſsing of Ours nor of Our *Scots* Subjects could perſwade them to doe: And We are ſure Our Innocence in that matter would ſoon have appeared, if the large time to bring this buſineſs to a judicial trial had been made uſe of; if, contrary to all Cuſtome, it had not been thought fit to publiſh Depoſitions before the parties concerned had been heard to make their Defence, or Witneſſes croſs-examined, though they attended above twelve moneths to doe it; and if ſome men had not believed that their general and violent expreſsions, affirming this to be a Plot equal to that of the Gun-powder-Treaſon, would ſooner be believed if it were not publickly diſcuſſed, but left to every mans fancy to heighten according to his own Inclinations, and had not feared, that if the whole Examinations taken (and not ſuch onely as they pleaſed to ſelect) had come to light, it would have appeared by the Examination of Maſter *Goring* (purpoſely ſuppreſt) with what intention that mention of bringing up the Army was made, with what earneſtneſs it was oppoſed, and with what ſuddenneſs it was deſerted: and many extenuations of and many other contradictions to what is now publiſhed would have appeared, and this impoſsible Stratagem, with which they have ſo much diſturbed Our Subjects and reproached Us, could never have been made ſo much uſe of.

After all this readineſs in Us to doe whatſoever they deſired of Us, and patience in ſuffering them to doe whatſoever they pleaſed to Us, We gave them warning, that if there were any more good Bills which they deſired might paſs for the benefit of Our Subjects, We wiſhed they might be made ready againſt ſuch a time, when We reſolved, according to Our Promiſe to Our *Scots* Subjects (with which they were well acquainted) to repair into Our Kingdom of *Scotland*, to ſettle the unhappy Differences there. Upon this We were earneſtly deſired by both Our Houſes of Parliament to deferre Our Journey thither, as well upon pretence of

the Danger, if both Armies were not firſt disbanded, as that they had many good Laws in readineſs for the ſettling the Differences here. We were by their entreaty perſwaded to deferre Our Journey to a day agreed on by themſelves, aſſuring Our Self that they would think themſelves obliged againſt that time not onely to disband Our Armies, but ſo to prepare and digeſt the buſineſs of Parliament, that We might have made a Seſsion before Our going. But that Malignant Faction was ſo prevalent, that the debate of the Biſhops Bill took up moſt of their time, ſo that neither any care was taken for the disbanding the Army, nor any thing done that had any reference to the publick benefit: and when the time of Our ſtay was expired, and even the day come themſelves had appointed, a new Addreſs was made to Us for a longer ſtay of fourteen dayes, becauſe the Treaty was not concluded, nor the Armies diſbanded, which was the main ground of Our deferring it before. This Suit (which was the firſt We denied them) We could not grant, there being that neceſsitie with reference to Our Promiſe, and to the exſpectation of Our Subjects of *Scotland*, that it was not in Our power to ſatisfie them, as We informed both Houſes Our ſelf at a Conference; and according to that neceſsity We undertook that Journey, not doubting but that when We ſhould have diſpatched the Affairs of that Kingdom, which We hoped ſpeedily to do, and both Our Houſes of Parliament ſhould have refreſhed themſelves in the Viſitation of thoſe for whom they had ſo well provided by Our Favour, We ſhould meet again with mutual Confidence one in another, and that it would be Our turn then to receive ſuch Teſtimonies of that Confidence and Affection as We had deſerved.

But the miſchievous and indefatigable induſtry of that Malignant party, which had before Our going interrupted that Correſpondence which We deſerved from Our People, had with no leſs Malice provided for Our reception at Our Return; in ſtead of reducing buſineſs to that head, that the Diſtractions of the Kingdom might be compoſed by the due obſervation and execution of the Laws, We found things farre more out of order then We left them, and Our good Subjects more puzzled to know their Duties. Orders had been made in the Houſe of Commons and publiſhed in derogation of

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the Book of Common-Prayer, and for ſuſpenſion of thoſe Laws in force which concerned the Government of the Church: and though another Order of the Lords was likewiſe publiſhed according to Law for the due obſervation of the Laws eſtabliſhed, and for ſuppreſsing thoſe Diſorders which were every day breaking out, by the faction of mean looſe perſons againſt the Divine Service appointed by Law, the Houſe of Commons took upon them publickly to declare againſt that Order, becauſe it was onely made with the conſent of eleven Lords, and that nine other Lords did then diſſent from it; whereas in truth the ſaid Order was made in a full Houſe in *January* before, and onely Ordered then by that difference of number to be printed, after the Houſe of Commons had made (in a very thin Houſe, and after it had been rejected by Vote) that illegal Order for ſuch alteration in the Church: and if in truth it had been then made, and but by the oddes of two Voices, being in purſuance of the Law, all men will think it of much more validity then any Order of the Houſe of Commons againſt the Law; which in truth hath no Authority to make any Orders in buſineſs of that nature. And therefore the publiſhing of that Order and Declaration of the ninth of *September* muſt be confeſſed by all men to be ſuch a breach and violation of the Privilege of the Peers Houſe, (beſides the Affront offered to Us, and injury to Our good Subjects, and to the Law by it) that before this Parliament was never heard of; and was an apparent evidence, that they meant the whole Managery of the Kingdome and the Legiſlative power ſhould be undertaken by the Houſe of Commons, without the Conſent either of Us or Our Nobility. Yet the Execution of this Order was with great Diligence and Animoſity preſſed upon Our good Subjects, and many troubled and impriſoned for not ſubmitting thereunto. When they had made this breach upon the Eccleſiaſtical State, they took care (under pretence of encouragement of Preaching) to erect Lectures in ſeveral Pariſhes, and to commend ſuch Lecturers as beſt ſuited with their Deſignes, men of no Learning, no Conſcience, but furious Promoters of the moſt dangerous Innovations which were ever induced into any State; many of them having taken no Orders, yet recommended by Members of either Houſe to Pariſhes, as at *Leuſham* in *Kent*, and many other places:

And when Mechanick perſons have been brought before them for Preaching in Churches, and confeſſed the ſame, the power of theſe Grand Reformers hath been ſo great, that they have been diſmiſſed without Puniſhment, hardly with Reprehenſion. All perſons of Learning and eminency in Preaching, of ſober and vertuous Converſations, and great Examples in their Lives, even ſuch as amongſt theſe men had been of greateſt eſtimation, and ſuffered ſomewhat for them, were diſcountenanced, and ſuch men principally cheriſhed, who boldly and ſeditiouſly preached againſt the Government of the Church, againſt the Book of Common-Prayer, againſt Our Kingly lawful Power, and againſt Our Perſon; many of which were commended to (if not impoſed upon) Pariſhes, firſt by ſpecial Letters and earneſt Sollicitations from the prime Leaders of this turbulent Faction, after by Orders requiring ſuch Miniſters as would not accept their Recommendations to attend and ſhew cauſe. All licence was given to thoſe leud Seditious Pamphlets which deſpiſed the Government both of the Church and State, which laid any Imputations and Scorns upon Our Perſon or Office, and which filled the ears of all Our good Subjects with Lyes and monſtrous Diſcourſes, to make them believe all the ill of the Government and Governors of Church and State: Books againſt the Book of Common-Prayer and the eſtabliſhed Laws of the Land ſuffered, without reprehenſion, to be dedicated to both Houſes of Parliament; whatſoever the Rancour and Venome of any Infamous perſon could digeſt, publiſhed without controll; and nothing diſcountenanced and reproached, but a dutiful regard of Us and Our Honour, and a ſober eſteem and application to the Laws of the Kingdome. This was the condition We found at Our return from *Scotland*, beſides a ſtrange groundleſs apprehenſion of Danger infuſed generally into the mindes of Our good Subjects, as if ſome notable Deſigne were in hand againſt the Parliament, againſt the City of *London*, againſt the whole Kingdome of *England*. There fell out an Accident whileſt We were in *Scotland* concerning the Marqueſſes of *Hamilton* & *Argile*; Thoſe two Lords, upon ſome information given to them that their Perſons were in danger, upon a ſudden withdrew themſelves from the Parliament in *Scotland*, and for ſome few dayes removed out of *Edenburgh*. Whatever they had been informed and whatever they

ſuſpected,

ſuſpected, the Grounds of both were very fully examined by the Parliament there, their Perſons being of that quality and eſtimation in that Kingdome that they were ſure of Juſtice. Upon the whole, themſelves and the Parliament were ſatisfied, that the Information firſt given to them could not be made good to the proof of any Deſign to the Danger of theſe Lords, and the Examinations of the whole matter ſent by Our direction to Our Parliament here. How (if all had been true that was imagined) this buſineſs could ſo highly and nearly concern the Peace of this Kingdom, and the preſent Safety of both Our Houſes of Parliament, We cannot imagine: Yet upon the firſt report of it here (which was the day before the firſt Meeting after the Receſs) without ſtaying to hear the opinion of Our Parliament there, who uſed all diligence in the examination, or of Our Parliament here, ſuch ſtrange Gloſſes and Interpretations were made upon that accident (not without reflection upon Us and Our Honour) as if at the ſame time there had been ſuch a Deſign to have been executed here as they had fancied to themſelves that to be; and a ſudden reſolution was taken, firſt by the Committee during the Receſs, after by the Houſes, to have a Guard for the defence of *London*, *Weſtminſter*, and both Our Houſes of Parliament: which muſt needs make a great Impreſsion in the mindes of Our good Subjects, in a time when they were newly freed from the fears of two Armies, to be awaked with the apprehenſion of Dangers; of which ſeeing no ground, they were to expect no end.

Matters being thus ſtated, and all poſsible skill being uſed by that Faction, and by their Emiſſaries of the Clergy, (who at the ſame time, ſuch Clamour was raiſed of the unlawfulneſs that the Clergy ſhould meddle in Temporal Affairs, were their chief Agents to derive their Seditious directions to the People, and were all the week attending the doors of both Houſes to be imployed in thoſe errands) to infuſe the moſt deſperate Fears into the mindes of all men that could be imagined. To be ſure that the memory of former bitterneſs might not depart, they provide for Our Entertainment againſt We ſhould come to *London*, to preſent Us with *a Remonſtrance* (as they called it) *of the State of the Kingdom*; laying before Us, and publiſhing to all the world, all the

miſtakes and all the misfortunes which had happened from Our firſt coming to the Crown, and before, to that hour; forgetting the bleſſed condition (notwithſtanding the unhappy mixture) all Our Subjects had enjoyed in the benefit of Peace and Plenty under Us, to the envy of Chriſtendom; objecting to Us the actions of ſome, and the thoughts of others; and reproaching Us with matters which indeed never entred into Our thoughts, nor, to Our knowledge, into the thoughts of any other; reviling Us to the People, and complaining to Us of the Houſe of Peers (whoſe Authority, Intereſt and Privilege was then as much ſlighted and deſpiſed as Ours is ſince;) and eaſily paſsing over thoſe ſingular Acts of Our Grace paſſed by Us this Parliament, or aſcribing them to their own wiſdom in the procurement, they concluded againſt a Malignant Party, and that they had no hope of ſettling the Diſtractions of the Kingdom for want of concurrence with the Houſe of Peers, and that concurrence was deſperate by reaſon of the Prevalency of the Biſhops and of the Recuſant Lords, into which number all thoſe Lords were caſt who preſumed to diſſent from any Propoſitions made by the Houſe of Commons. When this Engine was prepared for the People by the prime Leaders of that deſperate Faction, it was preſented to the Houſe of Commons, and the greateſt induſtry and skill uſed that is imaginable by private Sollicitations, Threats and Promiſes, to procure conſent, that it might be paſſed by that Houſe: and after a long debate (longer then ever was known in Parliament, till three of the clock in the morning, from ten the day before, when very many, through wearineſs and weakneſs, were forced to leave the Houſe; ſo that it looked (as was well ſaid) like the Verdict of the Starved Jury) they carried it by eleven Voices. And ſhortly, within very few dayes after Our return (when We had been received with all poſsible expreſſions of Joy by Our City of *London*, which was publickly murmured againſt, and the chief advancers of that Duty and Affection diſcountenanced, as if they envied Us the Loyalty of Our People, and when it was publickly ſaid in Our Houſe of Commons, upon ſome diſpute of a pretended breach of the Orders of the Houſe, *That their Diſcipline ought to be ſevere, for the Enemy was in view*) that Remonſtrance was preſented to Us at Our Court, at

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Hampton-Court, by ſome Members of the Houſe of Commons, with a Petition (contracting the ſharp Language in the Remonſtrance into leſs room) amongſt other things, That We would concurre with Our People for depriving the Biſhops of their Votes in Parliament, (for which there was then no Bill paſſed both Houſes) and to employ ſuch Perſons about Us as Our Parliament might confide in. We received this ſtrange Petition, and ſtranger Remonſtrance, graciouſly from the hands of the Preſenters, promiſed them an Anſwer, and in the mean time deſired that the Remonſtrance might not be publiſhed to the People; the thing it ſelf, and the printing any thing of the like nature, being never heard of by the direction of the Houſe of Commons till this Parliament, it being the firſt appeal to the People, and of a dangerous conſequence to Parliaments themſelves. But (as in other things neither Our Deſires or Commands have been conſidered) without giving Us leiſure to anſwer either the one or the other, ſpecial direction is given for the printing that Remonſtrance, and equal care taken for the publiſhing it in all places and parts of the Kingdome.

Having taken this care for the ſhaking and perplexing the minds of all men, the next work was to get ſuch a Power into their hands as might govern and diſpoſe of thoſe Affections. To this purpoſe they had from the beginning of the Parliament (by reaſon of ſome complaints againſt the immoderate exerciſe of the authority of the Lieutenants and their Deputies in raiſing Coat and Conduct-money, and ſome exceſſes in them) had ſeveral debates in the diminution of the Office it ſelf; but ſtill grounded upon the illegal Preſſures uſed by them, and upon ſome words in the Commiſsion it ſelf, which (though of long uſage in very happy dayes) were conceived not agreeable to the Law: but they were ſo far from ſuppoſing the Office it ſelf or Commiſsion to be illegal, that both Houſes of Parliament had recommended two Lords to Us, and deſired Our Commiſsion to make them Lords Lieutenants of *Yorkſhire* and *Dorſetſhire*; the onely end ſeeming then to be, that good and approved men ſhould be in thoſe imploiments and truſts. But at laſt they reſolved againſt the Office it ſelf, and would think of ſome other way to provide for the Safety of the Kingdom in that point; and in this they had a double end: Firſt, to fright all per-

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ſons (Members of both Houſes, who had been Lieutenants and Deputy-Lieutenants) to comply with them in their Votes, leſt they ſhould be called in queſtion for the execution of thoſe Offices (a Stratagem they had found to engage many perſons to their Opinions, as Sheriffs for the collecting Ship-money, and all other perſons who in truth were or might be made obnoxious to their Power:) then, that by unſetling that whole buſineſs of the *Militia* throughout the Kingdome, they might the more eaſily bring in their own power of governing it, as they have ſince endeavoured to doe. And thereupon they preſumed to bring in ſuch a Bill into the Houſe of Commons, to place a General at Land and an Admiral at Sea by Act of Parliament, with ſuch Power and Authority over the Lives and Fortunes of all Our Subjects, as ſhould be liable to no controll nor to be queſtioned by any Superintendent hand, with a pre-pardon for whatſoever they ſhould doe under colour of thoſe Offices, either of which Officers ſhould have been a much greater man then Our Self, and commanded in Our Kingdom above Us: the matter of which Bill, to ſhew their Deſigne, is ſince digeſted into their new Generals Commiſsion, and the pretended Ordinance to the Earl of *Warwick*. And all this was then pretended to be a matter of abſolute Neceſsity for the Preſervation of Us and Our Kingdom; but at that time it could procure no other credit, then to be ſuffered to reſt in the Houſe as an evidence of the liberty might be uſed in the preferring of Bills. They had by this time taken all the licence at their private Cabals to undervalue and vilify Our Perſon and Our Power, and in publick, to give way and countenance to any Scandals upon Us. Letters from the Maior of *Plymmouth*, that the Rebels in *Ireland* call themſelves *The Queen's Army*, and pretend the King's Authority for what they doe, and ſtore of ſuch Diſcourſes upon ſuch Evidence is every week printed in the Journals of the Houſe; which without doubt muſt be of great authority with Our People, who muſt conceive ſuch Informations to be not onely fully and clearly proved, but to be accepted and publiſhed upon very weighty reaſons above the conſideration of Our Honour and Safety.

And now they were to examine what notable credit their Remonſtrance and their other general Infuſions had got with the People,

People, and how ready they would be upon any occaſions to venture themſelves at their direction. They had made themſelves ſo terrible in the Houſe of Commons, that by their Threats and their Promiſes of Places and Preferments to ſeveral men, and by the abſence of many, they had gotten the major part: But in the Houſe of Lords their power was not the ſame; that muſt be wrought another way: yet there they had uſed all means to prevail upon the hopes and fears of ſuch who they thought might that way be dealt with; witneſs, among many other things of the ſame nature, that inſolent Speech of Mr *Pym* to the Earle of *Dover*, *That if he looked for any Preferment, he muſt comply with them in their waies, and not hope to have it by ſerving Us.* Shortly after their coming together upon the Receſſe, a new Bill was preferred in the Houſe of Commons, for the taking away of the Votes of Biſhops out of the Houſe of Peers; which being once rejected before, ought not, by the Courſe and Order of Parliament, to have been admitted again the ſame Seſsion: but that was eaſily over-ruled, and in the Houſe of Commons it did paſs, many good men the more willingly concurring therein, upon hope that that Bill being once conſented to, the Fury of that Faction, which with ſo great Violence purſued an abſolute Deſtruction of the Eccleſiaſtical Government, would be abated, or that Rage being diſcerned, they would looſe that ſtrength which ſupported them. But the Lords quickly found that the Ring-leaders of that Faction had not Ingenuity enough to be compounded with; and therefore with them it was not like to find ſo eaſie a paſſage. Now their reſort was to the People, whom upon ſeveral occaſions they had trained down to *Weſtminſter* in great multitudes with Swords and Clubs, and had often ſent for them when any debate was like to be carried againſt them in either Houſe; the particulars whereof We are ready to prove.

Every man will conceive We were in a great ſtreight, to find Our Self ſo much diſappointed of that return the conſciouſneſs of Our own Merit and the many glorious Profeſsions made by both Houſes bade Us to expect. We ſaw the Laws abſolutely trampled under feet, and a Deſigne laid to ruine the Government of the Kingdome, and to deſtroy Us and Our Poſterity. We ſaw this Deſign carried by a few men, whoſe Hatred and Malice to Our Perſon We found implacable, and their Contempt of Us and Our Authority ſo viſible and

notorious

notorious, that they forbore not to expreſſe it in their mention of Us in all companies. We ſaw their Power and Intereſt to be ſo great, that they were able to miſ-lead very many honeſt men, and to countenance their actions under the name of both Houſes of Parliament. We were reſolved that nothing they ſhould doe within thoſe walls ſhould provoke Us, till time and the experience good men ſhould have of them ſhould diſcover their purpoſes; therefore We applied Our ſelf only to the Law, hoping that the Inſolence and Licentiouſneſs of the People might, by Our help, be curbed by that Rule. The Tumults grew ſo notorious and ſo dangerous, that they Threatned and Aſſaulted the Members of both Houſes; whereupon the Houſe of Peers (which it ſeems the Lords preſent at the paſsing of one of their late Declarations, wherein they deny there have been any Tumults, had forgot) at a Conference with the Houſe of Commons twice very earneſtly deſired, that they would, for the dignity of Parliaments, joyn with them in a Declaration for the ſuppreſsing ſuch Tumults. But the prevalency of that Faction was ſo great, that though complaint was made by Members in the Houſe of Commons, that they had been aſſaulted and evil-intreated by thoſe people, even at the door of their Houſe, in ſtead of joyning with the Lords for the ſuppreſsing or puniſhing them, ſeveral Speeches were made in juſtification of them and commending their Affections, ſaying, *They muſt not diſcourage their friends, this being a time they muſt make uſe of all their friends*; and Maſter *Pym* ſaying, *God forbid that the Houſe of Commons ſhould proceed in any way to diſhearten people to obtain their juſt deſires in ſuch a way*: which he had good reaſon to ſay, himſelf and thoſe other perſons whom We afterwards accuſed of High Treaſon having, by great ſollicitation and encouragement, cauſed thoſe multitudes to come down in that manner. The Lords having in vain tried this way, appoint (upon the advice of the Judges) that a Writ be directed to the Sheriffe and Juſtices, upon divers Statutes, (which iſſued accordingly) to ſuppreſs and hinder all tumultuous reſort: in obedience to which the Juſtices and other Miniſters appoint the Conſtables to attend about *Weſtminſter*, to hinder that unlawful Conflux of People. This was no ſooner done, but the Conſtables and Juſtices of the Peace were ſent for by the Houſe of Commons, the ſetting ſuch a Watch Voted to be a breach of Privilege, and

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before any Conference with the Lords, by whoſe direction that legal Writ iſſued out, the Watch diſcharged, and one of the Juſtices for doing his Duty according to that Writ ſent to the Tower. About the ſame time there was a Tumultuous Aſſembly of *Browniſts*, *Anabaptiſts* and other Sectaries called together by the Sound of a Bell into a place in *Southwark*, where the Armes and Magazine for that Burrough were kept. The Conſtable knowing ſuch Meetings to be unlawful, and the Conſequences of them, eſpecially in ſuch places, to be very dangerous, came amongſt them. He was no ſooner come, but he was reproached with words, beaten and dragged in a very barbarous manner, inſomuch as he hardly eſcaped from them with his life. Complaint was made by him to the next Juſtices, and Oath made of the truth of that complaint: whereupon a Writ was ſent to the Sheriffe to impannel a Jury according to the Law, for the examination and finding of this Riot. This was complained of too, and the meeting (in how tumultuous and diſorderly a manner ſoever) pretended to be only for the drawing of a Petition againſt Biſhops, and that the Conſtable was a friend to Biſhops, and came to croſs them, and to hinder men from ſubſcribing that Petition. Hereupon an Order was made in the Houſe of Commons, and the under-Sheriff of *Surrey* by it enjoyned, that he ſhould not ſuffer any proceedings to be made upon any inquiſition that might concern any perſons who met together to ſubſcribe a Petition to be preferred to that Houſe. What Authority the Houſe of Commons had or have to ſend any ſuch Injunctions, We cannot conceive; yet by this any diſorderly perſons (let their Intentions and demeanour be never ſo Seditious) are above the reach of the Law and Juſtice, if they pleaſe to ſay they meet to prepare any Petition to the Houſe of Commons. And 'tis no wonder if, after all this care taken to remove all thoſe Obſtacles the Law had put in the way to ſuch Tumults, all people took upon them to viſit Our Parliament in ſuch manner as they thought fit, and thereupon great multitudes of mutinous people every day reſorted to *Weſtminſter*, threatned to pull down the Lodgings where divers of the Biſhops lay, aſſaulted ſome in their Coaches, chaſed others with boats by water, laid violent hands on the Archbiſhop of *York* in his paſsing to the Houſe, and had he not been reſcued by force, it is probable they had murthered

him; crying through the Streets, *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and between the two Houſes, *No Biſhops, No Biſhops, No Popiſh Lords*; and miſuſed the ſeveral Members of either Houſe, who they were informed favoured not their deſperate and Seditious ends; proclaiming the names of ſeveral of the Peers as *Evil and Rotten-hearted Lords*; attempting the defacing the Abbey at *Weſtminſter* with great Violence, and in their return from thence made a Stand before Our Gate at *White-Hall*, ſaid, *They would have no more Porters-Lodge, but would ſpeak with the King when they pleaſed*; and uſed ſuch deſperate Rebellious diſcourſe, that We had great reaſon to believe Our own Perſon, Our Royal Conſort and Our Children to be in evident Danger of Violence, and therefore were compelled at Our great charge to entertain a Guard for ſecuring Us from that Danger. And yet all this Danger is ſo ſlighted, that We are told in the laſt Declaration, after We have ſo often urged it, *That it is a Suggeſtion as falſe as the Father of Lies can invent.*

Theſe Licentious and unpuniſhed Tumults gave occaſion to the Biſhops (who could not repair to the Houſe without Danger of their Lives) to make that their Proteſtation, for the which they were forthwith accuſed of High Treaſon by the Houſe of Commons, and committed to the Tower by the Houſe of Peers, where they continued for the ſpace of four Moneths at the leaſt.

That ſmall Guard We had taken for our neceſſary Safety, and the reſort of ſome Officers (who attended both Our Houſes of Parliament, for Money due to them by Act of Parliament and upon the publick Faith) to Our Court for Our Defence againſt thoſe Tumults, was objected againſt Us, and divers counterfeit Letters were written, and ſenſleſſe Fears infuſed into the Citizens of *London*, that We had a deſigne of actual Violence upon that City, and thereupon they were drawn into Armes, and put upon their Guard againſt Us. So that there was not only no proviſion made for the ſuppreſsing of Tumults, but that proviſion the Law had made againſt them diſcountenanced and taken away, and We Our Self cenſured for taking ſo much ſtrength about Us as might, for ſome time, oppoſe ſuch Force as was like to be offered to Our own Gates. What ſhould We doe? We very well knew the Contrivers of all theſe Miſchiefs, who had by their exceeding

exceeding Induſtry and Malice wrought this Diſtraction throughout the Kingdom, ſuch a defection of Allegiance in the Common people, ſuch a damp of Trade in the City, and ſo horrid a Confuſion in the Church, and all this to ſatisfie their own private Ends and Ambition: for themſelves know what overtures have been made by them, and with what importunity, for Offices and Preferments, what great Services ſhould have been done for Us, and what other undertakings were (even to have ſaved the Life of the Earl of *Strafford*) if We would confer ſuch Offices upon them. We were ſure We could make ſuch particular proofs againſt them of a ſolemn Combination entred into by them for altering the Government of the Church and State, of their deſigning Offices to themſelves and other men, of their ſolliciting and drawing down the Tumults to *Weſtminſter*, and of their bidding the People in the height of their rage and fury to goe to *White-Hall*, of their ſcornful and odious mention of Our Perſon, and their deſigne of getting Our Son, the Prince, into their hands, of their treating with Forein Power to aſsiſt them if they ſhould fail in their enterpriſes: Yet we ſaw too that their Intereſt and reputation was ſo great with many of both Houſes of Parliament, their Power ſo abſolute with a multitude of *Browniſts*, *Anabaptiſts*, and other Sectaries about *London*, who were ready to appear in a body at their command, that it would be a hard matter to proceed againſt them. In this ſtreight We reſolved to do Our part in both, to give Our People a clear ſatisfaction of Our upright Intentions to the publick, whereby they ſhould finde their Happineſs did not at all depend on ſuch Inſtruments; and to proceed againſt the Perſons of the other in a legal way, that all the world might ſee what Ambition, Malice and Sedition had been hid under the Vizour of Conſcience and Religion. Hereupon We prepared an Anſwer to the Remonſtrance the Houſe of Commons had before publiſhed to the People of the State of the Kingdom; wherein, without taking notice of the uncomely Language in, and the Circumſtances of that Remonſtrance, We declared with as gracious and full Expreſsions as We could make, Our earneſt Reſolutions for the maintenance of the true Proteſtant Religion, the Liberty and Property of the Subject, and the Law of the Land; and made no leſs gracious offers to conſent to any Act that

ſhould be offered for the eaſe of tender Conſciences in matters indifferent, and very earneſtly deſired that the ſame might be provided, and whatever elſe ſhould be thought neceſſary for the Peace and Security of Our People: And then, that We might likewiſe manifeſt the Actions of that Malignant Party which had done ſo much miſchief, and intended ſo much more, We reſolved to accuſe the Lord *Kimbolton*, Maſter *Hollis*, Maſter *Pym*, Maſter *Hampden*, and Maſter *Stroud*, (who had ſo maliciouſly contrived the Ruine of Our Self and the eſtabliſhed Government of this Church and Kingdom) and Sir *Arthur Heſilrigge*, who had been made their Inſtrument to obey and execute their bold and wild deſignes of High Treaſon, as We had great reaſon to doe, hoping that their Duty due to Us, and the Obligations We had put upon Our People this Parliament, would never ſuffer the Intereſt and reputation of theſe men to be laid in the ſcale, & to over-weigh Our Regal Authority and the Law of the Land, but that We ſhould have found a way open to a fair and Legal Trial of them, which was all We deſired. How Our proceeding was in that buſineſs and Our managery of it, We have truely and at large ſet forth in Our Anſwer to the Declaration of both Houſes of the nineteenth of *May*, That what We did firſt in acquainting the Houſe of Commons with Our Accuſation by Our Serjeant at Arms, was in Correſpondence and out of regard to that Houſe, that We might rather have them delivered to the hands of Juſtice by them, then apprehend them by an ordinary Miniſter of Juſtice; which We were and are aſſured, whatever Doctrine is preached to the contrary, We might well have done in the caſe of Treaſon: otherwiſe that Maxime in the Law, acknowledged in a Petition of both Houſes to Us in the beginning of Our Reign, in the Caſe of the Earl of *Arundel*, That in caſe of Treaſon, Felony and breach of Peace, Privilege of Parliament doth not extend, is of no ſignification. The words are, *They finde it an undoubted Right and conſtant Privilege of Parliament, That no Member of Parliament (ſitting the Parliament, or within the uſual times of Privilege of Parliament) is to be impriſoned or reſtrained without Sentence or Order of the Houſe, unleſs it be for Treaſon, Felony, or for refuſing to give Sureties for the Peace.* In thoſe Caſes 'twas then thought a Member of either Houſe was not to be diſtinguiſhed from another Subject: and why We might not

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as well have exſpected that upon Our Articles (not ſo general as a mere verbal Accuſation) of High Treaſon, either Houſe would have committed their ſeveral Members, as they had done ſo many this Parliament, and about that time Twelve together (upon a confeſſed ground, which every man there, who knew what Treaſon was, knew that fact to be none) merely becauſe they were accuſed, and as the Houſe of Peers had formerly done a Member of that Houſe, (the Earl of *Briſtol*) accuſed in the ſame manner, moſt of the good Lords being then Judges, We neither could then, nor can yet underſtand. That Our own coming to the Houſe was to prevent that ſhedding of blood, which in all poſsibility was likely to follow that Order made the night before, for reſiſting all ſuch Officers who endeavoured (upon how legal Warrant ſoever) to arreſt any Members of either Houſe (an Order much more unjuſtifiable by any Rule of Law and Juſtice, by which Orders or Acts are to be examined, then any thing We have done, or any body by Our Authority.) That Our purpoſe was no other but to acquaint that Houſe with the matter of Our Accuſation, to deſire their Perſons might be ſecured, and without any thought of the leaſt violation of their Privileges. This is that which We did: Examine now their part, and their progreſs ſince, and then judge whoſe Privileges have been invaded, and with how good a mind to the Commonwealth they have proceeded. We were no ſooner gone but the Houſe adjourned it ſelf, with ſome unuſual expreſsions of offence, and We were ſpeedily informed that ſome Reports and Scandals were raiſed againſt Us in Our City of *London*; That We had offered Violence to Our Houſe of Commons, come thither with force to murther ſeveral Members, and uſed threatning Speeches there againſt Our Parliament; and that this was but a Preface to an attempt We meant to make againſt and upon the City. Whereupon We reſolved the next day to goe to the *Guild-hall*; and to ſhew the great Confidence We had in the affections of Our ſaid City (which We exſpected ſhould have begot a proportionable Confidence from them in Us) We went attended with very few of Our own Servants, and then in the preſence of the Lord Maior, the Aldermen, and a very great aſſembly of the chief Citizens and others, We

made them a full Narration of what We had done the day before, and aſſured them, that We intended no proceedings but ſuch as were moſt agreeable to the Law of the Land and the Privilege of Parliament. This demeanour of Ours We thought would have given ſatisfaction to all Our loving Subjects, that if in truth We had erred in the form of Our Proceedings, yet Our intentions were full of Juſtice and regard to the general Law of the Land, from which We ſhall never willingly ſwerve. But in ſtead of any application to inform Our Judgement wherein We had erred, and how We were to proceed, both Our Houſes of Parliament, under the title of Committees, adjourned themſelves to the *Guild-Hall*, and afterwards to *Grocers-Hall*; the Perſons accuſed remove themſelves into the City, as to a Sanctuary, and there manage and contrive buſineſs to their own ends; they cauſe Diſcourſes to be publiſhed and Infuſions to be made of incredible danger to the City and Kingdom by that Our coming to the Houſe; and Alarm was given to the City in the dead time of the night, That We were coming with Horſe and Foot thither, and thereupon the whole City put in Arms. And however the envy ſeemed to be caſt upon the Deſignes of the Papiſts, mention was onely made of actions of Our own. Their ſeditious Preachers and Agents are by them and their ſpecial and particular directions ſent into the ſeveral Counties to infuſe thoſe Fears and Jealouſies into the mindes of Our good Subjects, with Petitions ready drawn by them for the People to ſigne; which were yet many times by them changed, three or four times, before the delivery, upon accidents and occurrences of either or both Houſes. And when many of Our poor deceived People of Our ſeveral Counties have come to Our City of *London* with a Petition ſo framed, altered and ſigned as aforeſaid, that Petition hath been ſuppreſſed, and a new one ready drawn hath been put into their hands after their coming to Town, (inſomuch as few of the company have known what they petitioned for) and hath been by them preſented to one or both Houſes of Parliament, as that of *Bedfordſhire* and *Buckinghamſhire*; witneſs thoſe Petitions, and, amongſt the reſt, that from *Hartfordſhire*, which took notice of matters agreed on or diſſented from the night before the delivery, which was hardly time enough to get ſo many thouſand hands,

hands, and to travell to *London* in that errand. The accuſed Members, to ſhew how much they were above Us and the reach of the Law, march with a Guard of armed men to the place where the Committee ſate, ſit with them, and govern thoſe Counſels. Firſt, they procure a Declaration to be ſet forth and printed from the Committee (without being reported to the Houſe, contrary to all Cuſtome and Privilege of Parliament, and againſt the Law it ſelf) with very ſtrange expreſsions of Our carriage; and, upon the matter, requiring all people to aſsiſt them. This they cauſe to be ſent into the City to the Common-Councel, which by the undue practices of Captain *Venne*, and Maſter *Foulk*, ſince made Alderman for his good ſervice, (their principal Agents) they had cauſed to be altered, by putting out the graveſt and moſt ſubſtantial Citizens, and taking in perſons of deſperate Fortunes and Opinions, who they knew would concurre with them in their more deſperate Actions; (the ſame Deſigne, and the ſame way purſued to make the City of *London* at their diſpoſal, as had been practiſed in the Houſe of Commons to work upon the whole Kingdom:) and with this Common-Councel Correſpondence is kept for the ſetting of unuſual Watches, placing of Guards in ſeveral places of the City, as if ſome deſperate attempt and aſſault were to be made upon the whole City by Us, who were known ſcarce to have a Guard ſtrong enough to preſerve Our own Houſe from Violence. A Commander is appointed under the Title of Serjeant-Major-general; and, as if all men were now by their new Proteſtation made Judges of the Privileges of Parliament and the Breaches thereof, and abſolved from all Rules of Obedience, ſpecial proviſion is made, and publick direction is given, for drawing down the Trained-bands of Our City of *London* to *Weſtminſter* on a day appointed, to guard and bring in triumph the perſons accuſed of High-Treaſon, as ſuch worthy Patriots that the Commonwealth it ſelf could not ſubſiſt but with reference to them; who in their diſcourſes and by their Meſſages to their Confederates expreſſed the greateſt Scorn of, and the moſt treaſonable Reproaches againſt Us that can be imagined. When We underſtood this horrid preparation made againſt Us, the Power it was evident theſe perſons had to doe hurt, and the Malice We knew they bore againſt Our Perſon (which We had too great rea-

ſon to fear they intended to ſeize) We reſolved to yield, for the preſent, to this Storm: and ſo the day before their coming to *Weſtminſter* We withdrew Our Perſon, with Our Royal Conſort and Our Children, to Our Houſe at *Hampton-Court*; and the rather, leſt the Courage and Indignation of ſome of Our good Subjects might (how weakly ſoever, yet with the effuſion of blood) oppoſe that great ſcorn intended Us; and believing that poſsibly by Our removing with all ſuch perſons whoſe preſence was excepted againſt, and diſcharging that ſmall Guard which the Tumults had forced Us to take for Our Safety, and which was urged as an Argument of Danger, and Ground of the general Fears, might at leaſt leſſen their appearance the next day. But theſe Powerful Perſons would by no means conceal their triumph over Us, but the next day are guarded from their reſidence in the City with multitudes of armed men and Ammunition in a hoſtile and warlike manner to *Weſtminſter*. The ſame Care and Induſtry was uſed to provoke and incenſe Our Mariners, Maſters of Ships, and other Sea-men, who were ſolicited by the Agents for the accuſed Perſons, and by their ſpecial direction, to expreſs their Affection likewiſe to the Cauſe in hand; and thereupon near one hundred Lighters and Long-Boats were ſet out by water, laden with Sakers, Murthering-Pieces, and other Ammunition, dreſſed up with Waſt clothes and Streamers, as ready for fight. And in this Array, theſe men by water and the Souldiers by land cried out as they paſſed by, *That they would thus Protect and Defend thoſe worthy Gentlemen whom We had accuſed of High Treaſon*; and as they paſſed by Our Windows at *White-Hall*, ſcornfully asked *what was become of Us, whither We were gone*. In this Equipage they came to both Houſes, where it is no wonder they have been ſince able to govern, having given ſuch teſtimony of their Power both by land and water. Let all the world judge by what Law this Army was raiſed, and whether any Act of Ours againſt theſe perſons was as unwarrantable as theſe proceedings.

We bore all this, being ſo much amazed at theſe Diſtractions, that We could not eaſily find what colour the Malice of theſe men had found out thus to out-face Us, not yet conceiving We had broke any Privilege, or that the caſual breaking of Privilege could have produced

produced ſuch prodigious Diſtempers. But We were no ſooner advertiſed where Our miſtaking was, but, without recrimination or complaining of the Injuries againſt Our Self, We ſent to both Houſes on the twelfth and fourteenth of *January* by Meſſage, That in Our proceeding againſt thoſe Perſons We had not the leaſt Intention of violating their Privileges, which We would be willing to aſſert by any reaſonable way We ſhould be adviſed; That We would wave Our former proceedings againſt them, and when the minds of men ſhould be compoſed, would proceed in an unqueſtionable way; in the mean time deſired all jealouſies might be laid aſide, and application be made to the publick and preſsing Affairs, eſpecially to thoſe of *Ireland*, which cried for the utmoſt of Our Aſsiſtance. But it concerned thoſe Perſons by no means to ſuffer ſuch a Compoſition; if theſe Fears and Jealouſies were not kept up and inflamed in the People, and the Diſtractions heightned, they knew they ſhould not only be diſappointed of the Places, Offices, Honours and Employments they had promiſed themſelves, but be expoſed to the Juſtice of the Law, and juſt Hatred of all good men. Therefore the buſineſs of both Kingdoms was not conſiderable to the Intereſts of the Six Members, who would be thought the Pillars both of Church and State. They had now found a danger nearer hand then *Ireland*, and an Army raiſed by Us in one night at *Kingſton* upon *Thames*; and upon ſome extravagant Information pretended to be given to a Committee, (though ſome of their pretended Witneſſes publickly in the Houſe diſavowed any ſuch Teſtimony) they procured an Order to be framed; and though before the publiſhing of it they had full and clear evidence to the contrary by Perſons come immediately from the place, and teſtifying it to be moſt quiet and peaceable, they yet had power to procure that Order to be publiſhed on the thirteenth of *January*, (the next day after they had received ſo gracious a Meſſage from Us) declaring, That the Lord *Digby* and Colonel *Lunsford* (the former of which was in the Town only with a Coach and ſix Horſes, the other onely attended by his Servant, and hath been ſince earneſtly preſſed by the Serjeant of the Houſe of Commons (in whoſe cuſtody he was) to accuſe the Lord *Digby*, with promiſes that thereby himſelf ſhould be diſcharged) had gathered

Troops

Troops of Horſe, and appeared in a warlike manner at *Kingſton* upon *Thames* (being within a Mile of Our Court) to the terror and affrightment of Our good Subjects, and to the diſturbance of the publick weal of the Kingdom; and therefore it was ordered, That the Sheriff and Juſtices of the Peace ſhould, with the aſsiſtance of the Train-Bands, ſuppreſs ſuch Aſſemblies, &c. And this way they found out to draw that County to affront Us, and ſent multitudes of mean people, under pretence of petitioning Us, to ſhew Us how unſecure Our Reſidence was like to be there too, and ſo in a ſhort time compelled Us, Our Royal Conſort and Our Children, to remove to Our Caſtle at *Windſore*.

They proceed then by a Cloſe Committee (a thing ſcarce heard of till this Parliament, and of dangerous conſequence to the fame and reputation of all men) to examine ſuch mean, unknown perſons as they had by Threats and Promiſes ſolicited to that purpoſe, concerning the circumſtances of Our coming to the Houſe, exhibiting bold and malicious Interrogatories and Queſtions concerning Our Self; and upon ſuch wild Informations of deſperate perſons, contrary to the known truth, and concealing other Examinations which they had taken, and by which the contrary to what they would have the People believe would have appeared, particularly that very full Examination of Captain *Aſhley*, wherein Our publick and peremptory Commands againſt all manner of Violence (though provoked) are ſufficiently manifeſted, they procured an infamous Declaration to be publiſhed by the Houſe of Commons (for the Houſe of Peers could not be yet prevailed with to joyn in thoſe Extravagancies) on the ſeventeenth of *January*, mentioning Our coming to the Houſe, and ſome rude expreſsions of ſome perſons, (who, if there were any ſuch perſons there, We are moſt confident they were not of Our Train) and would infer from ſome mens calling for the Word at Our coming out of the Houſe (which is a form uſed in Our Court, that thoſe of Our Train who are before may know when and whether they are to goe) that We had a purpoſe to have fallen upon the Houſe of Commons, and to have cut all their Throats; and do therefore declare, That *Our coming to the Houſe was a traitorous Deſigne againſt the King and Parliament*; *That Our Proclamation iſſued out of the*

Appre-

Apprehenſion of them was falſe, ſcandalous and illegal; That it was lawful for all men to harbour them, and that whoſoever did ſo, ſhould be under the Protection and Privilege of Parliament: with many other expreſsions of and aſperſions upon Us, which they hoped would render Us odious to Our good Subjects, and force Us for Our ſafety to ſubmit to ſuch unreaſonable Propoſitions which amongſt themſelves they had provided to be offered to Us, or provoke Us to ſuch Actions as might give them ſome advantage. To keep the People in a continual Alarm and apprehenſion of Danger, few daies paſſed without ſome pretended Diſcovery by Sir *Walter Earle* or other quick-ſighted men, of ſome Treaſon or Plot againſt the Parliament, the City, or the Kingdom; and upon every light and impoſsible Information many of Our Subjects ſent for out of ſeveral Counties, who, after chargeable attendance, were diſmiſſed without any reparation or reprehenſion. One day the Tower of *London* is in danger to be taken, and Information given, That great Multitudes, at leaſt a hundred, had that day reſorted to viſit a Prieſt, then a Priſoner there by Order of the Lords, and that at the time of the Information above fifty or threeſcore were then there, and a Warder diſpatched of purpoſe to give that notice: upon enquiry, but four Perſons were then found to be there, and but eight all that day, who had viſited that Prieſt. Another day a Tailour in a Ditch, in the open fields, over-hears two Paſſengers to plot the death of Mr *Pym*, and of many other Members of both Houſes: then Libellous Letters found in the Streets, without names (probably contrived by themſelves, and by their Power publiſhed, printed, and entred in their Journals;) and Intimations given of the Papiſts training under ground, and of notable proviſion of Ammunition in Houſes, where, upon examination, a ſingle Sword and a Bow and Arrows are found: a deſign of the Inhabitants of *Convent-Garden* to murther the City of *London*: news from *France*, *Italy*, *Spain* and *Denmark*, of Arms ready to come for *England*; with infinite ſuch ridiculous Diſcourſes, which are not only ſuffered and directed to be Printed, but ſuch countenance and credit given to them, that thereupon Guards muſt be doubled, Correſpondencies and Letters interrupted and broken open, even of and to Forein Miniſters of State and Embaſſadors, to the Scandal of the Nation, and againſt the Laws of Society and Civil Converſation: a Committee appointed for Information

mation, where Liberty hath been taken, without any Accuſation or Complaint extant, to examine the diſcourſes paſſed at Meals and Entertainments, what words ſuch a man ſpoke; and ſuch other monſtrous things as in a ſhort time will render life it ſelf unpleaſant, and make every Room and every Table a bait to betray men, and to bring them to ruine and deſtruction. Inſomuch as perſons have been ſent and imployed by Members of that Committee on purpoſe to the Tables of Perſons of Honour and Quality, to enquire, obſerve and inform what Language and Freedom was there uſed; whileſt theſe Worthy accuſed Members took the Liberty to themſelves in all their private Meetings, and by their Letters, to Deprave and Slander Our Perſon, to contrive the Alteration of the Government of the Church and State, to treat with Forein Power to aſsiſt them as ſoon as their Deſignes ſhould be ripe, to labour by Promiſes and Threats to bring the ſeveral Members of either Houſe to their opinion, and to raiſe Scandals upon, and to plot Danger and Ruine for thoſe who were of another opinion.

And having now by theſe Arts diſquieted and diſtracted the People abroad, and made them fit to receive any impreſsions from them, they proceed to work upon the Members of both Houſes with infinite Induſtry and Applications, that they might be able to get the reputation of Conſent from them, to encourage and ſet the People awork, if We refuſed to Conſent with them. They had removed as many Members from them of a contrary opinion as they could, and had uſed all means to get men who would be diſpoſed by them into their rooms. If they found any ſuch Lord, who had not a name in their Liſt of the good Lords, were like to have any influence upon a Place where an Election was to be, preſently an Order was conceived and publiſhed, That no Letters from any Noble-man ought to be written in ſuch Caſes, and if written, to be neglected; but would by no means conſent that this Order ſhould conclude thoſe of the Houſe of Commons, leſt Maſter *Pym* or any of thoſe bleſſed Members might not write in the behalf of the Commonwealth for a worthy Gentleman. If any Elections were queſtioned, whereby they were like to looſe a man at their diſpoſal, ſuch buſineſſes and queſtions were of too private a nature to interrupt their proceedings: ſo neither the Election of *New-Caſtle*, *Warwick*, *Windſor*, and very many other places, for

for whom Perſons ſerve without and againſt the Conſent of the Burroughs for whom they have got themſelves returned or admitted, can be heard or conſidered. If the Election of any ſuch Perſons hath been heard at the Committee, and they Voted out of the Houſe as unduly choſen or returned, they will by no means ſuffer ſuch a report to be made, leſt a good Member ſhould be loſt; as in the Caſe of Maſter *Nichols* (Maſter *Pym*'s Nephew) and others. Are they concerned in the contrary, and is any man returned and admitted whom they would be rid of, and againſt whom the leaſt pretence is made? ſtraight a day is appointed, no buſineſſe ſo great, as fit to be a Cauſe to keep a worthy Member from the Service of his Countrey: This is the Caſe of *Andover*, and other places. They rid themſelves of thoſe (how juſtly ſoever elected) whoſe Opinions are not ſuteable, nor their Diſpoſitions weake and guilty enough to be wrought upon. Their next Conqueſt muſt be of thoſe whom they could under any general Vote conclude to be obnoxious to the Juſtice (and ſo to be within the Mercy) of the Parliament. To this purpoſe their terrible Votes (which they keep as Rods over them, having never proceeded againſt any) againſt all thoſe Lords who had concurred in ſuch an Order at the Councel-Table, or ſuch a Cenſure in the Star-Chamber; againſt all Lords Lieutenants and their Deputies, who had raiſed Coat and Conduct-money; againſt all Sheriffs who had levied Ship-mony; againſt all Lords and others who had been concerned in, or received profit by any Monopoly or illegal Patent; in a word, againſt all ſuch who had medled in any thing which their Interpretation would call grievous to the Subject, brought all Perſons of either Houſe, who had guilt enough to doubt themſelves, or want of Spirit enough to fear them, either to be abſent, or ſilent, or to comply with them. And if any man had the Courage to conſider the ſingle buſineſs juſtly and by it ſelf, they were ſtraight making an Inquiſition into his whole life, and preparing ſomething againſt him for matters of which their Favourites were equally guilty; and declared publickly, *That what diſſervice ſoever any man had done formerly, if his preſent Actions were ſuch as brought benefit to the Commonwealth, he ought not to be queſtioned for what was paſt, but cheriſhed and protected.* M. *Pym.*

They had ſeveral Baits to catch and betray other men. Thoſe

who had been from the beginning deceived by them, and complied with them in their paſsion, and been ſubtilly involved in ſome of their private counſels, they perſwaded, That they were ſo far in, there was no retiring; that We would never forget the diſ-ſervice they had done Us; and therefore that there was no way to ſafety for themſelves but by weakning Us, and putting themſelves into ſuch a condition as it ſhould not be in Our Power to ſuppreſs them. To thoſe who had publick thoughts about them, and deſired the eſtabliſhment of right equally between Us and Our Subjects, and thought that right and favour they had obtained from Us this Parliament could never be enjoyed by them with that luſtre and ſecurity, if the Power from which they received it were oppreſſed or rendred of leſs veneration, they ſeemed abundantly ſatisfied with thoſe Acts We had paſſed, that they had no further aim then to enjoy thoſe; but that they had upon Our unwilling paſsing thoſe Acts (which all the world knows to be an Untruth moſt maliciouſly framed) great reaſon to feare, We meant not to obſerve them: when in truth We had, by the Bill for the Triennial Parliament, put Our Self and Our Poſterity (which We were willing to doe) out of any poſsibility of deſtroying or not obſerving thoſe good Laws. To thoſe who were deſirous to give that ſatisfaction to weak Conſciences, that they might be eaſed of unneceſſary Ceremonies, yet were ſcandalized at the prophane and odious Licence which the Rabble of *Brownists*, *Anabaptiſts* and other Sectaries took to themſelves of deſpiſing and reviling the Book of Common-Prayer, of ſuffering Mechanick, Ignorant fellows to undertake publickly, even in Churches, to preach and expound the Scripture, they ſeemed no leſs to be diſquieted at that Diſorder, but alleage that all Reconciliation and Union was to be embraced and purſued againſt the Common Enemy the Papiſt (from whom the Danger was principally to be feared;) and when a perfect Victory was obtained againſt them, they ſhould eaſily bring the other poor harmleſs Creatures to Conformity. Thoſe who out of Lazineſſe and Vulgar-ſpiritedneſſe were apt to comply with that part which was at laſt likely to prevail, they informed and aſſured confidently, That they had thoſe about Us, who would at laſt perſwade Us to yield to all they demanded; and that all Places and Preferments ſhould attend their directions, and be diſpoſed by them, and that all

ſuch

ſuch who oppoſed them ſhould be inevitably deſtroyed. Thoſe whom neither their Skill nor Importunity, their Threats nor their Promiſes could prevail with to comply in their bad wayes, they proſcribed as a Malignant Party, and having caſt all the aſperſions upon them Folly and Madneſs could deviſe, expoſed them to be torn in pieces by the People.

And having thus diſpoſed themſelves and perplexed the People, they proceed to laying that Foundation of Greatneſs and Power to themſelves they had from the beginning contrived: and as if all the Pillars upon which the Peace and Happineſs and Being of this Kingdom was founded, were now ſhaken by the attempt againſt thoſe ſix Innocent perſons, and that all Our Power were therefore to be transferred into other hands, they cauſe the matter of the Bill formerly exhibited in *October* before to be again reviewed; and now all the Forts and Caſtles of the Kingdom, and the whole *Militia*, muſt be put into ſuch hands as they might confide in. A Garriſon muſt be put into Our Town of *Hull*, and Sir *John Hotham* appointed Governour of it, to whom the Maior of *York* is ordered to diſpoſe 2000 pound out of the Poll-money, which was to pay the Arrears due to that County for Billet, and the great Debt to Our Subjects of *Scotland*. And when the Maior and principal Aldermen of *Hull* refuſe to receive that Garriſon, and urge the Petition of Right, that they may not be forced to billet thoſe Souldiers, they are ſent for to the Houſe of Commons, and there kept in a tedious and chargeable Attendance, till the Garriſon be taken in, being ſent for to no other purpoſe. Our Own Magazine muſt be managed and diſpoſed by their diſcretion. The Tower of *London* muſt be put into their hands, and a Perſon againſt whom Malice it ſelf could not finde the leaſt accuſation muſt be removed, for no other reaſon but becauſe We had a good opinion of him. *Sr John Biron.*

They who are the ſtricteſt in their Cenſure of Us and of Our Eaſineſs will finde, upon this State of things, that We had enough to doe, and that there was much difficulty to reſolve. We will never deny that Our extreme tenderneſs of the Peace of the Kingdom, and Our great Grief of heart to ſee Our good Subjects miſ-led in their Duty and Affection, begot more of Our Compaſsion and Pity then of Our Anger and Indignation, ſo that We were more awake to the

ſenſe of the Calamity and Miſery which in all probability was like to befall them, then of Our own Honour and Dignity; and therefore, without expreſsing the leaſt reſentment of all the Scorns and Injuries put upon Us, and to ſhew how much Our Soul was poſſeſſed with the care of Our People, We ſent a Meſſage to both Our Houſes of Parliament from *Windſore* on the twentieth of *January*, deſiring them, for the compoſing the miſerable Diſtractions of the Kingdom, to enter ſpeedily into a ſerious conſideration of all particulars, as well thoſe which might concern their Privileges, their Liberty and their Property, the ſecuring the true Religion and the ſettling of Ceremonies, as thoſe of Our juſt Regal Authority and Revenue, that ſo both We and they might make a clear Judgement of them, and We might make it appear how far We were from giving grounds for thoſe Fears and Jealouſies, by exceeding the examples of the moſt indulgent Princes in Our Acts of Grace and Favour to Our People. No body will blame Us, if We exſpected at leaſt ſuch an Anſwer as might bring Us and Our Houſes of Parliament to an iſſue, that We might temperately debate what was to be done: But they who well knew the nature of their own demands, and what they meant to inſiſt upon, would by no means that things ſhould be brought into ſo little room, or diſcover the particulars of their Deſires, till they ſaw what Strength they were like to have to ſecond thoſe Deſires; therefore a new Adjournment is made to *Grocers-Hall* to conſult of Evils and Remedies; ſeveral Petitions, framed and contrived by theſe perſons themſelves, are ſent into the ſeveral Counties, and multitudes of people reſort every day to both Houſes with Petitions, avowing the Fears and Jealouſies theſe men had infuſed into them, and deſiring to have the Kingdom put into a poſture of Defence, and declaring their ſtout Reſolutions to maintain the Privilege of Parliament.

In this Triumph they vouchſafe to petition Us to proceed againſt the Members accuſed, or elſe that they might be publickly quit. We were reſolved to give them no more advantage upon breach of Privilege, and therefore deſired to be informed which way We were to proceed, and whether We might prefer Indictments againſt them at the Common-Law. We were anſwered that no proceeding ſhould be againſt them without Conſent of that Houſe of which they

they were Members, and therefore We were deſired within three days to inform both Houſes what proof We had againſt them, or elſe they ſhould be cleared: and they had before cauſed their falſe, ſcandalous Declaration of the fourteenth of *January*, of Our coming to the Houſe, to be new printed, together with the Proteſtation, and to be ſent over the whole Kingdom by the Knights and Burgeſſes, as if by the one they were obliged to defend the other. In this caſe no man will believe We had reaſon to bring in Our Proofs againſt theſe men, and to publiſh Our Evidence, when We were told it was in the power of the major part to chuſe whether they ſhould be tried or no: And We might eaſily ſee, and all the world will judge by the proceedings then, and their publick expreſſions ſince, whether, if We had proved a Conſpiracy amongſt them to have taken away Our Life, they would not have found ſome diſtinction between Our Perſon and Our Office, which ſhould have preſerved theſe Perſons from the hand and courſe of Juſtice; and to what other end that Doctrine ſhould be publiſhed with ſo much paſsion, *That in caſe of Treaſon We might not proceed againſt any Member but by Conſent of the Houſe*, (ſo contrary to Cuſtom, Law and Reaſon) but to let all men know it ſhould not be in Our Power to queſtion them for any thing they ſhould doe againſt Us, let the Law be never ſo clear in the point. Upon all theſe Conſiderations, rather then to waſte time in the diſpute, when they were reſolved to be their own Judges too, We ſent them word by Our Anſwer to their Petition of the ſecond of *February*, That We found We had good cauſe to deſert any Proſecution of thoſe Members, and further offered to grant ſuch a free and a general Pardon to all Our loving Subjects as ſhould be thought fit by the advice of both Houſes, which We thought to be the beſt way to compoſe all Fears and Jealouſies of what kinde ſoever.

But the Buſineſs of theſe men could not be done that way; a general Pardon would never have ſetled the *Militia*, and diſpoſſeſſed Us of thoſe Rights and that Power without which they could not compaſs their Deſignes: They now reſort to their old refuge, the Common People of the City and Suburbs, and whatever they deſired, theſe men muſt ask, for the ſatisfaction of the Fears and Jealouſies of the City. The City had been deſired to lend a hun-

dred thouſand pounds for the relief of *Ireland*; and their Anſwer is drawn up to their hands, of their inability to lend, and ſuch Reaſons given as might advance what had been upon general Diſcourſes neglected. The ten thouſand men profered by the *Scots* for *Ireland* were not accepted. A Bill having been offered Us for Preſſing, and in it a Clauſe (not neceſſary to the preſent, and therefore purpoſely, as We conceive, put in, in hope We would upon that refuſe it) declaring Us to have no power to preſs, (a Power conſtantly practiſed by Our Anceſtors, and even in the bleſſed times of Queen *Elizabeth*;) Our pauſe upon it was urged as a Deſigne to loſe that Kingdom, although We had offered to raiſe ten thouſand Voluntiers for that purpoſe, if they would pay them. The not ſecuring the Cinque-ports, (though the Cuſtody of them was in a Noble Perſon, againſt whom the leaſt exception could not be made) and the not ſettling the Kingdom in a Poſture of Defence; the not removing Sir *John Byron* from being Lieutenant of the Tower, whereby through diſtruſt they were forced to forbear the bringing in of Bullion to the Mint, (when 'tis notoriouſly known, there was more Bullion brought in to Our Mint in the time that Gentleman was Lieutenant, then in the ſame quantity of time in any mans Remembrance;) the Votes of the Biſhops and the Popiſh Lords in the Houſe of Peers, and all other things which were then in Deſigne, and had in vain been attempted by them by the refuſal of the Houſe of Peers ſeveral times to joyn with them, were now urged as principal reaſons, by this Petition of *London*, why they could not lend a hundred thouſand pounds to *Ireland*, and were preſſed by ſeveral other Petitions contrived by them, and preſented to both Houſes, or to the Houſe of Commons. And theſe Petitions are carried up to the Lords by Maſter *Pym*, who takes upon him to reproach them for not concurring with the Houſe of Commons, and impudently layes that Scandal upon Us, That We had ſuffered many to paſs by Our own immediate Warrant, who were ſince Commanders in the head of the Rebels. A falſe and abominable Scandal, raiſed by his own Malice, to draw Our good Subjects againſt Us, without the leaſt colour or ſhadow of truth, as appears by thoſe Anſwers they have publiſhed to Our Exception in that point, wherein there is not the leaſt Evidence of any ſuch

Warrant

Warrant granted by Us: though Maſter *Pym* be ſo great a Perſon, that We can have no Reparation againſt him for that Calumny; but had credit enough with the Houſe of Commons, to perſwade them to charge themſelves unjuſtly, to excuſe him, and to take upon them, that he had ſaid nothing in that Speech but by their directions.

All this had not that quick operation with the Lords, with whom (though they had committed Twelve Biſhops for Treaſon, a thing themſelves bluſh at, and the Popiſh Lords had abſented themſelves) they could not prevail to joyn in matters ſo unreaſonable in themſelves and diſhonorable to Us: therefore the Houſe of Commons by themſelves Petition Us, thank Us for Our Meſſage of the twentieth of *January*, though they have ſince declared it to be a breach of Privilege, reſolving to take it into ſerious and ſpeedy Conſideration; only deſire for their Security, That We will put the Tower of *London*, and all the Forts of the Kingdom, and the whole *Militia* into ſuch hands as ſhould be recommended unto Us by them, (for the Houſe of Peers had refuſed to joyn with them, and ſo were upon the matter petitioned againſt, and left out in the power of recommendation.) Sure this was the ſtrangeſt Petition that, till that time, had ever been preſented by the Houſe of Commons to their King: yet We returned a gracious Anſwer, That if any particular ſhould be preſented to Us, whereby it might appear that the Lieutenant of the Tower was unfit for the truſt We had committed to him, We would immediately remove him; otherwiſe We were obliged in Honour and Juſtice, not to put ſuch a Diſgrace upon him. For the Forts and Caſtles, that We were reſolved they ſhould be alwayes in ſuch hands, and only in ſuch, as Our Parliament ſhould have cauſe to confide in; that We would have the nomination of them Our Self, but that they ſhould be alwayes left (if any thing were objected againſt them) to the Wiſdom and Juſtice of the Parliament. For the *Militia*, that when ſome particular courſe ſhould be propoſed to Us for the ordering of it, We ſhould return an Anſwer agreeable to Honour and Juſtice, as appears more at large in Our Anſwer of the 28. of *February* to that Petition.

This gave them no better ſatisfaction then the former; but

finding that without the Conſent of the Houſe of Peers (of whom much the major part, though the Popiſh Lords and the Biſhops were abſent, diſſented from them) and againſt Our Conſent, they were not like to prevail over Our People, they reſolve of another Attempt upon them; their old friends, the Multitude, muſt be again brought down by the great Conductor Captain *Venne* (who is notoriouſly known, and proof thereof offered to be produced by Maſter *Kirton* to the Houſe of Commons, to have ſeveral times ſent to, and ſolicited People to come down out of the City with Swords and Piſtols, when he hath told them, or ſent them word by his Wife, that *the worſer Party was like to have the better of the good Party*; and for all which publick offer, neither was Maſter *Venne* then ſuffered to anſwer to this Charge, nor Maſter *Kirton* allowed any time (though many dayes were ſet) to bring in the particulars and witneſſes.) Many Perſons are importuned to ſet their hands againſt the Lieutenant of the Tower, That they durſt not bring in any Bullion to the Mint, for want of Confidence, when they never brought in any in their lives: and being asked how they could ſet their hands to ſuch a Certificate, when it was known that never greater quantity was brought in then at that time; anſwered, *That they were directed by Parliament-men to doe ſo, or elſe they could not compaſs their Ends*. And having gotten Multitudes of People of ſeveral Counties, (or ſuch as pretended to be ſo) to deliver Petitions to both Houſes, and to deſire leave that they might proteſt againſt thoſe Lords who would not agree to the Votes of the Houſe of Commons, as the Petitions of *Surrey* and *Hartfordſhire* doe, and perſwaded others, in the name of many thouſands of poor People in and about the City of *London*, to Petition againſt a Malignant Faction which made abortive all thoſe good Intentions which tended to the Peace and Tranquillity of the Kingdom, and to deſire, *That thoſe Noble Worthies of the Houſe of Peers who concurred with them in their happy Votes, might be earneſtly deſired to joyn with the Houſe of Commons, and to ſit and Vote as one entire body*; profeſsing, that unleſs ſome ſpeedy remedy were taken for the removal of all ſuch Obſtructions as hindered the happy Progreſs of their great Endeavours, *the Petitioners ſhould not reſt in quietneſs, but ſhould be enforced to lay hold on the next remedy which was at hand, to remove the Diſturbers of their Peace*, and (want and neceſsity breaking

breaking the bounds of modeſty) *not to leave any means unaſſayed for their relief*; adding, that the cry of the poor and needy was, *That ſuch Perſons, who were the Obſtacles of their Peace, and Hinderers of the happy proceedings of this Parliament, might be forthwith publickly declared, whoſe removal they conceived would put a period to thoſe Diſtractions*, after it had been ſaid in the Houſe of Peers, That *whoever would not conſent to the Propoſition made by the Houſe of Commons concerning the Forts, Caſtles and the* Militia, (when it was rejected by a major part twice) *was an Enemy to the Commonwealth.* This Petition was brought up to the Houſe of Lords by the Houſe of Commons at a Conference; and after the ſame day Maſter *Hollis* (a Perſon formerly accuſed by Us of High Treaſon, and a moſt malicious Promoter and Contriver of thoſe Petitions and Tumults) preſſed the Lords, at the Barre, to joyn with the Houſe of Commons in their deſire about the *Militia*, and further (with many other expreſsions of like nature) deſired in words to this effect, *That (if that deſire of the Houſe of Commons were not aſſented to) thoſe Lords who were willing to concur, would finde ſome means to make themſelves known, that it might be known who were againſt them, and they might make it known to them who ſent them.* Upon which Petition ſo ſtrangely framed, countenanced and ſeconded, ſo great a number of the Lords departed, that that Vote paſſed (which they had ſo often before denied) in order to the Ordinance concerning the *Militia*; and ſince that time they have been able to carry any thing: and, upon the matter, the Reſolution of the Houſe of Commons hath been wholly guided by thoſe Perſons who had given ſo plain evidence that they had the Multitude at their Command, and hath wholly guided that of the Houſe of Peers, who with little debate or diſpute have, for the moſt part, ſubmitted to whatſoever hath been brought to them.

Shortly after they paſſed their Ordinance, with ſuch a Preamble as highly concerned Us in Honour and Juſtice to proteſt againſt, and wholy excluding Us (in whom that whole Power abſolutely was and is) from any Power or Authority in the *Militia*, the Arms and Strength of the Kingdom, and that for as long as they pleaſed. And as if the matter were not worth the conſidering, or that there ought to be no other meaſure to guide Us in point of Judgement or Underſtanding but their Votes, it was ill taken that We did not immediately return Our Anſwer, but took

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ſome time to conſider it; and We were again with great paſsion and impatience preſſed to give Our Anſwer, they being pleaſed to tell Us, *They could not but interpret the Delay to be in a degree a Denial*: and in the mean time, to give Us an inſtance how modeſtly they were like to uſe ſuch Power when We ſhould commit it to them, they preſumed of themſelves (knowing We had appointed Our Son, the Prince, to meet Us at *Greenwich* in Our return from *Dover*) to inhibite his meeting Us there, and to endeavour to get him into their cuſtody.

All theſe things conſidered, and the Inſolence and Injuſtice of the Ordinance, We might very well have rejected that Propoſition with a flat denial and juſt indignation; but We eaſily perceived, that Our good People were miſled by the Cunning and Malice of thoſe *Boutefeus*, and thought it alwayes compliance worthy a Prince to take all poſsible pains to undeceive ſuch who are led into miſtakings: and therefore We returned to their Propoſition for the Ordinance a gracious Anſwer and Animadverſion; made it evident to them, that the Preamble was in it ſelf untrue and againſt Our Honour to conſent to, and expreſſed Our clear intention in Our going to Our Houſe of Commons. We allowed all thoſe perſons recommended to Us (except onely in Corporations, to whom a Right was formerly granted by Charter, not conſiſtent with this Ordinance) and offered to grant ſuch Commiſsions to them as had very long and happily been uſed in this Kingdom, and which We had this very Parliament granted to two Lords at the inſtance and intreaty of both Houſes. If that Power ſhould not be thought enough, We offered to grant any ſhould be firſt veſted in Us, and ſo We be enabled to grant; but deſired that the whole might be digeſted into an Act of Parliament, whereby Our good Subjects might know what they were to doe, and what they were to ſuffer, that there might be the leaſt latitude for the exerciſing of any Arbitrary Power over them. Which Anſwer We deſire all Our Subjects to read and conſider, whether We did not thereby grant all which themſelves had firſt deſired; and whether there was cauſe to vote ſuch who adviſed that Anſwer to be enemies to the State, and miſchievous Projectors againſt the Defence of the Kingdom.

But

But as if all the Acts paſſed by Us (amongſt which that for the taking away the Votes of Biſhops out of the Houſe of Peers was the laſt) were of no other value, but as inſtances that We would never deny them any thing, they immediately in great fury addreſs themſelves to Us with a new *humble Petition*, (as they called it, but it was indeed a Threatning) and told Us plainly, That if We would not then (in that inſtant) give Our Royal aſſent to their Ordinance, they were reſolved to diſpoſe of the *Militia* by the Authority of both Houſes without Us; adviſed Us to ſtay about *London*, to put away evil Counſellors, and to let Our Son, the Prince, be and continue at S. *James's*, or ſome other of Our Houſes near about *London*, that the Jealouſies and Fears of Our People might be prevented. We muſt appeal to all the world, whether, conſidering what had been done in publick and ſaid in private, We had no cauſe of Jealouſie; and whether, having ſuch evidence of the Malice, Guilt, and Power of thoſe accuſed Members, who had deſigned to have taken the Prince, Our Son, from Us by force, it was not high time to remove a little further from that Torrent which might have overwhelmed Us, and made them as well, and by the ſame Rule, Maſters of Our Perſon as of Our *Militia*. This carried Us firſt from *Theobald's* to *New-market*: And whoſoever reads the Declaration ſent Us thither, the ſtrange language given Us and Scandals laid upon Us in that Declaration, will not wonder that We made all the haſte We could from thence to *York*.

What hath hapned ſince Our coming hither, both in Words and Actions, is too notorious to all the parts of Chriſtendom, who with wonder and delight are amazed to ſee the Wiſdom, Courage, Affection and Loyalty of the *Engliſh* Nation appear ſo far ſhrunk and confounded by the Malice, Cunning and Induſtry of perſons contemptible in Number, inconſiderable in Fortune and Reputation, united only by Guilt and Conſpiracy againſt Us. A Licence even to Treaſon is admitted (that is, not puniſhed) in Pulpits; and perſons ignorant in Learning and Underſtanding, turbulent and Seditious in diſpoſition, Scandalous in life, and unconformable in Opinion to the Laws of the Land, are by theſe men, their recommendation and authority, impoſed upon Pariſhes, to infect and poiſon the minds of Our People. Our Towns, Our Goods, Our Money are taken from Us; and

to

to make the ſcorn compleat, care is taken to perſwade Us that We are not injured, but that all is done for Our good. Opinions and Reſolutions are impoſed upon Us by Votes and Declarations, that We intended to levie War, and then Armes taken up to deſtroy Us; Rebellions and Treaſons contrived, fomented and acted againſt Us, and then Reproaches caſt on Us, and War raiſed againſt Us, becauſe We are diſpleaſed. We ſend Our Command to Our Keeper of Our Great Seale of *England*, to Adjourn the Terme from *London* to *York*, a thing as much in Our Power as in what room of Our Houſe We will lodge or eat. This is ſtraight Voted to be illegal, and Our Keeper of Our Own Seal peremptorily forbid to doe his Duty, to Seal a Writ or Proclamation to that purpoſe; and when, in Obedience to Our expreſs Command, he comes to wait on Us, he is purſued with a Warrant to all Maiors, Juſtices of the Peace, Sheriffs and other Officers, to apprehend him. A Committee is ſent down into the Countreys near Us to execute their pretended Ordinance, who compell Our Subjects to take Arms againſt Us, and threaten and impriſon ſuch as refuſe, without the leaſt colour of Law; whileſt ſuch who execute Our legal Commiſsion of Array are ſent for as Delinquents, and declared to be Enemies to the Kingdom. Our own Moneys ſeized upon at *London*, and no ſupply ſuffered to be ſent Us; all perſons are forbid to come to Us, and charge given to all men near the Northern Road, to ſtop all Men and Horſes who are for Our Service coming to *York*, there being (as Maſter *Hollis* ſaies in his Speech, of which he hath the ſole Printing, and hath granted that Monopoly to one *Underhill*) a mark ſet upon that Place, and an opinion declared concerning thoſe who ſhall reſort thither. Our Highwaies are ſhut up, and Our good Subjects are hindred in their journeys, and their goods ſeized and detained from them, becauſe they have occaſions to uſe them in the North: Our own Houſehold Servants refuſe to attend Us upon Our Summons; and then the putting them from their Places is voted an injury to the Parliament, and whoſoever ſhall accept of thoſe Places, to offer an affront to the Parliament, and render themſelves Unworthy of any place of Honour or Truſt in the Commonwealth. Sir *John Hotham* is commended and protected for keeping Us out of Our Town of *Hull* by Force and Arms; and Our raiſing a Guard for Our Defence is voted levying

War

War againſt Our Parliament; whileſt he murthers Our Subjects, takes them Priſoners, burns their Houſes, drowns their Land, and robs all men he can lay hold of, and commits all the inſolent Acts of Hoſtility againſt Us and Our Subjects which the moſt equal and declared Enemies practiſe in any Countrey. And when, after all theſe Outrages, Our miſerable Subjects throw themſelves at Our feet, crying for and challenging Our Protection, We muſt not perform that Duty towards them, nor preſume to ſay Sir *John Hotham* is a Traitor, becauſe he hath Privilege of Parliament. Our Royal Navy, Our own Ships are taken from Us, the Earle of *Warwick* made Our Admiral in deſpight and ſcorn of Us, who chaſes Our Subjects, and makes War upon Us, under the Authority of another pretended Ordinance; and his Letter publiſhed by the direction of the Houſe of Peers, to ſhew how eaſie it was to make an election rather to deſpiſe Us and the known unqueſtionable Law of the Land, then to neglect an Order of both Houſes, in a matter they have no more juſt power to meddle in then they have to ſell Our Houſes, Parks and Crown-Land: and they may as lawfully ſend thoſe Ships to the *Indies*, and ordain that We ſhall never have more, as keep them in the Downs againſt Our will, and under a Command We do proteſt againſt to all the world. We are defamed and publickly reproached for want of zeal againſt the Rebels in *Ireland*; and when We offer to venture Our own Perſon and Our Crown-Land for the relief of Our miſerable Subjects there, ſuch a Journey is Voted to be againſt the Law, to be an incouragement to the Rebels, that whoſoever ſhall aſsiſt Us in it ſhall be an Enemy to the Commonwealth, and that the Sheriffs of Counties ſhall raiſe power to ſuppreſs any Levies We ſhall make to that purpoſe. And after all this (when it hath been publickly ſaid by Maſter *Martin*, *That Our Office is forfeitable, and that the Happineſs of this Kingdom doth not depend upon Us or any of the Regal Branches of that Stock*; and by Sir *Henry Ludlow*, *That We are not worthy to be King of England*; and been declared, that *We have no Negative voice*, which puts Our Crown, the Law of the Land, the Liberty and Property of the Subjects abſolutely into their hands) We are told by theſe devout Champions for Anarchie and Confuſion, *That We are fairly dealt with that We are not depoſed*; *That if they did that, there would be neither want of Modeſty or Duty*

in them: They publiſh falſe ſcandalous Declarations to corrupt Our good Subjects in their Loyalty and Affection to Us, injoyn them to be read, and diſperſe them with all Care and Induſtry; and ſend for all Miniſters who, according to Our Command, publiſh Our Anſwers to undeceive Our People, as Delinquents, notwithſtanding We have not prohibited any to read theirs: They commit the Lord Maior of *London* (and other Maiors) for publiſhing Our Proclamations according to Our Writ and his Oath, and ſtreightly charge all Our Miniſters of Juſtice not to obey Us: They raiſe an Army againſt Us, and chuſe the Earle of *Eſſex* for their General, and grant him a power over Us, the Law, and all Our People, that he may kill and deſtroy whom he thinks fit; and impoſe an Oath upon Our Subjects, to execute all the Commands of both Houſes: They waſt and conſume the Money given by Act of Parliament for the diſcharge of the great Debt of the Kingdom, and for the relief of the bleeding Condition of *Ireland*; imploy the Money brought in by the Adventurers, and thoſe men who are levied by Our Authority and Commiſsion, for the preſervation of Our miſerable Subjects there, to ſerve them in a War againſt Us; whereby all men may ſee what reaſon We had not to conſent to a Warrant dormant, under pretence of Levies for *Ireland*, which might have furniſhed them with men to fight againſt Us, as the ſame Pretence hath done with all the Arms We had in Our Magazines: They commit ſuch of Our Subjects to Priſon whom they are pleaſed to ſuſpect, (as the Earle of *Portland*,) and for no other reaſon but that they believe them loyal to Us; cenſure and degrade nine Lords at a clap, for obeying Our Summons and coming to Us, when ſcarce that number concurred in the Judgement; and declared two others Enemies to the Commonwealth, taking their Votes from them, without ſo much as ſummoning them to anſwer any Charge brought againſt them: They preſume to take Tonnage and Poundage by a pretended Ordinance, without Our Conſent, though they have ſo often preſſed it againſt Us, that We took it without theirs; and ſo now diſpence with a *Præmunire* made this Parliament, as they have formerly done with Treaſon: Laſtly, to ſhew into what hands they intend the Government of this Kingdom ſhall be put, they have reduced the buſineſs of the whole Kingdom, from both Houſes of Parliament, into the hands of a few deſperate perſons, who have the

power

power committed to them to act this Tragedy without acquainting the Houſes, and ſo have gotten the Authority of King and both Houſes of Parliament to deſtroy all Three; make Orders to break up Houſes, take away Plate and Money, becauſe 'tis poſsible the Owners wiſh it with Us at *York*; ſend Troops of Horſe to make War upon Us in what Counties they pleaſe, and commit ſuch unheard-of Acts of Oppreſsion and Injuſtice as no Story can parallel, where the leaſt form of Government hath been left; that all Our good Subjects may ſee by what Rules they ſhall live, and what Right they are like to enjoy, when theſe men have gotten the Sway, who in the infancy of their Power, and when there is yet left ſome memory of and reverence to the Laws under which their Fathers lived ſo happily, dare leap over all thoſe known and confeſſed Principles of Government and Obedience, and exerciſe a Tyranny both over Prince and People more inſupportable then Confuſion it ſelf.

And for all this impudent Injuſtice (odious to God and Man) what is objected againſt Us? That We will not be adviſed by Our Parliament. In what? what one Propoſition that is evidently for the eaſe of Our Subjects have We denied? That We have granted many is confeſſed. We will not conſent that the Ordinance of the *Militia* ſhall be executed and obeyed; that is, We will not allow that both Houſes of Parliament ſhall make Laws, and impoſe upon the Property and Liberty of Our Subjects, without Our Conſent, (which if We ſhould yield to upon the ſame pretences of Neceſsity, a word fatal to this Kingdom and the publick good, the Houſe of Commons might as well, and would quickly come to make Laws without the Houſe of Peers, and the common People without either) nor are willing that thoſe men who have diſcovered all Malice to Our Perſon, and diſ-eſteem and irreverence of Our Office, ſhall be legally qualified to take up Arms againſt Us, when they ſhall be thereunto provoked by their Malice or Ambition.

There can be no new thing ſaid in this Argument; We muſt referre Our good Subjects to Our ſeveral Anſwers, Declarations and Proclamations in that point: only it will be worth their conſidering, that this extraordinary, unheard-of, extravagant Power was aſſumed in a caſe of peremptory Neceſsity, for the prevention of imminent Danger in the beginning of *March* (how long it was

in deſign before is underſtood by Sir *Arthur Heſilrigge* his Bill long preceding;) whether any ſuch Danger hath been ſince diſcovered, and whether unſpeakable Calamities have not already, and are not like to enſue from that Fountain, We wiſh it were not too apparent. And if thoſe Fears and Jealouſies which ſeem to make that Ordinance neceſſary were indeed real and honeſt, that in truth nothing were deſired but putting the Kingdom into a poſture, that is, that all Our Loving Subjects might be provided with Arms, and dexterous in the uſing them, if any Invaſion or Rebellion ſhould be, is not all this Care taken, and all this Security provided for by the Commiſsion of Array? What honeſt end can that Ordinance have which is not obtained by the execution of and obedience to that Commiſsion? But 'tis true, the power is not in thoſe hands, nor like to be imployed to thoſe uſes 'tis now intended. Who hath not heard theſe men ſay, *That the alteration they intend, and is neceſſary both in Church and State, muſt be made by blood?* Are not the Principles by which they live deſtructive to all Laws and Compacts? Is not every thing Neceſſary they think ſo, and every thing lawful that is in order to that Neceſsity? Sure if Our good Subjects were throughly awake in this buſineſs, they would think they had much more cauſe to thank Us for denying this Ordinance, then for granting all that We have granted.

What is there elſe? We do not think Sir *John Hotham* hath dealt well with Us in keeping Our Town from Us, nor do take it kindly that We are robbed of Our Magazine and Munition, but think of recovering both by Force, becauſe We cannot have them otherwiſe; which will be an actual levying War againſt Our Parliament. This Argument is ſufficiently vexed too: Our good Subjects will read the Meſſages, Anſwers, Votes and Declarations in this Caſe; and We are ſure upon the grounds laid to juſtify this Treaſon, no Subject in *England* hath a Houſe of his own which may not to morrow be given to Sir *John Hotham* for as long a tearm as they think fit, and he may be ſent to morrow to murther Us, and be no Traitor, and they who ſhall ſhut the door againſt him ſhall be Delinquents.

Is there no more? Yes, We will not ſubmit to thoſe Nineteen dutiful and modeſt Propoſitions which have been lately thrown at

Us

Us as the neceſſary means of removing Jealouſies and Differences, and as the laſt Complement of all their Scorns and Injuries, that Poſterity may ſee to what a tameneſs We were brought when ſuch things were asked of Us: We will not be content that all Our Officers and Miniſters of State, be they never ſo faithful to Us, ſo affectionate to their Country, never ſo wiſe, never ſo honeſt, ſhall be immediately removed from Us and their places, be diſgraced and undone, and in their rooms theſe Gentlemen (who have taken all poſsible pains to deſtroy King and People) or ſuch whom they ſhall recommend, to ſucceed; that the ſame Faction may be carried through the whole Kingdom, which theſe men have raiſed in both Houſes of Parliament; that all Affairs of the Kingdom be managed not only by their Advice, but their abſolute Direction and Command, leſt any man ſhould think himſelf Our Servant; that the Education and Marriage of Our Children be committed to them, leſt any Chriſtian Prince ſhould make addreſſes to Us in ſuch Treaties; in a word, that in gratitude to their Modeſty and Duty for not depoſing Us, We will not now depoſe Our Self, and ſuffer the People and Kingdom (which God and the Law hath committed to Our Government and Protection, and for which We muſt make an account) to be devoured by them. Sure theſe men think 'tis no affront to ask any thing.

But can Our good Subjects be longer kept in this Trance? Can the Nobility, Gentry, Clergy, Commonalty of *England*, ſacrifice their Honour, Intereſt, Religion, Liberty, to Terms, and the mere ſound of Parliament and Privilege? Can their Experience, Reaſon and Underſtanding be captivated by words and aſſumptions contradictory to all Principles? What one thing have We denied that with reference to the publick Peace and Happineſs were to be bought with the loſs of the meaneſt Subject? And yet into what a Sea of blood is the rage and fury of theſe men launching out, to wreſt that from Us which We are bound (if We had a thouſand lives to loſe in the contention) to defend? Nay, what one thing is there that makes life precious to good men which We do not defend, and theſe men oppoſe, and would evidently deſtroy? What Grievance or Preſſure have Our People complained of, and been eaſed by Us, which is not now brought upon them in an unlimited degree?

Is the true Reformed Proteſtant Religion, ſealed by the blood of ſo many Reverend Martyrs, and eſtabliſhed by the Wiſdom and Piety of former bleſſed Parliaments, dear to them? We muſt appeal to all the world (being called upon by the Reproaches of theſe men) whether Our own practice, (the beſt evidence of Religion) and all the aſsiſtance and offers We can give, have been wanting to the Advancement of that Religion. And what can be more done by Us to ſatisfie and ſecure Our People in that point? On the other ſide, let all Our good Subjects conſider and weigh what pregnant Arguments they have to fear Innovation in Religion if theſe deſperate perſons prevail, when the principal men to whoſe care and authority they have committed the managery of that part refuſe Communion with the Church of *England* as much as the Papiſts do; and have not onely with that freedom they think
Lord *Say.* fit to uſe reproached the Book of Common-Prayer and the Government of the Church in their Speeches, but have publiſhed thoſe Speeches in the view of all men in Print, that the world might ſee by what Meaſure and Rule the Reformation they ſo much talk of is to be made: when ſuch Petitions have been contrived by them, and accepted with publick thanks, which revile the Book of Common-Prayer, calling it a Maſs-book, in ſcorn and contempt of the Law; whileſt other Petitions for the Government eſtabliſhed by Law have been rejected, diſcountenanced, and the Petitioners puniſhed: and when two Armies were kept in the bowels of the Kingdom ten weeks, at the charge of fourſcore thouſand pounds a Moneth, for the countenance of a Bill to eradicate Epiſcopacy *Root and Branch*: when ſuch licence is given to *Browniſts*, *Anabaptiſts* and *Sectaries*; and whileſt Coachmen, Felt-makers and ſuch Mechanick perſons are allowed and entertained to preach by thoſe who think themſelves the principal Members of either Houſe: when ſuch barbarous Outrages in Churches, and heatheniſh Irreverence and Uproars, even in the time of Divine Service and the Adminiſtration of the bleſſed Sacrament, are practiſed without controll: when the bleſſed means of advancing Religion, the Preaching of the Word of God, is turned into a licence of Libelling and Reviling both Church and State, and venting ſuch Seditious Poſitions as by the Laws of the Land are no leſs then Treaſon, and

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ſcarce a man in Reputation and Credit with theſe grand Reformers, who is not notoriouſly guilty of this; whileſt thoſe Learned, Reverend, Painful and Pious Preachers, who have been and are the moſt eminent and able Aſſertors of the Proteſtant Religion, are (to the unſpeakable joy of the Adverſaries to Our Religion) diſregarded and oppreſſed: laſtly, when for the ſettling and compoſing all theſe Diſtractions and Diſtempers, in ſtead of a free and general Synod of Grave and Learned Divines which hath been ſo much talked of (and to whoſe deliberations We were and are willing to commit the Conſideration of thoſe Affairs) a Conference is deſired with particular men nominated by themſelves, contrary to the Rights and Practice of the Church; the major part of whom (though We confeſs there are many Reverend, Learned and Pious perſons amongſt them) are not of Learning nor Underſtanding ſutable to ſo great a Work, or are of known avowed Diſaffection to the Doctrine and Diſcipline of the Church, and of thoſe who have preached Seditiouſly and Treaſonably againſt Our Perſon and Authority, as Doctor *Downing* and others. Whoever from his Soul deſires a true Examination and Reformation in Religion cannot exſpect it from the reſults of theſe mens Counſels, nor think the true Service of God is like to be advanced or preſerved by ſuch practices. And all ſober men muſt look with ſtrange Horrour and Indignation upon the laſt Declaration of the Lords and Commons, which after ſuch unprecedented Outrages and Violences againſt Us, publiſhes the ground of their taking up defenſive Arms (as they call them) to be for the maintenance of the true Religion; the taking and keeping of *Hull*, Our Navy, Our Money and Goods, the exerciſing of the *Militia*, and all the other Injuries We complain of, to be for the maintenance of Religion. But whoſoever believes them to be for the preſervation of Our Perſon, may believe the other too.

Would men enjoy the Laws they were born to, the Liberty and Property which makes the Subjection of this Nation famous and honourable with all neighbouring Kingdoms? We have done Our part, to make a Wall of Braſs for the perpetual defence of them; whileſt theſe ill men uſurp a Power to undermine that Wall, and to ſhake thoſe Foundations, which cannot be pulled down, but

to the confuſion of Law, Liberty, Property, and the very Life and Being of Our Subjects.

Is the Dignity, Privilege and Freedom of Parliament (Parliaments whoſe Wiſdom and Gravity have prepared ſo many wholſome Laws, and whoſe Freedom diſtinguiſhes the Condition of Our Subjects from thoſe of any Monarchy in *Europe*) precious unto Our People? Where was that Freedom and that Privilege when the Houſe of Commons preſumed to make Laws without the Houſe of Peers, as they did in their Vote upon the Proteſtation, and of the 9th of *September*; when the Houſe of Commons and the Houſe of Peers preſumed to make Laws without Our Conſent, as they have done in the buſineſs of the *Militia*, of *Hull*, in the behalf of their Champion, Serjeant Major General *Skippon*, of the Earl of *Warwick*, of their new General, the Earl of *Eſſex*, (*with whom they will live and dy*) and many other Caſes? Where was that Freedom and Privilege when Alderman *Pennington* and Captain *Venne* brought down their *Myrmidons* to aſſault and terrifie the Members of both Houſes, whoſe faces or whoſe opinions they liked not, and by that Army to awe the Parliament; when thoſe rude Multitudes publiſhed the names of the Members of both Houſes as Enemies to the Commonwealth, who would not agree to their frantick Propoſitions; when the names of thoſe were given by Members of the Houſe, that they might be proſcribed, and torn in pieces by thoſe multitudes; when many were driven away for fear of their Lives from being preſent at thoſe Conſultations; and when Maſter *Hollis* required the names of thoſe Lords who would not agree with the Houſe of Commons? Laſtly, where was that Freedom and Privilege of Parliament, when Members of the one Houſe that had been queſtioned for words ſpoken in the Houſe, and one freed, the other but reprehended by Vote of the major part, were again queſtioned by the other Houſe, and a charge brought againſt them for theſe words?

Is Honour, Reputation, Freedom and Civility to be eſteemed? What cauſeleſs Defamations have been raiſed and entertained upon Perſons of quality and unblemiſhed eſtimation, upon no grounds, or appearance of reaſon, but becauſe their opinions ran not with the Torrent? What careſſes have been and are made to perſons looſe, vicious and debauched, of no Vertue, no Religion, no Reputation,

but

but of Malice and Ingratitude to Us? Their names will be eaſily found out by all mens obſervation and their own bluſhes, though they ſhall not have the honour of Our mention. How have the Laws of Hoſpitality and Civility been violated, the freedom and liberty of Converſation (the pleaſure and delight of life) been invaded by them; the diſcourſes at Tables, whiſpers in Gardens and Walks examined, and of perſons under no accuſation; Letters broken up (Our own to Our deareſt Conſort, the Queen, not ſpared) read publickly and commented upon, with ſuch Circumſtances as makes Chriſtendom laugh at Our follies, and abhorre Our correſpondence?

Is Peace and tranquillity dear to Our Subjects? To ſhew that We have left no way to that (not deſtructive to Honour and Juſtice) unattempted, We offered to lay down Our Arms upon no other Reparations for all the Indignities multiplyed upon Us then theſe, That they ſhould lay down theirs, ſo unjuſtifiably taken, and We have Our own Town, Goods and Navie (taken and kept by violence from Us) to be peaceably reſtored to Us, and the Power of making Laws without Us by the way of Ordinances (which implies a power by Ordinance to depoſe Us) and that in particular concerning the *Militia*, to be diſavowed, and a ſafe place to be agreed on where We might be preſent with Our great Councel, for the compoſing of all Miſ-underſtandings, and making this Kingdom happy. Which Offers not only were not accepted, but not ſo much as any Anſwer directed immediately to Us, ſomewhat only ſent down by their under-Clerk, which, with their firſt Petition and Our Anſwer (We are much pleaſed to hear) are ordered to be printed and read in all Churches (We deſire no better evidence then Our and their Writings and Actions, and no better Judges and Witneſſes then Our People, of Our love to Peace.) And even before this kinde of Anſwer came to Us, whileſt We, with patience and hope exſpecting ſuch a return as We deſired, forbore any action or attempt of Force, according to Our Promiſe, Sir *John Hotham* ſallied out in the night, and murthered the perſons of his fellow-Subjects; and ever ſince in this Quarrel they labour to increaſe their Army, (the very levying of which is Treaſon) and are ready to march againſt Us. Let all the world judge who are lovers of the Peace.

Laſtly,

Laſtly, is the Conſtitution of the Kingdom to be preſerved, and Monarchy it ſelf upheld? Can any thing be more evident then that the End of theſe men is, or the Concluſion which muſt attend their Premiſſes muſt be, to introduce a Parity and Confuſion of all degrees and conditions? Are not ſeveral Books and Papers (ſuch as the *Obſervations upon parts of Our Meſſages*) publiſhed by their direction, at leaſt under their countenance, againſt Monarchy it ſelf? Is it poſsible for Us to be made vile and contemptible, and ſhall Our good Subjects continue as they are: Can Our juſt Power be taken from Us, and ſhall they enjoy their liberty? Whoſoever is a friend to the conſtitution of the Kingdom muſt be an enemy to theſe men. How the benefit, advantages and hopes of the Kingdom have been and are advanced and promoted by theſe men, all good men ſee and diſcern.

Let Us conſider now, whether all thoſe Grievances and Preſſures which Our Subjects have heretofore ſuffered under, and of which Our Juſtice and Favour hath eaſed them, be not by the Faction and Tyranny of theſe men redoubled upon Our People. Were the Conſciences of men grieved and ſcandalized at the too much Formality and circumſtances uſed in the exerciſe of Religion? and are they not equally concerned in the Uncomelineſs, Irreverence and Prophaneneſs now avowed to the diſhonour of Chriſtianity? Were they troubled to ſee the Pulpit ſometimes made a Barr to plead againſt the Liberty and Property of the Subject? and are they not more confounded to ſee it ſo generally made a Scaffold to incite the People to Rebellion and Sedition againſt Us? Have Our People ſuffered under and been oppreſſed by the exerciſe of an Arbitrary Power, and out of a ſenſe of thoſe Sufferings have We conſented to take away the Star-Chamber, the High-Commiſsion Courts, to regulate the Councel-Table, and to apply any remedies have been propoſed to Us for that diſeaſe? and have not theſe men doubled thoſe Preſſures in the latitude and unlimitedneſs of their proceedings, in their Orders for the Obſervation of the Law, as they pretend, and then puniſhing men for not obeying thoſe Orders in a way and a degree the Law doth not preſcribe; in their ſending for Our good Subjects upon general informations without proof, and for Offences which the Law takes no notice of; in declaring men enemies

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to the Commonwealth, fining and impriſoning them, for doing or not doing that which no known Law enjoyns or condemns? Were the Purſuivants of the Councel-table, the delay and attendance there or at the High-Commiſsion Court, the Judgements and Decrees of the Star-Chamber more grievous, grievous to more perſons, more chargeable, more intolerable then the Serjeants and Officers Fees, the Attendance upon the Houſes and upon Committees, or then the Votes and Judgements which have lately paſſed in one or both Houſes? Let all the Decrees, Sentences and Judgements of the High-Commiſsion Court and Star-chamber be examined, and any found ſo unjuſt, ſo illegal as the proceedings againſt the Gentlemen of *Kent*, for preparing and preſenting a Petition agreeable in form and matter to all the Rules of Law and Juſtice, by which men are to be informed to ask any thing; as the judgement againſt Mr *Binyon*, that he ſhould be disfranchiſed, be incapable of ever bearing Office in the Commonwealth, impriſoned in the Gaol at *Colcheſter* for the ſpace of two years, and to pay three thouſand pounds fine, nothing being charged and proved againſt him that any Law or Reaſon could tell him he was not to doe. Though the Sentences in the other Courts were in ſome caſes too ſevere, and exceeded the meaſure of the offence, there was ſtill an offence, ſomewhat done that in truth was a crime: but here Declarations, Votes and Judgements paſſe upon Our People for matters not ſuſpected to be crimes till they are puniſhed. And have ſuch proceedings ever been before this Parliament? If Monopolies have been granted to the prejudice of Our People, the calamity will not be leſs if it be exerciſed by a good Lord, by a Bill, then it was before by a Patent; and yet the Earle of *Warwick* thinks fit to require the Letter-Office to be confirmed to him for three lives at the ſame time that 'tis complained of as a Monopoly, and without the alteration of any Circumſtance for the eaſe of the Subject; and this with ſo much greedineſs and authority, that whileſt it was complained of as a Monopoly, he procured an Aſsignment to be made of it to him from the perſon complained of, after he had by his Intereſt ſtopped the proceedings of the Committee for the ſpace of five Moneths before that Aſsignment made to him, upon pretence that he was concerned in it, and deſired to be heard: Of ſuch ſovereign Power was his Name, as it could be no longer a Grievance to Our People if it might prove an

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Advantage to him. A Precedent very likely to be followed in many Monopolies, if they may be aſsigned to Principal Members or their friends: witneſs the connivence now given to Sir *John Meldrum* for his Lights, ſince his undertaking their Service at *Hull*. Have Partiality and Corruption in Judges obſtructed the courſe of Juſtice? was there ever ſuch Partiality and Corruption, when their fellow-Members of either Houſe are by them importuned and ſolicited for their Votes in cauſes before them, and no other meaſure or Rule to the Juſtice of that Faction then the opinions of the perſons contending? What ſums of money have been given to, and what contracts have been made with ſome Members of either Houſe, who are of this powerful Faction We complain of, for preſerving this man from being queſtioned, and promoting an Accuſation againſt that man, for managing ſuch a Cauſe, and procuring ſuch an Order? We are very well able to give particular Information, which We ſhall willingly doe, when there may be ſuch a ſober and ſecure debate as becomes the Dignity and Freedom of Parliament, and the Witneſſes, now within their reach, may neither be awed nor tampered with before Trial. For how little care there is taken for diſcoveries of this nature, appears by that which upon complaint of a ſlander againſt Maſter *Pym* was juſtified, and the Author averred againſt him, for taking thirty pound Bribe to preſerve a Papiſt from legal proſecution, which hath been ſo long ſuffered to ſleep at a Committee.

Our Caſe is truly ſtated, ſo truly, that there is ſcarce any Particular urged or alleaged by Us which is not known to many, and the moſt to all men. And muſt Our Condition be now irreparable? Are the Injuries committed againſt Us and the Law juſtifiable? And muſt We be cenſured for uſing all poſsible means to be freed from them, or to be repaired for them, becauſe they ſeem to carry the Name, Conſent and Authority of both Our Houſes of Parliament? There is not a Particular of which We complain that found not eminent oppoſition in both Houſes, and yet for the moſt part not above a moiety of either Houſe preſent. The Order of the ninth of *September* (an Order to ſuſpend the execution of Laws in force) paſſed when there were not above eighty Commoners, of which many diſſented, and but twenty Lords, whereof eleven (the major part) expreſly contradicted it. The firſt unſeaſonable Remonſtrance (the fountain from whence all the

preſent

preſent miſchiefs have flowed) was carried but by eleven Voices after fifteen houres ſitting, when above two hundred were abſent, and was never approved by the Lords. The buſineſs of the *Militia* was at leaſt twice rejected by double their number in the Houſe of Peers who conſented to it, there being no Popiſh Lord preſent, and twelve Biſhops in the Tower; and yet this propoſed again, the Houſe being made thin of thoſe Lords who had formerly oppoſed it, who went out immediately (it being their uſual courſe, to watch ſuch opportunities to effect their buſineſſes) after Maſter *Hollis* his Threats, and then carried. The Declaration againſt Us ſent to *New-market* was carried but by one Voice in the Houſe of Peers, and by a ſmall number in the Houſe of Commons. The juſtifying Sir *John Hotham* in his Act of High Treaſon was oppoſed by many Perſons of great worth, though neither Houſe had half its number. And We are very far from cenſuring all thoſe Perſons who concurred in theſe or any other particulars; We believe very many of them ſtood not in ſo clear a light to diſcern the Guilt, Malice, Ambition or Subtilty of their Seducers. But if in truth there were a conſent entirely in both Houſes of Parliament (as We are moſt aſſured there will never be) to alter the whole frame of Government, muſt We ſubmit to thoſe Reſolutions, and muſt not Our Subjects help and aſſiſt Us in the defence of Laws and Government eſtabliſhed, becauſe they do not like them? Did We intend when We called them to that great Councel, or did Our good Subjects intend when they ſent them thither in their behalfs, that they ſhould alter the whole frame of Government according to their own Fancies and Ambition, and poſſeſſe thoſe Places during their Lives? What Our opinion and reſolution is concerning Parliaments, We have fully expreſſed in Our Declarations: We have ſaid, and will ſtill ſay, they are ſo eſſential a part of the Conſtitution of this Kingdome, that We can attain to no Happineſs without them, nor will We ever make the leaſt attempt (in Our thoughts) againſt them. We well know that Our Self and Our two Houſes make up the Parliament, and We are like *Hippocrates* Twins, We muſt laugh and cry, live and dye together; that no man can be a friend to the one, and an enemy to the other; the Injuſtice, Injury and Violence offered to Parliaments, is that which We principally complain of: and We again aſſure all Our good Subjects, in the preſence of Almighty God, that all the Acts paſſed by Us this Parliament ſhall be equally obſerved by Us, as We deſire thoſe to be which do moſt concern Our Rights.

Our Quarrel is not againſt the Parliament, but againſt particular men, who firſt made the Wounds, and will not now ſuffer them to be healed, but make them deeper and wider, by contriving, foſtering and fomenting Miſtakes and Jealouſies betwixt Body and Head, Us and Our two Houſes of Parliament; whom We name, and are ready to prove them guilty of High Treaſon. We deſire that the Lord *Kimbolton*, Mr *Hollis*, Mr *Pym*, Mr *Hampden*, Sir *Arthur Heſilrigge*, Mr *Stroud*, Mr *Martin*, Sir *Henry Ludlow*, Alderman *Pennington* and Captain *Venn*, may be delivered into the hands of Juſtice, to be tried by their Peers, according to the known Law of the Land: if We do not prove them guilty of High Treaſon, they will be acquitted, and their Innocence will juſtly triumph over Us. Againſt the Earle of *Warwick*, the Earle of *Eſſex*, Earle of *Stamford*, Lord *Brook*, Sir *John Hotham*, Serjeant Major General *Skippon*, and thoſe who ſhall henceforth exerciſe the *Militia* by virtue of the Ordinance, We ſhall cauſe Indictments to be drawn of High Treaſon upon the Statute of the 25. year of King *Edward* the Third: Let them ſubmit to the Trial appointed by Law, and plead their Ordinances; if they ſhall be acquitted, We have done.

And that all Our loving Subjects may know, that in truth nothing but the preſervation of the true Proteſtant Religion invaded by *Browniſme*, *Anabaptiſme* and *Libertiniſme*; the Safety of Our Perſon, threatned and conſpired againſt by Rebellion and Treaſon; the Law of the Land and Liberty of the Subject, oppreſſed and almoſt deſtroyed by an Uſurped, Unlimited, Arbitrary Power; and the Freedom, Privilege and Dignity of Parliament, awed and inſulted upon by Force and Tumults, could make us put off Our long-loved Robe of Peace, and take up defenſive Arms; We once more offer a free and a gracious Pardon to all Our loving Subjects who ſhall deſire the ſame (except the perſons before named,) and ſhall be as glad with Safety and Honour to lay down theſe Arms, as of the greateſt Bleſsing We are capable of in this world. But if to juſtify theſe Actions and theſe Perſons Our Subjects ſhall think fit to engage themſelves in a War againſt Us, We muſt not look upon it as an Act of Our Parliament, but as a Rebellion againſt Us and the Law in the behalf of theſe men; and ſhall proceed for the ſuppreſsing it with the ſame Conſcience and Courage as We would meet an Army of Rebels, who endeavour to deſtroy both King and People: And We will never doubt to find honeſt men enough of Our mindes.

¶ The

¶ The true Copy of the Petition prepared by the Officers of the late Army, and ſubſcribed by His Majeſtie with *C. R.*

To the KING'S moſt Excellent Majeſty, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, the Knights, Citizens and Burgeſſes now aſſembled in the High Court of Parliament, MDCXLI. *April.*

The Humble Petition of the Officers and Souldiers of the Army.

Humbly ſheweth,

THat *although our Wants have been very preſſing, and the Burthen we are become unto theſe parts (by reaſon of thoſe Wants) very grievous unto us; yet ſo have we demeaned our ſelves, that Your Majeſties great and weighty Affairs in this preſent Parliament have hitherto received no interruption by any Complaint either from us or againſt us; A temper not uſuall in Armies (eſpecially in one deſtitute not onely of Pay, but alſo of Martial Diſcipline, and many of its principal Officers:) That we cannot but attribute it to a particular bleſſing of Almighty God on our moſt hearty affection and zeal to the Common good in the happy ſucceſs of this Parliament; to which as we ſhould have been ready hourly to contribute our deareſt blood, ſo now that it hath pleaſed God to manifeſt his bleſſing ſo manifeſtly therein, we cannot but acknowledge it with thankfulneſs. We cannot but acknowledge his great Mercy in that he hath inclined Your Majeſties Royal heart ſo to co-operate with the wiſdom of the Parliament, as to effect ſo great and happy a Reformation upon the former Diſtempers of this Church and Commonwealth: As firſt, in Your Majeſties gracious condeſcending to the many important Demands of our neighbours of the* Scotiſh *Nation; ſecondly, in granting ſo free a courſe of Juſtice againſt all Delinquents, of what quality ſoever; thirdly, in the removal of all thoſe Grievances wherewith the Subjects did conceive either their Liberty of Perſons, Propriety of Eſtate, or Freedom of Conſcience prejudiced; and laſtly, in the greateſt pledge of ſecurity that ever the Subjects of* England *received from their Sovereign, the Bill of Triennial Parliaments. Theſe things ſo graciouſly accorded unto by Your Majeſty without bargain or compenſation, as they are more then expectation or hope could extend unto, ſo now certainly they are ſuch as all Loyal hearts ought to requieſce in with thankfulneſs, which we do with all humility;*

and do at this time, with as much earneſtneſs as any, pray and wiſh that the Kingdom may be ſettled in peace and quietneſs, and that all men may at their own homes enjoy the bleſſed fruits of Your Wiſdom and Juſtice.

But may it pleaſe Your Excellent Majeſty and this High Court of Parliament to give us leave, with grief and anguiſh of heart, to repreſent unto You, that We hear that there are certain perſons ſtirring and practical, who, inſtead of rendring Glory to God, Thanks to His Majeſty, and acknowledgement to the Parliament, remain yet as unſatisfied and mutinous as ever; who, whileſt all the reſt of the Kingdom are arrived even beyond their wiſhes, are daily forging new and unſeaſonable demands; who, whileſt all men of Reaſon, Loyalty and Moderation, are thinking how they may provide for Your Majeſties Honour and Plenty, in return of ſo many Graces to the Subject, they are ſtill attempting new Diminutions of Your Majeſties juſt Regalities, which muſt ever be no leſs dear to all honeſt men then our own Freedoms; in fine, men of ſuch turbulent ſpirits, as are ready to ſacrifice the Honour and Welfare of the whole Kingdom to their private fancies (whom nothing elſe then a ſubverſion of the whole frame of Government will ſatisfie.) Far be it from our thoughts to believe, that the Violence and Unreaſonableneſs of ſuch kinde of perſons can have any influence upon the Prudence and Juſtice of the Parliament. But that which begets the trouble and diſquiet of Our Loyal hearts at this preſent is, That we hear thoſe ill-affected perſons are backed in their Violence by the Multitude, and the power of raiſing Tumults; that thouſands flock at their call, and beſet the Parliament (and White-Hall it ſelf) not onely to the prejudice of that freedom which is neceſſary to great Councels and Judicatories, but poſſibly to ſome perſonal danger of Your Sacred Majeſty and Peers. The vaſt conſequence of theſe Perſons Malignity, and of the Licentiouſneſs of thoſe Multitudes that follow them, conſidered, in moſt deep care and zealous affection for the Safety of Your Sacred Majeſty and the Parliament, Our Humble Petition is, that in Your wiſdoms You would be pleaſed to remove ſuch Dangers, by puniſhing the Ring-leaders of theſe Tumults, and that Your Majeſty and the Parliament may be ſecured from ſuch Inſolencies hereafter. For the ſuppreſſing of which, in all humility we offer our ſelves to wait upon You (if You pleaſe) hoping we ſhall appear as conſiderable in way of Defence to our Gracious Sovereign, the Parliament, our Religion, and the eſtabliſhed Laws of the Kingdom, as what number ſoever ſhall audaciouſly preſume to violate them: ſo ſhall we, by the wiſdom of Your Majeſty and the Parliament, not onely be vindicated from precedent Innovations, but be ſecured from the future that are threatned, and likely to produce more dangerous effects then the former.

And we ſhall pray, &c.

His

His MAJESTIES *Declaration to all his loving Subjects upon occaſion of His late Meſſages to both Houſes of* Parliament, *and their refuſal to Treat with Him for the Peace of the Kingdom.* MDCXLII.

IF it had not evidently appeared to all men who have carefully examined and conſidered Our Actions, Meſſages and Declarations, how farre We are and have been from begetting or promoting the preſent Diſtractions, and that the Arms We have now taken are for the neceſſary ſafety and defence of Our Life, being not taken up by Us till Our Town and Fort of *Hull* were kept from Us by force of Arms, Our Navy imployed againſt Us, to keep back all forein ſupply of Arms and Money, when Our own here was ſeized and detained from Us, and an Army raiſed in pay, and marching againſt Us; yet the late reception of Our Meſſage of the 25th of *Auguſt* ſent by perſons of Honour and Truſt will ſure ſatisfy the world, that We have omitted nothing on Our part that a gracious and Chriſtian Prince could or can doe to prevent the effuſion of Chriſtian Blood, but that the malignant party, which have with great ſubtilty and induſtry begot this Miſunderſtanding between Us and Our good Subjects, reſolve to ſatisfy and ſecure their Malice and Ambition with the Ruine of the Kingdom, and in the blood of Us and all Our good Subjects.

When they had forced Us, after the neglect of Our Meſſage from *Beverly*, by raiſing a great Army, and incenſing Our Subjects againſt Us, to erect Our Royal Standard, that Our Subjects might be informed of Our Danger, and repair to Our Succour, though We had no great reaſon to believe any Meſſage of Ours would receive a very good entertainment, if thoſe men might prevail who had brought all theſe Miſeries upon the Kingdom to ſatisfy their own private ends; yet obſerving the miſerable Accidents which already befell Our good Subjects by the Souldiers under their command; and well knowing that greater would enſue if timely prevention were not applied, and finding that the Malice and Cunning of theſe men had infuſed into Our People a Rumor that We had re-

jected all Propositions and offers of Treaty, and desired to ingage Our Subjects in a Civil Warre, which Our Soul abhorres, We prevailed with Our Self (for a full expression of Our desire to prevent the effusion of Blood) to send a gracious Message to both Our Houses of Parliament on the 25 of *August*, in these words;

His Majesties gracious Message to both Houses of Parliament, sent frō *Nottingham Aug.* 25. 1642. by the Earls of *Southampton* & *Dorset*, Sr *John Culpeper* Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Sr *Willia Udal.*

WE have with unspeakable grief of heart long beheld the Distractions of this Our Kingdom; Our very Soul is full of anguish, untill We may finde some remedy to prevent the Miseries which are ready to overwhelm this whole Nation by a Civil War: And though all Our endeavours tending to the Composing of those unhappy Differences betwixt Us and Our two Houses of Parliament (though pursued by Us with all zeal and sincerity) have been hitherto without that Success We hoped for; yet such is Our constant and earnest care to preserve the publick Peace, that We shall not be discouraged from using any Expedient which, by the blessing of the God of Mercy, may lay a firm foundation of Peace and Happiness to all Our good Subjects. To this end observing that many mistakes have arisen by the Messages, Petitions and Answers betwixt Us and Our two Houses of Parliament, which haply may be prevented by some other way of Treaty, wherein the matters in difference may be more clearly understood and more freely transacted; We have thought fit to propound to you, That some fit persons may be by you inabled to treat with the like number to be authorized by Us, in such a manner and with such freedom of debate as may best tend to that happy Conclusion which all good men desire, The peace of the Kingdom: *Wherein as We promise in the Word of a King all safety and encouragement to such as shall be sent to Us, if you shall chuse the place where We are for the Treaty, which We wholly leave to you, presuming of your like care of the safety of those We shall imploy, if you shall name another place; so We assure you and all Our good Subjects, that (to the best of Our understanding) nothing shall be therein wanting on Our parts which may advance the True Protestant Religion, oppose Popery and Superstition, secure the Law of the Land (upon which is built as well Our just Prerogative as the Propriety and Liberty of the Subject) confirm all just Power and Privileges of Parliament, and render Us and Our People truely happy by a good understanding betwixt Us and Our two Houses of Parliament. Bring with you as firm Resolutions to doe your Duty, and let all Our good People joyn with Us in Our Prayers to Almighty God for his Blessing upon this Work.*

If this Proposition shall be rejected by you, We have done Our Duty so amply, that

that God will absolve Us from the Guilt of any of that Blood which must be spilt: and what opinion soever other men may have of Our Power, We assure you nothing but Our Christian and Pious care to prevent the effusion of blood hath begot this Motion; Our Provision of Men, Arms and Money being such as may secure Us from farther Violence, till it shall please God to open the eyes of Our People.

Our Messengers were not suffered to sit in the Houses, and one of them, the Earl of *Southampton* (against whom there was not the least colour of Exception, or so much as a Vote) not suffered to deliver Our Message, but compelled to send it by the Gentleman Usher, and then commanded to depart the Town, before they would prepare any Answer; which they shortly sent Us in these words;

May it please Your Majesty;

The Answer of the Lords and Commons to His Majesties Message the 25 of *Aug.* 1642.

THe Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled having received Your Majesties Message of the 25. of August, *do with much grief resent the dangerous and distracted state of this Kingdom, which we have by all means endeavoured to prevent, both by our several Advices and Petitions to Your Majesty, which have been not onely without success, but there hath followed that which no ill Counsel in former times hath produced or any Age hath seen, namely, those several Proclamations and Declarations against both the Houses of Parliament, whereby their Actions are declared Treasonable, and their Persons Traitors; and thereupon Your Majesty hath set up Your Standard against them, whereby You have put the two Houses of Parliament, and in them this whole Kingdom, out of Your Protection: so that untill Your Majesty shall recall those Proclamations and Declarations whereby the Earl of* Essex *and both Houses of Parliament, and their Adherents and Assistants, and such as have obeyed and executed their Commands and Directions according to their Duties, are declared Traitors, or otherwise Delinquents, and untill the Standard set up in pursuance of the said Proclamations be taken down, Your Majesty hath put us into such a condition, that whileſt we so remain we cannot by the fundamental Privileges of Parliament, the publick Trust reposed in us, or with the general good and safety of this Kingdom, give Your Majestie any other Answer to this Message.*

Joh. Brown Cler. Parliament.
H. Elsinge Cler. Parl. D. Com.

This ſtrange Anſwer might well have diſcouraged Us from any thought of proceeding further this way, and informed Us ſufficiently what ſpirit ſtill governed amongſt thoſe few who continued ſtill in both Houſes; otherwiſe, after ſo many bitter and invective Meſſages and Declarations ſent to Us and publiſhed againſt Us, We ſhould not have been reproached with Our Proclamations and Declarations ſet forth by Us as the effect of ſuch evil Counſel as was unparallel'd by any former Examples. We believe indeed ſuch Proclamations and Declarations have never been before ſet forth; but were former times ever acquainted with ſuch intolerable Provocations? Were there ever before theſe twelve months Declarations publiſhed in the name of either or both Houſes of Parliament to make their King odious to the People? Have either or both Houſes ever before aſſumed or pretended to a Power to raiſe Armes or levy Warre in any Cauſe? or can both Houſes together exerciſe ſuch a Power? Are thoſe Actions which the Law hath defined literally and expreſly to be Treaſonable, or ſuch Perſons to be Traitours, not ſo, becauſe they are done by Members of either Houſe, or their appointment? And muſt not We declare ſuch who March with Arms and Force to deſtroy Us to be Traitours, becauſe the Earl of *Eſſex* is their General? Thoſe whom We have or do accuſe We have named, together with their Crimes, notorious by the known Law of the Land, (a favour not granted to Our Evil Counſellors) and appeal to that known Law to judge between Us: And now that by this We ſhould have put the whole Kingdom out of Our Protection (in whoſe behalf We doe all that We have done) is a corrupt Gloſs upon ſuch a Text as cannot be perverted but by the cunning practices of ſuch who wiſh not well to King or People. Yet that no weak perſons might be miſled by that Imputation upon Us, we ſent a Reply to that Anſwer in theſe words;

His Majeſties Reply to an Anſwer ſent by the two Houſes of Parliament to HisMajeſties Meſſage of the 25 of *Auguſt*, concerning a Treaty of Accommodation.

WE will not repeat what means We have uſed to prevent the dangerous and diſtracted eſtate of the Kingdom, nor how thoſe means have been interpreted, becauſe being deſirous to avoid effuſion of blood, We are willing to decline all memory of former bitterneſs that might make Our offer of a Treaty leſs readily accepted.

We never did declare, nor ever intended to declare, both Our Houſes of Parliament

Parliament Traitours, or set up Our Standard against them, and much less to put them and this Kingdom out of Our Protection: We utterly profess against it before God and the World. And further to remove all possible Scruples which may hinder the Treaty so much desired by Us; We hereby promise, so that a day be appointed by you for the revoking of your Declarations against all Persons as Traitours or otherwaies for assisting of Us, We shall with all chearfulness upon the same day recall Our Proclamations and Declarations, and take down Our Standard: In which Treaty We shall be ready to grant any thing that shall be really for the good of Our Subjects. Conjuring you to consider the bleeding condition of Ireland, *and the dangerous condition of* England, *in as high a degree as by these Our Offers We have declared Our Self to do: and assuring you that Our chief desire in this world is to beget a good understanding and mutual confidence betwixt Us and Our two Houses of Parliament.*

This Message produced an Answer little differing from the former: like men who had no other measure of the Justice of their Cause then their Power to oppress Us, forgetting their own Duties, they sharply inform Us of Ours in these words;

May it please Your Majesty,

The humble Answer and Petition of the Lords & Commons assembled in Parliament unto the Kings last Message.

IF we the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled should repeat all the wayes we have taken, the endeavours we have used, and the expressions we have made unto Your Majestie to prevent those Distractions and Dangers Your Majesty speaks of likely to fall upon this Kingdom, we should too much enlarge this Reply. Therefore as we humbly, so shall we onely let Your Majesty know, that we cannot recede from our former Answer for the reasons therein expressed; for that Your Majesty hath not taken down Your Standard, recalled Your Proclamations and Declarations, whereby You have declared the Actions of both Houses of Parliament to be Treasonable, and their Persons Traitours. And You have published the same since Your Message of the 25th of August *by Your late Instructions sent to Your Commissioners of Array. Which Standard being taken down, and the Declarations, Proclamations and Instructions recalled, if Your Majesty shall then upon this our humble Petition, leaving Your Forces, return unto Your Parliament, and receive their faithful Advice, Your Majesty will find such expressions of our Fidelities and Duties as shall assure You that Your Safety, Honour and Greatness can onely be found in the affections of Your People, and the sincere Counsels of Your Parliament, whose constant and undiscouraged Endeavours and Consultations*

have

have passed through Difficulties unheard-of, onely to secure Your Kingdoms from the violent Mischiefs and Dangers now ready to fall upon them, and every part of them, who deserve better of Your Majesty, and can never allow themselves (representing likewise Your whole Kingdom) to be balanced with those Persons whose desperate Dispositions and Counsels prevaile still so to interrupt all our endeavours for the relieving of bleeding Ireland, *as we may fear our labours and vast expences will be fruitless to that distressed Kingdom. As Your Presence is thus humbly desired by us; so is it in our hopes Your Majesty will in your reason believe, there is no other way then this to make Your Self happy and Your Kingdom safe.*

John Brown *Cler. Parliament.*

Without any bitterness or reprehension of their neglect of Us and the publick Peace, to express Our deep sense of the Calamities at hand, We yet once more (hoping to awake them to a Christian tenderness towards the whole Kingdom) sent to them in these words;

WHo have taken most wayes, used most endeavours, and made most real expressions to prevent the present Distractions and Dangers, let all the World judge, as well by former Passages as by Our two last Messages, which have been so fruitless, that (though We have descended to desire and press it) not so much as a Treaty can be obtained, unless We would denude Our Self of all force to defend Us from a visible strength marching against Us, and admit those Persons as Traitours to Us, who, according to their Duty, their Oaths of Allegiance, and the Law, have appeared in defence of Us their King and Liege Lord (whom We are bound in Conscience and Honour to preserve) though We disclaimed all our Proclamations and Declarations, and the erecting of Our Standard as against Our Parliament. All We have now left in Our Power is to express the deep sense We have of the publick Misery of this Kingdom, in which is involved that of Our distressed Protestants of Ireland, *and to apply Our Self to Our necessary Defence, wherein We wholly rely upon the Providence of God, the Justice of Our Cause, and the Affection of Our good People; so farre We are from putting them out of Our Protection. When you shall desire a Treaty of Us, We shall piously remember whose blood is to be spilt in this Quarrell, and chearfully embrace it. And as no other Reason induced Us to leave Our City of* London, *but that with Honour*

and

and Safety We could not ſtay there, nor raiſe any Force but for the neceſſary defence of Our Perſon and the Law againſt Levies in oppoſition to both; ſo We ſhall ſuddenly and moſt willingly return to the one and disband the other, as ſoon as thoſe cauſes ſhall be removed.

The God of Heaven direct you, and in mercy divert thoſe Judgements which hang over this Nation, and ſo deal with Us and Our Poſterity as We deſire the Preſervation and Advancement of the true Proteſtant Religion, the Lawes, and the Liberty of the Subject, the juſt Rights of Parliament, and the Peace of the Kingdom.

But as if all theſe gracious Meſſages had been the effects only of Our Weakneſſe, and inſtances of Our want of Power to reſiſt that torrent, they deal at laſt more plainly with Us, and after many ſharp, cauſeleſſe and unjuſt Reproaches, they tell Us in plain Engliſh, that without putting Our Self abſolutely into their hands, and deſerting all Our own Force, and the Protection of all thoſe who have faithfully appeared for Us according to their Duty, there would be no means of a Treaty; although Our extraordinary deſire of Peace had prevailed with Us to offer to recall Our moſt juſt Declarations, and to take down Our Standard ſet up for Our neceſſary defence, ſo their unjuſtifiable Declarations might be likewiſe recalled. Their Anſwer follows in theſe words;

The humble Anſwer of the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament unto His Majeſties laſt Meſſage.

WE the Lords and Commons in Parliament aſſembled, do preſent this our humble Anſwer to Your Majeſties Meſſage of the 11th of this inſtant Moneth of September. *When we conſider the Oppreſſions, Rapines, Firing of houſes, Murthers, (even at this time whileſt Your Majeſty propounds a Treaty) committed upon Your good Subjects by Your Souldiers, in the preſence and by the Authority of their Commanders, being of the number of thoſe whom Your Majeſty holds Your ſelf bound in Honour and Conſcience to protect as Perſons doing their Duties; We cannot think Your Majeſty hath done all that in You lies to prevent or remove the preſent Diſtractions; nor ſo long as Your Majeſty will admit no Peace, without ſecuring the Authors and Inſtruments of theſe Miſchiefs from the Juſtice of the Parliament, which yet ſhall be ever diſpens'd with all requiſite Moderation and diſtinction of Offences, although ſome of thoſe Perſons be ſuch in whoſe Preſervation Your Kingdome cannot be ſafe, nor the unqueſtionable Rights and Privileges of Parliament be maintain'd, without which the Power and Dignity thereof*

will

will fall into contempt. We beſeech Your Majeſty therefore to conſider Your Expreſſions, That God ſhould deale with You and Your Poſterity as Your Majeſty deſires the Preſervation of the juſt Rights of Parliament; which being undeniable in the Trying of ſuch as we have declared to be Delinquents, we ſhall believe Your Majeſty, both towards Your ſelf and Parliament, will not in this Privilege we are moſt ſenſible of deny us that which belongs unto the meaneſt Court of Juſtice in this Kingdom. Neither hath Your Majeſty cauſe to complain that You are denied a Treaty, when we offer all that a Treaty can produce or Your Majeſty expect, Security, Honour, Service, Obedience, Support, and all other effects of an Humble, Loyal and Faithful Subjection, and ſeek nothing but that our Religion, Liberty, Peace of the Kingdom, Safety of the Parliament may be ſecured from the open Violence and cunning Practices of a wicked party, who have long plotted our ruine and deſtruction. And if there were any Cauſe of Treaty, we know no competent Perſons to Treat betwixt the King and Parliament; and if both Cauſe and Perſons were ſuch as to invite Treaty, the Seaſon is altogether unfit, whileſt Your Majeſties Standard is up, and Your Proclamations and Declarations unrecalled, whereby Your Parliament is charged with **Treaſon.**

If Your Majeſty ſhall perſiſt to make Your ſelf a ſhield and defence to thoſe Inſtruments, and ſhall continue to reject Our faithful and neceſſary Advice for ſecuring and maintaining Religion and Liberty, with the Peace of the Kingdom and Safety of the Parliament, we doubt not but to indifferent judgements it will eaſily appear who is moſt tender of that Innocent Blood which is like to be ſpilt in this Cauſe; Your Majeſty, who by ſuch perſiſting doth endanger Your ſelf and Your Kingdoms, or we, who are willing to hazard our ſelves to preſerve both.

We humbly beſeech Your Majeſty to conſider how impoſſible it is that any Proteſtation, though publiſhed in Your Majeſties name, of Your tenderneſſe of the Miſeries of Your Proteſtant Subjects in **Ireland,** *of Your Reſolution to maintain the Proteſtant Religion and Laws of this Kingdom, can give ſatisfaction to reaſonable and indifferent men, when at the ſame time diverſe of the* **Iriſh** *Traitours and Rebels, the known Favourers of them and Agents for them, are admitted to Your Majeſties preſence with Grace and Favour, and ſome of them imployed in Your ſervice; when the Cloaths, Munition, Horſes, and other Neceſſaries bought by Your Parliament, and ſent for the ſupply of the Army againſt the Rebels there, are violently taken away, ſome by Your Majeſties Command, others by Your Miniſters, and applied to the maintenance of an unnatural War againſt Your People here.*

All this notwithſtanding, as we never gave Your Majeſty any juſt cauſe of withdrawing Your ſelf from Your great Councel, ſo it hath ever been and ſhall ever

be

be farre from us to give any impediment to Your Return, or to neglect any proper means of curing the Diſtempers of the Kingdom, and cloſing the dangerous Breaches betwixt Your Majeſty and Your Parliament, according to the great Truſt which lies upon us: and if Your Majeſty ſhall now be pleaſed to come back to Your Parliament without Your Forces, we ſhall be ready to ſecure Your Royal Perſon, Your Crown and Dignity, with our Lives and Fortunes; Your Preſence in this Your great Councel being the only means of any Treaty betwixt Your Majeſty and them with hope of Succeſſe.

And in none of our Deſires to Your Majeſty ſhall we be ſwaied by any particular mans advantage, but ſhall give a clear Teſtimony to Your Majeſty and the whole World, that in all things done by us we faithfully intend the good of Your Majeſty and of Your Kingdoms, and that we will not be diverted from this End by any private or ſelf-reſpects whatſoever.

Jo. Brown Cler. Parliament.

They will not believe We have done all that in Us lies to prevent and remove the preſent Diſtractions, becauſe of the Oppreſsions, Rapines and the like committed upon Our good Subjects by Our Souldiers. Let them remember who have compelled Us, and againſt Our Soules deſire forced Us to raiſe thoſe Souldiers: and then if the Oppreſsions and Rapines were indeed ſuch as are falſely pretended, Our poor Subjects who ſuffer under them will look on them, and only on them, as the Authors of all the Miſeries they do or can undergoe. We confeſſe with grief of heart ſome Diſorders have and many more may befall Our good People by Our Souldiers; but We appeal to all thoſe Counties through which We have paſſed, what care We have taken to prevent, and what Juſtice We daily inflict upon ſuch Offendours: neither hath the leaſt complaint been ever made to Us of Violences and Outrages which We have not to Our utmoſt Power repaired or puniſhed; however thoſe falſe and treaſonable Pamphlets are ſuffered, which accuſe Us of giving Warrant for plundring of Houſes. Our Mercy and Lenity is ſo well known to the contrary, that it is uſually made an excuſe by thoſe who againſt their Conſciences aſsiſt this Rebellion againſt Us, that they chuſe rather to offend Us upon the confidence of Pardon, then provoke thoſe Malignant Perſons who without Charity or Compaſsion deſtroy all who concur not with them in Faction and Opinion. How far We are from

Rapine and Oppreſsion may appear by Our Lenity to the Perſons and Eſtates of thoſe who have not only exerciſed the *Militia* (the ſeed from whence this Rebellion againſt Us hath grown) but contributed Money and Plate to the maintenance of that Army which now endeavours to deſtroy Us; as of *Nottingham*, *Leiceſter*, and many other places through which We have paſſed, many of whom then were and now are in that Army: to let paſs Our paſsing by *Chartly* (the Houſe of the Earle of *Eſſex*) without other preſſures then as if he were the General of Our own Army, and Our expreſs Orders to reſtrain the liberty Our Souldiers would otherwiſe have uſed upon that Place and his Eſtate about it. How contrary the proceedings are of theſe great Aſſertors of the publick Liberties, appears fully by the ſad inſtances they every day give in the plundring by publick Warrant the Houſes of all ſuch whoſe Duty, Conſcience and Loyalty hath engaged them in Our Quarrel, which every good man ought to make his own; by their declaring all Perſons to be out of the Protection of Parliament (and ſo expoſing them to the Fury of their Souldiers) who will not aſsiſt this Rebellion againſt Us, their anointed King; by the daily Outrages committed in *Yorkſhire*, when, contrary to the deſire and agreement of that County (ſigned under the hands of both Parties) they will not ſuffer the Peace to be kept, but that the Diſtractions and Confuſion may be univerſal over the whole Kingdome, direct their Governour of *Hull* to make War upon Our good Subjects in that County, and ſo continue the robbing and plundring the Houſes of all ſuch who concur not with them in this Rebellion; laſtly, by the barbarous, Sacrilegious Inhumanity exerciſed by their Souldiers in Churches, as in *Canterbury*, *Worceſter*, *Oxford*, and other Places, where they committed ſuch unheard-of Outrages as *Jewes* and *Atheiſts* never practiſed before. God in his good time will make them examples of his Vengeance.

We never did nor ever ſhall deſire to ſecure the Authors and Inſtruments of any miſchiefs to the Kingdom from the Juſtice of Parliament: We deſire all ſuch Perſons may be ſpeedily brought to condign Puniſhment by that Rule which is, or ought to be, the Rule of all puniſhment, the known Law of the Land. If there have ſeemed to be any interruption in proceedings of this nature, it muſt be remembred how long Perſons have been kept under general Accuſations without Trial, though earneſtly

earneſtly deſired; that the Members who were properly to judge ſuch Accuſations have by Violence been driven thence, or could not with Honour and Safety be preſent at ſuch Debates; that notorious Delinquents by the known Laws were protected againſt Us from the Juſtice of the Kingdom, and ſuch called Delinquents who, committing no Offence againſt any known Law, were ſo voted only for doing their Duties to Us: and then there will be no cauſe of complaint found againſt Us.

And for the Privileges of Parliament, We have ſaid ſo much and upon ſuch reaſons, (which have never been anſwered but by bare poſitive Aſſertions) in Our ſeveral Declarations, that We may well and do ſtill uſe the ſame expreſsion, That We deſire God may ſo deal with Us and Our Poſterity, as We deſire the preſervation of the juſt Rights of Parliament; the violation whereof in truth by theſe deſperate Perſons is ſo clearly known to all men who underſtand the Privileges of Parliament, that their Rage and Malice hath not been greater to Our Perſon and Government, then to the Liberty, Privilege and very Being of Parliaments: witneſs their putting in, putting out, and ſuſpending what Perſons they pleaſe, as they like or diſlike their Opinions; their bringing down the Tumults to aſſault the Members and awe the Parliament; their poſting and proſecuting ſuch Members of either Houſe as concurred not with them in their Deſignes, and ſo driving them from thence for the ſafety of their Lives; their denying Us, againſt the known, eſtabliſhed Law and the Conſtitution of the Kingdom, to have a Negative Voice, without which no Parliament can conſiſt; their making cloſe Committees, from whence the Members of the Houſes are exempted, againſt the Liberty of Parliament; and laſtly, reſolving both Houſes into a cloſe Committee of Seventeen perſons, who undertake and direct all the preſent Outrages and the managery of this Rebellion againſt Us, in the abſence of four parts of five of both Houſes, and without the privity of thoſe who ſtay there, which is not only contrary, but deſtructive to Parliaments themſelves. By theſe groſs, unheard-of Invaſions and Breaches of the Privileges of Parliament, (and without them they could not have done the other) they made way for their attempts upon the Law of

the Land, and the introduction of that unlimited Arbitrary Power which they have ſince exerciſed to the intolerable Damage and Confuſion of the whole Kingdom. And We aſſure Our good Subjects, the vindication of theſe juſt Liberties and Privileges of Parliament, thus violated by theſe men, is not leſs the Argument of Our preſent Quarrel and Undertaking, then Our own Honour, Intereſt and Safety; thoſe being no way ſo ſecurely to be preſerved, as by preſerving Parliaments and their juſt Privileges. Neither is there any Proteſtation, to Our knowledge, publiſhed in Our name of Our tenderneſs of the Miſeries of *Ireland*, and Our Reſolution to maintain the Proteſtant Religion and Laws of this Kingdom, that is not the Proteſtation of Our Soul, and manifeſted in all Our Actions: and We hope that falſe Scandal, that divers of the *Iriſh* Traitours and Rebels, the known Favourers of them and Agents for them, are admitted to Our Preſence with favour, and imployed in Our Service, will gain no credit with good men, who remember well the notorious imputation ſo confidently & groundleſsly heretofore caſt on Us by Mr *Pym*, of which as there could never be the leaſt Proof, ſo We could never receive any ſatisfaction for that high Injury, which might have been a warning to them to have publiſhed no more ſuch Untruths, if they had not found that Truth and their Ends cannot meet together.

For the Horſes taken for Our Service, which were provided for the Service of *Ireland*, 'tis true, We were compelled for the bringing Our own Waggons from *Cheſter* for the Carriage of Our Munition to make uſe of them, being few in number and of ſmall value, after they were certified to be of no uſe for the Service for which they were provided. And for the Clothes, upon enquiry We finde that ſome few were taken by Our Souldiers (but without any Order from Us) going to *Coventry*, and as was probably believed for the relief of that place then in actual Rebellion againſt Us. But how farre We have been and are from diverting any of thoſe Proviſions made for the Relief of that poor Kingdom, (the thought of whoſe miſerable Condition makes Our heart bleed) may appear by Our expreſs Command given for the ſpeedy tranſportation of 3000. Suits of Clothes which We found provided at *Cheſter*, but neglected to be ſent, and which no neceſsity of Our own Army here could prevail with Us to ſeize. And how bold ſoever the Reproaches of that kind

have

have been upon Us, We are confident Malice it ſelf cannot lay the leaſt probable imputation upon Us for the neglect of Our Duty towards that Kingdom. What one thing in Our power have We neglected or omitted which might contribute to the aſsiſtance or eaſe of Our poor Proteſtant Subjects there? We firſt recommended the care of that buſineſs to both Our Houſes of Parliament: We conſented to all Propoſitions made on the behalf, offered to raiſe 10000. Voluntiers, (which if then accepted, had ſhortned that Work,) offered to venture Our own Perſon in the Service; (what interpretation that Offer of Ours found is known to all the world) We parted with Our Intereſt in the Land of the Rebels, to encourage ſuch who were willing to adventure in that buſineſs, and when Money is raiſed by Our Conſent for that ſole purpoſe, they have at once ſeized on a hundred thouſand pound particularly appointed by Act of Parliament for the relief of *Ireland* (Our Army being ready to periſh for want of it) and imployed it to maintain this unnatural Civil Warre at home. They have levied men and entertained Commanders for that Service, aad then compelled them to joyn in this Rebellion, and to march againſt Us. And though they have complained of Our keeping the Lieutenant of *Ireland* ſome weeks with Us, (when in truth it was a ſeaſon of extraordinary buſineſs,) after We had in vain for many months preſſed his diſpatch, yet themſelves now detain him, when his going is ſo neceſſary for the Preſervation of that Kingdom. And no doubt theſe men (and theſe alone) by begetting this miſerable Diſtraction of *England*, are guilty before God and Man of all the inſupportable Calamities that Our Kingdom of *Ireland* endures. Let all the world judge where the deſire of Peace is, and upon whoſe account the Blood and Confuſion which hath been ſhed and muſt follow ſhall be caſt, and whether the ſeveral Proclamations and Declarations publiſhed by Us have not been extorted from Us by ſuch unheard-of Inſolencies and Injuries which no former times ever produced. Neither can any ſober man wonder, when We are publickly reproached, traduced and reviled to Our People (a practice never known till this Parliament) that We endeavour by a true Relation and Declaration of Our Actions and Intentions, and of their Conſpiracies who have vowed Our Deſtruction, to inform Our good

Subjects of the Cunning and Malice they are to encounter with; and when a Combination is entred into to destroy Us, and to alter the Religion and Law of the Kingdom, and to that purpose an Army raised and marching against Us, that We proclaim the General of that Army, and such who shall assist him in levying a Warre against Us, to be *Traitours*, and have set up Our Royal Standard, and required all Our good Subjects to come to Our defence. And yet both in that Proclamation and in all Our Declarations We have never accused Our Parliament, but such factious, seditious Members of both Houses whom We have named, and whom We are ready to prove according to the Rules of the known Law to be guilty of High Treason. We well know, and all the Kingdome knows, that of near 500. Members which the House of Commons contains, there remains not now there 100. neither hath above such a number consented almost to any thing of which We have ever complained; the rest have either been driven away by Tumults and Threats of the Persons whom We have accused, or out of Conscience withdrawn themselves from their desperate Consultations: and of about 100. Peers of the Realm, there are not above 15. or 16. who concurre in these miserable Resolutions which disturb the publick Peace; many of which being of desperate fortunes, have no other support then the Commands now given them to make Warre upon Us: and now these men must sit upon the Lives and Fortunes of all the Nobility, Gentry and Commons of *England*; and because We will not put Our Self into the hands, Government & disposal of them, all Our good Subjects are invited and encouraged to Rebell against Us. Yet We have been, and are still, farre from accusing all that small number of both Houses who are yet left together. We believe many of them are misled by the Cunning and Malice, and frighted by the Power of those men whom We have accused; against every one of whom We have evidence of matter of Fact, that the known Law of the Land determines to be High Treason.

And now that all Our good Subjects may see how desirous these men and their Adherents are to prevent the effusion of blood and the lasting Miseries of a Civil Warre, they will make themselves so considerable, that except We will recal Our Proclamations and Declarations

rations whereby thoſe Perſons particularly named, for particular Actions, (which the Law hath defined to be Treaſon) are ſo accuſed, and others warned from involving themſelves in their Guilt; and except We will take down Our *Standard*, that Our good Subjects may not repair to Us for Our Defence, when ſo many Armies are raiſed againſt Us in ſeveral parts of the Kingdom, and ready to deſtroy Us, and ſuch of Our good Subjects who dare continue loyall to Us, and except We will return to *London*, from whence with Violence We have been driven, We muſt not be treated with, or receive any Anſwer to ſo gracious a Meſſage.

It can no longer be doubted by any man who hath not wilfully forſaken his Underſtanding, that it is no more a Quarrel undertaken by the Parliament, but contrived and fomented by the perſons We have named, and now continued ſolely in their defence, to whoſe Ambition, Faction and Malice, the true Reformed Proteſtant Religion, the juſt Right, Honour, Safety and Life of Us and Our Poſterity, the Law of the Land, which hath ſo long preſerved this Nation Happy, the Liberty of the Subject eſtabliſhed by that Law, and the glorious Frame and Conſtitution of this Kingdom, muſt be ſacrificed. But as We have hitherto left no Action unperformed which in Honour, Juſtice and Conſcience We were obliged to doe, or in Chriſtian Policy and Prudence We could conceive might probably prevent theſe Calamities; ſo We thank God he hath given Us a full Courage and Reſolution to run the utmoſt hazard of Our Life for the ſuppreſsion of this Horrible Rebellion, in the which no diſproportion of Power, Arms or Money ſhall diſcourage Us. And We hope that all Our good Subjects beſides, by the common Duty of Allegiance, will be ſtirred up for their own ſakes, for the preſervation of the bleſſed Proteſtant Religion, and for the upholding this whole admirable Frame of Government, which being diſſolved, all their private and particular Rights and Intereſts muſt be immediately confounded, to bring in their utmoſt power and Aſſiſtance unto Us in this deſperate Exigent. And We do declare, that whoſoever ſhall loſe his life in this Service for Our defence, the Wardſhip of his Heir ſhall be granted by Us without Rent or Fine to his own uſe; and We ſhall hold Our Self obliged to take all poſsible care for the ſupport, relief and protection of all their

Wives and Children, who ſhall have the hard fortune to dy in this Service.

CHARLES R.

Our expreſs pleaſure is, That this Our Declaration be publiſhed in all Churches and Chappels within the Kingdom of *England* and Dominion of *Wales*, by the Parſons, Vicars, or Curates of the ſame.

His MAJESTIES *Declaration to all His loving Subjects, after His late Victory againſt the* Rebels *on Sunday the* 23. *of* October.

MDCXLII. AS We muſt wholly attribute the Preſervation of Us and Our Children in the late bloody Battell with the Rebels to the Mercy and Goodneſs of Almighty God, who beſt knowing the Juſtice of Our Cauſe, and the Uprightneſs of Our Heart to his Service, and to the good and welfare of Our People, would not ſuffer Us and this whole Kingdom to be made a Prey to thoſe deſperate Perſons: ſo We hold it Our Duty ſtill to uſe all poſsible means to remove that Jealouſie and Miſunderſtanding from Our good Subjects, which by the Induſtry and Subtilty of that Malignant Party (which hath brought this Miſchief and Confuſion upon the Kingdom) hath been infuſed into them; and to that purpoſe (though even thoſe Scandals are ſufficiently anſwered by many of Our Declarations and Meſſages, and by Our late Proteſtation made in the head of Our Army, which We ſhall alwaies by the help of God ſtedfaſtly and ſolemnly obſerve) We ſhall take notice of thoſe ſubtile Inſinuations by which at this preſent (according to that obſervation We can make, and Information We can receive) they endeavour to poiſon the hearts and corrupt the Allegiance of ſuch of Our good Subjects who cannot ſo clearly diſcern their Malice and Impoſtures: Firſt, by urging and preſsing that falſe groundleſs Imputation of Our favouring Popery, and Our imploying many of that Religion now in Our Army; ſecondly, by ſeducing Our good People to believe that this

this Army raiſed and kept for Our neceſſary Defence (and without which, in all probability, the Malice of theſe men had before this taken Our Life from Us) is to fight againſt and ſubdue the Parliament, to take away the Privileges thereof, and thereby to root out Parliaments. If either of which were true, We ſhould not have the courage with an Army much greater then Ours to hope for ſucceſs.

For the Firſt, for Our Affection to that Religion, Our continual Practice, Our conſtant Profeſsion and ſeveral Proteſtations will ſatisfie all the World, againſt which Malice and Treaſon it ſelf cannot finde the leaſt probable Objection: We wiſh from Our heart the zeal and affection of theſe men to the true Proteſtant Religion were as apparent as Ours. For the imploying men of that Religion in Our preſent Service in the Army; whoſoever conſiders the hardneſs and ſtreights the Malice and Fury of theſe men have driven Us to, their ſtopping all paſſages and waies that neither men nor money might come to Us, their declaring all ſuch to be Traitours who ſhall aſsiſt Us, their entertaining men of all Countries, all Religions, to ſerve againſt Us, would not wonder if We had been very well contented to have received the ſervice and aſsiſtance of any of Our good Subjects who had Loyalty enough (whatſoever their Religion is) to bring them to Our Succour. All men know the great number of Papiſts which ſerve in their Army, Commanders and others, the great Induſtry they have uſed to corrupt the Loyalty and Affection of all Our Subjects of that Religion, the private Promiſes and Undertakings they have made to them, that if they would aſsiſt them againſt Us, all the Laws made in their prejudice ſhould be repealed: yet neither the weakneſs of Our own condition, nor the other Arts uſed againſt Us, could prevail with Us to invite thoſe of that Religion to come to Our ſuccour, or to recal Our Proclamation which forbade them to doe ſo. And We are confident (though We know of ſome few whoſe eminent Abilities in Command and Conduct, and moderate and unfactious Diſpoſitions, hath moved Us in this great Neceſsity to imploy them in this Service) that a farre greater number of that Religion is in the Army of the Rebels then in Our own. And We do aſſure Our good Subjects, though We ſhall alwaies remember the particular ſervices which particular men have or ſhall

in this Exigent of Ours perform to Us with that Grace and Bounty which becomes a juſt Prince; yet We ſhall be ſo farre from ever giving the leaſt countenance or encouragement to that Religion, that We ſhall alwayes uſe Our utmoſt endeavour to ſuppreſs it, by the execution of thoſe good and wholſome Laws already in force againſt Papiſts, and concurring in ſuch further Remedies as the care and wiſdom of Us and both Houſes of Parliament ſhall think moſt neceſſary for the Advancement of God's Service.

For the Second, of Our Intention to make Warre upon Our Parliament, and ſo to root out Parliaments; the Scandal is ſo ſenſeleſs, when Our Accuſation of a few particular Perſons for particular Crimes notoriouſly committed, adjudged by the known Laws of the Land to be Treaſon, is evident, that no man can be moved with it, who doth not believe a douzen or twenty Factious, Seditious Perſons to be the High Court of Parliament, which conſiſts of KING, Lords and Commons. And for the Privileges of it, whoever doth not believe that to raiſe an Army to murther and depoſe the King, to alter the whole frame of Government and eſtabliſhed Laws of the Land by extemporary, extravagant Votes and Reſolutions of either or both Houſes, to force and compel the Members to ſubmit to the Faction and Treaſon of a few, and to take away the Liberty and Freedom of conſultation from them, be the Privileges of Parliament, muſt confeſs that the Army now raiſed by Us is no leſs for the Vindication and Preſervation of Parliaments then for Our own neceſſary Defence. We have often ſaid, and We ſtill ſay, that We believe many Inconveniences have grown upon this Kingdom by the too long intermiſsion of Parliaments, that Parliaments are the onely neceſſary ſovereign Remedies of the growing Miſchiefs which Time and Accidents have and will alwaies beget in this Kingdom, that without Parliaments the Happineſs cannot be laſting to King or People; We have prepared for the frequent aſſembling of Parliaments, and will be alwaies as careful of their juſt Privileges as of Our Life, Honour or Intereſt: But that thoſe Privileges ſhould extend ſo farre as hath been lately declared, that it ſhould not be lawful for Us to apprehend the Lord *Saint-John*, Captain *Wingate*, or Captain *Walton*, when they came to deſtroy Us, becauſe they were Members of Parliament,

ment, without the consent of that House of which they were Members, is so ridiculous, that there need no more to be said in this Argument then the giving these instances. In a word, as whoever knows in what Danger Our Person was on Sunday the 23. of *October*, can never believe that the Army which gave Us Battel was raised for Our Defence and Preservation: so when they consider how much the Liberty of the Subject is invaded by their Rapine and Imprisoning, and that four parts at the least of five of the Members of both Houses are by Violence driven from being present in that Councel; that the Book of Common-Prayer is rejected, and no countenance given but to *Anabaptists* and *Brownists*; they will easily find the pretences of care of the Protestant Religion, the Liberty of the Subject, and of the Privilege of Parliament, to be as vain and pretended, as those which referre to the Safety of Our Person and preservation of Our Posterity.

We cannot omit the great pains and endeavours these great pretenders to Peace and Charity have taken to raise an implacable Malice and Hatred between the Gentry and Commonalty of the Kingdome, by rendring all Persons of Honour, Courage and Reputation odious to the Common People, under the style of Cavaliers; insomuch as the High-waies and Villages have not been safe for Gentlemen to passe through without Violence or Affronts: and by infusing into them that there was an intention by the Commission of *Array* to take away a part of their Estates from them; a Scandal so senseless and impossible, that the Contrivers of it well know that they might with equal Ingenuity have charged Us with a purpose of introducing *Turcisme* or *Judaisme* amongst them: and We hope when Our good Subjects have well weighed the continual practices of these men to reject all offers of Treaty, and to suppresse Truth, and to mislead them by bold and monstrous Falsehoods, they will not think such arts and waies to lead to Peace and Unity. And We desire Our good Subjects of all Conditions to believe that We hold Our Self bound no lesse to defend and protect the meanest of Our People (who are born equally free, and to whom the Law of the Land is an equal Inheritance) then the greatest Subject; and that as the Wealth and Strength of this Kingdome consists in the Number and Happinesse of Our People, which is made up of men of all Conditions,

ditions, ſo We ſhall, to the utmoſt of Our Power, endeavour without diſtinction to give every one of them that Juſtice and Protection which is due to them: and We do exhort them all to that charitable and brotherly Affection one towards another, that they may be reconciled in a juſt Duty and Loyalty to Us, which may enable Us for that Protection.

To conclude, We would have all the World know, that We ſhall never forget the Proteſtations and Vowes We have made to Almighty God in Our ſeveral Declarations and Meſſages to both Our Houſes of Parliament. And We are too much a Chriſtian to believe that We can break thoſe Promiſes, and avoid the Juſtice of Heaven.

CHARLES R.

Our expreſs pleaſure is, That this Our Declaration be publiſhed in all Churches and Chappels within the Kingdom of *England* and Dominion of *Wales*, by the Parſons, Vicars, or Curates of the ſame.

DECLA-

DECLARATIONS
AND
PAPERS
CONCERNING THE TREATY
OF PEACE
AT OXFORD.

M DC XLII. III.

His MAJESTIES *Declaration to all His loving Subjects, of His true Intentions in advancing lately to* Brainceford.

MDCXLII. *Novemb.*

THough Our Reputation be moſt dear to Us, and eſpecially in thoſe caſes wherein the truth of Our moſt ſolemn Profeſsions (and by conſequence of Our Chriſtianity) is queſtioned; yet it is not onely for the Vindication of that, and to clear Our ſelf from ſuch Aſperſions, but withall to preſerve Our Subjects in their juſt Eſteem of and Duty to Us, and from being engaged into Crimes and Dangers by thoſe malicious Reports, ſo ſpightfully framed and cunningly ſpread againſt Us concerning Our late advancing to *Brainceford*, that We have reſolved to publiſh this Our following Declaration.

AT *Colebrook*, on Friday the 11. of *November*, We received a Petition from both Our Houſes of Parliament, by the Earl of *Northumberland*, the Earl of *Pembroke* and *Montgomery*, the Lord *Wenman*, Maſter *Pierrepont* and Sir *John Hippeſly*: And indeed We were well pleaſed to ſee it ſo much liker a Petition then the other Papers We had often of late received under that name, and return'd to it the next day ſo gracious an Anſwer, that We aſſure Our ſelves could not but be very ſatisfactory to all that were truely lovers of Peace. The Copies of both do here follow.

To the KINGS *moſt Excellent* MAJESTIE, *The humble Petition of the Lords and Commons now aſſembled in Parliament.*

WE Your Majeſties moſt loyall Subjects, the Lords and Commons in Parliament aſſembled, being affected with a deep and piercing ſenſe of the Miſeries of this Kingdom, and of the Dangers to Your Majeſties Perſon, as the preſent Affairs now ſtand, and much quickned therein with the ſad conſideration of the great effuſion of Blood at the late Battell, and of the loſs of ſo many eminent Perſons; and further weighing the addition

of Loſs, Miſery and Danger to Your Majeſty and Your Kingdom, which muſt enſue if both Armies ſhould again joyn in another Battell, as without God's eſpecial Bleſſing, and Your Majeſties Concurrence with Your Houſes of Parliament, will not probably be avoided.

We cannot but believe that a ſuitable Impreſſion of Tenderneſs and Compaſſion is wrought in Your Majeſties Royal Heart, being Your Self an eye-witneſs of the bloody and ſorrowful deſtruction of ſo many of Your Subjects; and that Your Majeſtie doth apprehend what diminution of Your own Power and Greatneſs will follow, and that all Your Kingdoms will thereby be ſo weakned as to become ſubject to the Attempts of any ill-affected to this State. In all which reſpects, we aſſure our ſelves that Your Majeſtie will be inclined graciouſly to accept this our humble Petition, that the Miſery and Deſolation of this Kingdom may be ſpeedily removed and prevented. For the effecting whereof we moſt humbly beſeech Your Majeſty to appoint ſome convenient place, not farre from the City of London, *where Your Majeſty will be pleaſed to reſide, untill Committees of both Houſes of Parliament may attend Your Majeſty with ſome Propoſitions for the removal of theſe bloody Diſtempers and Diſtractions, and ſettling the ſtate of the Kingdom in ſuch a manner as may conduce to the Preſervation of God's true Religion, Your Majeſties Honour, Safety and Proſperity, and to the Peace, Comfort and Security of all your People.*

His MAJESTIES Anſwer to the aforeſaid Petition.

WE take God to witneſs how deeply We are affected with the Miſeries of this Kingdom, which heretofore We have ſtroven as much as in Us lay to prevent, it being ſufficiently known to all the World, that as We were not the firſt that took up Arms, ſo We have ſhewed Our readineſs of Compoſing all things in a fair way by Our ſeveral Offers of Treaty, and ſhall be glad now at length to finde any ſuch Inclinations in others; the ſame Tenderneſs to avoid the Deſtruction of Our Subjects (whom We know to be Our greateſt Strength) which would alwaies make Our greateſt Victories bitter to Us, ſhall make Us willingly hearken to ſuch Propoſitions whereby theſe bloody Diſtempers may be ſtopped, and the great Diſtractions of this Kingdom ſettled to God's Glory, Our Honour, and the Welfare and flouriſhing of Our People; and to that end ſhall reſide at Our own Caſtle at Windſor *(if the Forces there ſhall be removed) till Committees may have time to attend Us with*

the

the ſame (which, to prevent the Inconveniences that will intervene, We wiſh may be haſtened) and ſhall be ready there, or (if that be refuſed Us) at any place where We ſhall be, to receive ſuch Propoſitions as aforeſaid from both Our Houſes of Parliament. Doe you your Duty, We will not be wanting to Ours: God of his mercy give a Bleſſing.

But the ſame night after the Meſſengers were gone, certain Information was brought unto Us, that the ſame day the Earl of *Eſſex* had drawn his Forces with great ſtore of Ordnance out of *London* towards Us: upon which a Councel of Warre being preſent, and We having there conſidered, upon debate, Our preſent Condition, That being already almoſt ſurrounded by his Forces, ſome at *Windſor*, ſome at *Kingſton*, and ſome at *Acton*, if We ſuffered the Remainder to poſſeſs *Brainceford*, We ſhould be totally hemm'd in, and Our Army deprived of all convenience of either moving or ſubſiſting; yet how neceſſary ſoever it appeared, We could not obtain Our own Conſent to advance towards *Brainceford*, and either prepoſſeſs it, or diſpoſſeſs them of it, till We had ſatisfied Our Selves that it was as lawful as neceſſary, and fully weighed all that not only Reaſon, but Malice it ſelf (which We knew to be very watchful upon Our Actions) could object againſt it. We conſidered firſt, that it could not reaſonably be eſteemed an Averſion from Peace, and an Intention to interrupt the Treaty then in exſpectation; ſince on the other ſide We had cauſe to believe by the former rejection of Our offers of Treaty, when We were ſuppoſed to be in no condition of ſtrength, that if We would not thus preſerve Our Selves from being ſo encompaſs'd as to come into their Powers, the very poſsibility of a Treaty would immediately vaniſh. We conſidered next, that much leſs could it be interpreted any breach of Faith, ſince willingneſs to receive Propoſitions of Treaty was never held to amount to a ſuſpenſion of Arms; ſince otherwiſe We muſt (becauſe mention of a Treaty had been once made) by the ſame Logick have been bound not to hinder them to encompaſs Us on all parts to *Colebrook* Towns-end; ſince no word to that purpoſe (of any ſuſpenſion) was in Our Anſwer; nay, ſince in that (by wiſhing their Propoſitions might be haſtned, to prevent the Inconveniences which would intervene) We implied;

that by this Arms were not ſuſpended; and ſince their own Votes of proceeding vigorouſly notwithſtanding the Petition, and their own actions in ſending after their Meſſengers great ſtore of Forces with Ordnance ſo near to Us (having before girt Us in on all other parts, and ſent men and Ordnance to *Kingſton* after the ſafe Conduct asked of Us) implied the ſame.

Being reſolved upon theſe Reaſons, that this Advancing was neceſſary and juſt, We were not yet ſatisfied, till We had endeavoured the ſame day (though the interruptions of ſhooting ſtopt the way till the next) to ſatisfie Our Parliament and People of the ſame, and that Peace was ſtill Our deſire. We to that end directed a Meſſage by *John White* Eſquire, which was ſo received, that his danger of being put to death for bringing it, and the Impriſonment of him and the Trumpeter that went with him in the *Gate-houſe*, ſhew'd that the Law of Nations was by ſome no more conſidered then all other Laws had been before. A Copy of which Meſſage hereafter follows, to ſhew how little temptation the matter of that gave them for ſuch an uſage.

His MAJESTIES *Meſſage of the twelfth of November.*

WHereas the laſt night, being the eleventh of November, *after the departure of the Committee of both Our Houſes with Our gracious Anſwer to their Petition, We received certain Information (having till then heard nothing of it, either from the Houſes Committee or otherwiſe) That the Lord of* Eſſex *had drawn his Forces out of* London *towards Us, which hath neceſſitated Our ſudden Reſolution to march with Our Forces to* Brainceford; *We have thought hereby fit to ſignifie to both Our Houſes of Parliament, That We are no leſs deſirous of the Peace of the Kingdom then We expreſt in Our aforeſaid Anſwer, the Propoſitions for which We ſhall willingly receive where-ever We are, and deſire (if it may be) to receive them at* Brainceford *this night, or early to morrow morning, that all poſſible ſpeed may be made in ſo good a Work, and all Inconveniences otherwiſe likely to intervene may be avoided.*

And to juſtifie yet further that Our Intention was no other then was here profeſt, as ſoon as We were informed that the Earl of *Eſſex* his

his Forces were departed from *Kingſton*, before any appearance or notice of further Forces from *London* (Our end of not being incloſed being obtained) We gave orders to quit *Brainceford*, and to march away, and poſſeſs that place.

We cannot but make one Argument more of the truth of Our Profeſsion, that this was all Our end, and that We had not the leaſt thought by ſo advancing to ſurpriſe and ſack *London* (which the Malignant party would infuſe into that Our City;) and that is, That probably God Almighty would not have given ſuch a Bleſſing to Our Journey, as to have aſsiſted Us ſo both by Land and Water, as with leſs then a third part of Our Foot, and with the loſs but of ten men, to beat two of their beſt Regiments out of both *Braincefords*, for all the great advantage of their Works in them, to kill him who commanded in chief, and kill and drown many others, to take five hundred Priſoners, more Arms, eleven Colours, and good ſtore of Ammunition, fifteen Pieces of Ordnance (whereof We ſunk moſt that We brought not away) and then unfought with, and unoffer'd at, nearer then by Ordnance, to march away, notwithſtanding the great diſadvantage of Our Forces by the difficulties of the Paſſages, if He, who is the Searcher of all Hearts, and Truth it ſelf, had not known the truth of Our Profeſsions, and the Innocence of Our Heart, and how farre We were from deſerving thoſe horrid Accuſations of Falſhood and Treachery caſt ſo point-blank upon Our own Perſon, that it would amaze any man to ſee them ſuffered to be printed in Our City of *London*, if any thing of that kind could be a wonder after ſo many of the ſame, and how really they deſire Accommodation, who have upon this Voted they will have none.

Theſe Our Reaſons for this Action, this Our ſatisfaction ſent for it, and this Bleſsing of God's upon it, will (We doubt not) clear Us to all indifferent perſons both of the Jeſuitical Counſels and the Perſonal Treachery to which ſome have preſumed ſo impudently to impute it: And God ſo bleſs Our future Actions as We have delivered the truth of this.

The Anſwer of both Houſes of Parliament to His Majeſties Meſſage of the 12. *of* November.

With his Majeſties Reply thereunto.

The Anſwer of both Houſes of Parliament to His Majeſties Meſſage of the 12. *of* November.

TO Your Majeſties Meſſage of the 12. of this Month of *November*, we the Lords and Commons in Parliament do make this humble Anſwer, That this Meſſage was not delivered to us till Monday the 14. We thought it a ſtrange Introduction to Peace, that Your Majeſty ſhould ſend Your Army to beat us out of our Quarters at *Brainceford*, and then appoint that place to receive our Propoſitions; which yet it plainly appears Your Majeſty intended not to receive, till You had firſt tried whether You could break through the Army raiſed for Defence of this Kingdom and Parliament, and take the City being unprovided, and ſecure in exſpectation of a fair Treaty made to ſecure the City. If herein Your Majeſty had prevailed, after You had deſtroyed the Army and maſtered the City, it is eaſy to imagine what a miſerable Peace we ſhould have had: and whether thoſe Courſes be ſutable to the Expreſſions Your Majeſty is pleaſed to make in Your Anſwer to our Petition, and of Your Earneſtneſs to avoid any further Effuſion of blood, let God and the world judge.

As for our Proceedings, they have in all things been anſwerable to our Profeſſions: we gave directions to the Earl of *Eſſex* to draw the Army under his Command out of the City and Suburbs, before we ſent any Meſſage to Your Majeſty; ſo that part of it was inquartered at *Brainceford* before the Committee returned with Your Anſwer: and immediately upon the receit thereof, that very morning order was taken that the Souldiers ſhould exerciſe no Act of Hoſtility againſt any of Your Majeſties People. We ſent a Letter by Sir *Peter Killegrew*, to know Your Majeſties Pleaſure, whether You intended the like forbearance of Hoſtility: but the fury of Your Souldiers, thirſting after blood and ſpoil, prevented the delivery of the Letter; for coming upon Saturday in his way towards Your Majeſty as farre as *Brainceford*, he found them in fight there, and could paſs no further. God, who ſees our Innocency, and that we have no Aims but at his Glory and the publick Good, will (we hope) free Your Majeſty from thoſe deſtructive Counſels, who labour to maintain their own Power by blood and Rapine, and bleſs our Endeavours, who ſeek nothing but to procure and eſtabliſh the Honour, Peace and Safety of Your Majeſty and Kingdomes, upon the ſure foundation of Religion and Juſtice.

To the Answer of both Houses of Parliament to His Majesties Message of the 12. *of* November,

His MAJESTY *makes this Reply.*

MDCXLII. *Novemb.* 18.

THat His Message of the twelfth, though not received by them till the fourteenth, was sent to them first upon the same day upon which it was dated, and meeting with stops by the way, was again sent upon the 13, and taken upon that day at ten in the morning by the Earl of *Essex*, and though not to him directed, was by him opened: so the slowness of the Delivery is not so strange as the stop of the Letter said to be sent by Sir *Peter Killegrew*, which His Majesty hath not yet received, but concludes from the matter expressed to have been contain'd in that Letter, (to wit, to know His Pleasure, whether He intended the forbearance of Hostility) and by the Command of such forbearance said to be sent to the Lord of *Essex* his Army, that no such forbearance was already concluded, and consequently neither had His Majesty cause to suppose that He should take any of their Forces unprovided, and secure in expectation of a fair Treaty, neither could any Hostile Act of His Majesties Forces have been a course unsutable to His Expresions; much less could an endeavour to prepossess (for so He hoped He might have done) that Place, which might have stopt the farther march of those Forces towards Him, (which, for ought appeared to Him, might as well have been intended to *Colebrook* as to *Brainceford*) and by that, the further effusion of blood, deserve that style.

His Majesty further conceives, that the Printing so out of time of such a Declaration as their *Reply* to His *Answer* to theirs of the 26. of *May*, but the day before they Voted the Delivery of their Petition, and the March of the Earl of *Essex* his Forces to *Brainceford* so near to His Majesty, when the Committee at the same time attended Him with a Petition for a Treaty, the Earl of *Essex* being before possest of all the Avenues to his Army, by his Forces at *Windsor*, *Acton* and *Kingston*, was a more strange Introduction to Peace, then for His Majestie not to suffer Himself to be coopt up on all sides, because a Treaty

had

had been mentioned, which was ſo really and ſo much deſired by His Majeſty, that this Proceeding ſeems to Him purpoſely by ſome intended to divert (which it could not doe) that His Inclination.

That His Majeſty had no intention to maſter the City by ſo advancing, beſides His Profeſsion, which (how meanly ſoever they ſeem to value it) He conceives a ſufficient Argument, (eſpecially being onely oppoſed by ſuſpicions and ſurmiſes) may appear by His not purſuing His Victory at *Brainceford*, but giving orders to His Army to march away to *Kingſton* as ſoon as He heard that place was quitted, before any notice or appearance of farther Forces from *London*. Nor could He finde a better way to ſatisfie them before-hand that He had no ſuch intention, but that His deſire of Peace and of Propoſitions that might conduce to it ſtill continued, then by that Meſſage of the twelfth. For which care of His He was requited by ſuch a reception of His Meſſage and Meſſenger, as was contrary at once both to Duty, Civility, and the very Cuſtoms and Law of Warre and Nations, and ſuch as theirs (though after this Provocation) hath not found from Him.

His Majeſty wonders that His Souldiers ſhould be charged with thirſting after *Blood*, who took above five hundred *Priſoners* in the very heat of the Fight, His Majeſty having ſince diſmiſſed all the common Souldiers, and entertain'd ſuch as were willing to ſerve Him, and required only from the reſt an Oath not to ſerve againſt Him: And His Majeſty ſuppoſes ſuch moſt apt and likely to maintain their Power by Blood and Rapine, who have only got it by Oppreſsion and Injuſtice; That His is veſted in Him by the Law, and by that only (if the deſtructive Counſels of others would not hinder ſuch a Peace, in which that might once again be the Univerſal Rule, and in which Religion and Juſtice can onely flouriſh) He deſires to maintain it. And if Peace were equally deſired by them, as it is by His Majeſty, He conceives it would have been proper to have ſent Him ſuch a Paper as ſhould have contained juſt Propoſitions of Peace, and not an unjuſt Accuſation of His Counſels, Proceedings and Perſon. And His Majeſty intends to march to ſuch a diſtance from His City of *London*, as may take away all Pretence of Apprehenſion from His Army,

that

that might hinder them in all ſecurity from yet preparing them to preſent to Him; and there will be ready either to receive them, or to end the Preſſures and Miſeries which His Subjects to His great Grief ſuffer through this War, by a preſent Battel.

The Humble Petition of Both Houſes of Parliament preſented to His Majeſty on the 24. *of* November.

With His Majeſties Gracious Anſwer thereunto.

To the Kings moſt Excellent Majeſty,

The humble Petition of the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament.

May it pleaſe Your Majeſty,

IT is humbly deſired by both Houſes of Parliament, That Your Majeſty will be pleaſed to return to Your Parliament with Your Royal, not Your Martial Attendance, to the end that Religion, Laws and Liberties may be ſettled and ſecured by their advice; finding by a late and ſad accident, that Your Majeſty is invironed by ſome ſuch Counſels as do rather perſwade a deſperate Diviſion, then a joyning and a good Agreement with Your Parliament and People. And we ſhall be ready to give Your Majeſty aſſurances of ſuch Security as may be for Your Honour, and the ſafety of Your Royal Perſon.

His MAJESTIES *Anſwer to the aforeſaid Petition.*

WE expected ſuch Propoſitions from you as might ſpeedily remove and prevent the Miſery and Deſolation of this Kingdome, and that for the effecting thereof (We now reſiding at a convenient place not farre from Our City of *London*) Committees from both Our Houſes of Parliament ſhould attend Us (for you pretended by your Meſſage to Us at *Colebrook* that thoſe were your Deſires:) in ſtead thereof (and thereby let all the World judge of the deſigne of that Overture) We have only received your humble Petition, *That We would be pleaſed to return to our Parliament with Our Royal, not our Martial Attendance.* All Our good Subjects that remember what We have ſo often told you and them upon this Subject, and what hath ſince paſt, muſt with Indignation look upon this Meſſage, as intended by the Contrivers thereof for a Scorn to Us, and thereby deſigned by that Malignant party (of whom We have ſo

often

often complained, whose Safety and Ambition is built upon the Divisions and Ruines of this Kingdome, and who have too great an Influence upon your Actions) for a Wall of Separation betwixt Us and Our People. We have told you the Reasons why We parted from *London*, how We were chased thence, and by whom: We have often complained that the greatest part of Our Peers, and of the Members of Our House of Commons, could not with safety to their Honours and Persons continue and Vote freely among you, but by violence and cunning practices were debarred of those Privileges which their Birth-rights and the Trust reposed in them by their Countries gave them; the truth whereof may sufficiently appear by the small number of those that are with you. We have offered you to meet both Our Houses in any place free and convenient for Us and them; but We never could receive the least satisfaction in any of these particulars, nor for those Scandalous and Seditious Pamphlets and Sermons which swarm amongst you. That's all one; you tell Us, it is now for Our Honour and the Safety of Our Royal Person, to return to Our Parliament: wherein your formerly denying Us a Negative Voice gives Us cause to believe, that by giving Your selves that Name without Us, you intend not to acknowledge Us to be part of it. The whole Kingdome knows that an Army was raised under pretence of Orders of both Houses (an Usurpation never heard of before in any Age) which Army hath pursued Us in Our own Kingdome, gave Us Battel at *Keynton*, and endeavoured to take away the life of Us and Our Children; and yet (these Rebels being newly recruited and possessed of Our City of *London*) We are courteously invited to return to Our Parliament there, that is, into the Power of this Army. Doth this signifie any other thing, then that since the traitourous endeavours of those desperate men could not snatch the Crown from Our Head, (it being defended by the Providence of God, and the Affections and Loyalty of Our good Subjects) We should now tamely come up and give it them, and put Our Selves, Our Life, and the lives, liberties and fortunes of all Our good Subjects, into their merciful hands? Well, We think not fit to give any other Answer to this part of your Petition. But as We impute not this Affront to both Our Houses of Parliament, nor to the major part of those that are now present there, but to that dan-

gerous

gerous Party We and the whole Kingdome muſt cry out upon; ſo We ſhall for Our good Subjects ſake, and out of Our moſt tender ſenſe of their Miſeries and the general Calamities of this Kingdome, which muſt (if this Warre continue) ſpeedily overwhelm this whole Nation, take no Advantage of it: But if you ſhall really purſue what you preſented to Us at *Colebrook*, We ſhall make good all that We then gave you in Anſwer to it; whereby the hearts of Our diſtreſſed Subjects may be raiſed with the Hopes of Peace, without which, Religion, the Lawes and Liberties can no waies be ſetled and ſecured.

Touching the late and ſad Accident you mention, if you thereby intend that of *Brainceford*, We deſire you once to deale ingenuouſly with the People, and to let them ſee Our laſt Meſſage to you, and Our Declaration to them concerning the ſame, (both which We ſent to Our Preſſe at *London*, but were taken away from Our Meſſenger, and not ſuffered to be publiſhed) and then We doubt not but they will be ſoon undeceived, and eaſily find out thoſe Counſels which do rather perſwade a deſperate Diviſion then a good Agreement betwixt Us, Our two Houſes, and People.

The Proceedings in the late Treaty of Peace. MDCXLII III.

Together with ſeveral Letters of His MAJESTIE *to the* QUEEN, *and of Prince* Rupert *to the Earle of* Northampton, *which were intercepted and brought up to the Parliament.*

With a Declaration of the Lords and Commons upon thoſe Proceedings and Letters.

The humble Deſires and Propoſitions of the Lords and Commons in Parliament aſſembled, tendred unto His Majeſtie, Feb. 1. 1642.

WE Your Majeſties moſt humble and faithfull Subjects, the Lords and Commons in Parliament aſſembled, having in our thoughts the Glory of God, Your Majeſties Honour, and the Proſperity of Your People, and being moſt grievouſly afflicted with the preſſing Miſeries and Calamities which have overwhelmed Your two Kingdomes of *England* and *Ireland*, ſince Your Majeſty hath, by the perſwaſion of evil Counſellors, withdrawn Your Self from the Parliament, raiſed an Army againſt it, and by force thereof protected Delinquents from the Juſtice of it, conſtraining us to take Armes for the defence of our Religion, Laws, Liberties, Privileges of Parliament, and for the ſitting of the Parliament in ſafety; which Fears and Dangers are continued and increaſed by the raiſing, drawing together and arming of great numbers of Papiſts under the command of the Earle of *Newcaſtle*,

likewiſe by making the Lord *Herbert* of *Ragland* and other known Papiſts Commanders of great Forces, whereby many grievous Oppreſſions, Rapines and Cruelties have been and are daily exerciſed upon the perſons and eſtates of Your People, much innocent blood hath been ſpilt, and the Papiſts have attained means of attempting, and hopes of effecting, their miſchievous Deſigne of rooting out the Reformed Religion, and deſtroying the profeſſors thereof: in the tender ſenſe and compaſſion of theſe evils under which Your People and Kingdome lie (according to the duty which we owe to God, Your Majeſty, and the Kingdom, for which we are intruſted) do moſt earneſtly deſire, that an end may be put to theſe great Diſtempers and Diſtractions, for the preventing of that Deſolation which doth threaten all Your Majeſties Dominions. And as we have rendred, and ſtill are ready to render, to Your Majeſty that Subjection, Obedience and Service which we owe unto You; ſo we moſt humbly beſeech Your Majeſty to remove the Cauſe of this War, and to vouchſafe us that Peace and Protection which we and our Anceſtors have formerly enjoyed under Your Majeſty and Your Royal Predeceſſors, and graciouſly to accept and grant theſe moſt humble Deſires and Propoſitions.

I. That Your Majeſty will be pleaſed to disband Your Armies, as we likewiſe ſhall be ready to disband all thoſe Forces which we have raiſed; and that You will be pleaſed to return to Your Parliament.

II. That You will leave Delinquents to a Legal Trial, and Judgement of Parliament.

III. That the Papiſts may not only be disbanded, but diſarmed according to Law.

IV. That Your Majeſty will be pleaſed to give Your Royal Aſſent unto the Bill for taking away Superſtitious Innovations; to the Bill for the utter aboliſhing and taking away of all Archbiſhops, Biſhops, their Chancellors and Commiſſaries, Deans, Subdeans, Deans and Chapters, Archdeacons, Canons and Prebendaries, and all Chanters, Chancellors, Treaſurers, Subtreaſurers, Succentors and Sacriſts, and all Vicars Choral and Choriſters, old Vicars and new Vicars of any Cathedral or Collegiate Church, and all other their under-Officers, out of the Church of *England*; to the Bill againſt Scandalous Miniſters; to the Bill againſt Pluralities; and to the Bill for Conſultation to be had with godly, religious and learned Divines: That Your Majeſty will be pleaſed to promiſe to paſſe ſuch other good Bils for ſettling of Church-Government, as upon conſultation with the Aſſembly of the ſaid Divines ſhall be reſolved on by both Houſes of Parliament, and by them be preſented to Your Majeſtie.

V. That Your Majeſty having expreſt, in Your Anſwer to the Nineteen Propoſitions of both Houſes of Parliament, a hearty affection and Intentions for the rooting out of Poperie out of this Kingdome; and that if both the Houſes of Parliament can yet finde a more effectual courſe to diſable Jeſuites, Prieſts and Popiſh Recuſants from diſturbing the State or eluding the Laws, that You would willingly give Your Conſent unto it; That You would be graciouſly pleaſed, for the better diſcovery and ſpeedier conviction of Recuſants, that an Oath may be eſtabliſhed by Act of Parliament, to be adminiſtred in ſuch manner as by both Houſes ſhall be agreed on, wherein they ſhall abjure and renounce the Popes Supremacy, the doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation, Purgatory, worſhipping of the conſecrated Hoaſt, Crucifixes and Images; and the refuſing the ſaid Oath, being tendred in ſuch manner as ſhall be appointed by Act of Parliament, ſhall be a ſufficient Conviction in Law of Recuſancie: And that Your Majeſtie will be graciouſly pleaſed to give Your Royal Aſſent unto a Bill for the Education of the children of Papiſts by Proteſtants in the Proteſtant Religion: That for the more effectual execution of the Laws againſt Popiſh Recuſants, Your Majeſty would be pleaſed to conſent to a Bill for the true levying of the Penalties againſt them, and that the ſame Penaltie may be levyed and diſpoſed of in ſuch manner as both Houſes of Parliament ſhall agree on, ſo as Your Majeſty be at no loſs; and likewiſe to a Bill whereby the practice of Papiſts againſt the State may be prevented, and the Laws againſt them duly executed.

VI. That the Earle of *Briſtoll* may be removed from Your Majeſties Counſels; and that both he and the Lord *Herbert*, eldeſt Son to the Earle of *Worceſter*, may likewiſe

likewiſe be reſtrained from coming within the verge of the Court, and that they may not bear any Office, or have any imployments concerning the State or Commonwealth.

VII. That Your Majeſty will be graciouſly pleaſed by Act of Parliament to ſettle the *Militia* both by Sea and Land, and for the Forts and Ports of the Kingdom, in ſuch a manner as ſhall be agreed on by both Houſes.

VIII. That Your Majeſty will be pleaſed by Your Letters Patents to make Sir *John Brampſton* chief Juſtice of Your Court of Kings Bench, *William Lenthal* Eſquire, the now Speaker of the Commons Houſe, Maſter of the Rolls, and to continue the Lord chief Juſtice *Banks* chief Juſtice of the Court of Common Pleas, and likewiſe to make Maſter Serjeant *Wilde* chief Baron of Your Court of Exchequer; and that Maſter Juſtice *Bacon* may be continued, and Maſter Serjeant *Rolls* and Maſter Serjeant *Atkins* made Juſtices of the Kings Bench; that Maſter Juſtice *Reeves* and Maſter Juſtice *Foſter* may be continued, and Maſter Serjeant *Pheſant* made one of Your Juſtices of Your Court of Common Pleas; that Maſter Serjeant *Creſwel*, Maſter *Samuel Brown* and Maſter *John Puleſton*, may be Barons of the Exchequer; and that all theſe, and all the Judges of the ſame Courts for the time to come, may hold their places by Letters Patents under the great Seal, *quamdiu ſe bene geſſerint*; and that the ſeveral perſons not before named, that do hold any of theſe places before mentioned, may be removed.

IX. That all ſuch perſons as have been put out of the Commiſſions of Peace, or Oyer and Terminer, or from being *Cuſtodes Rotulorum*, ſince the firſt day of *April* 1642. (other then ſuch as were put out by deſire of both or either of the Houſes of Parliament) may again be put into thoſe Commiſsions and Offices; and that ſuch perſons may be put out of thoſe Commiſſions and Offices as ſhall be excepted againſt by both Houſes of Parliament.

X. That Your Majeſty will be pleaſed to paſs the Bill now preſented to Your Majeſty, to vindicate and ſecure the Privileges of Parliament from the ill conſequence of the late Precedent in the Charge and Proceeding againſt the Lord *Kimbolton*, now Earl of *Mancheſter*, and the five Members of the Houſe of Commons.

XI. That Your Majeſties Royal Aſſent may be given unto ſuch Acts as ſhall be adviſed by both Houſes of Parliament, for the ſatisfying and paying the Debts and Damages wherein the two Houſes of Parliament have ingaged the Publick Faith of the Kingdom.

XII. That Your Majeſty will be pleaſed, according to a Gracious Anſwer heretofore received from You, to enter into a more ſtrict Alliance with the States of the United Provinces, and other Neighbour Princes and States of the Proteſtant Religion, for the defence and maintenance thereof againſt all deſignes and attempts of the Popiſh and Jeſuitical Faction to ſubvert and ſuppreſs it; whereby Your Subjects may hope to be free from the miſchiefs which this Kingdom hath endured through the power which ſome of that Party have had in Your Counſels, and will be much encouraged in a Parliamentary way for Your Aide and Aſſiſtance in reſtoring Your Royal Siſter and the Prince Elector to thoſe Dignities and Dominions which belong unto them, and relieving the other diſtreſſed Proteſtant Princes who have ſuffered in the ſame Cauſe.

XIII. That in the General Pardon, which Your Majeſty hath been pleaſed to offer to Your Subjects, all Offences and Miſdemeanours committed before the tenth of *January* 1641. which have been or ſhall be queſtioned or proceeded againſt in Parliament upon complaint in the Houſe of Commons before the tenth of *January* 1643. ſhall be excepted; which Offences and Miſdemeanours ſhall nevertheleſs be taken and adjudged to be fully diſcharged againſt all other inferiour Courts. That likewiſe there ſhall be an exception of all Offences committed by any perſon or perſons which hath or have had any hand or practice in the Rebellion of *Ireland*, which hath or have given any counſel, aſſiſtance or encouragement to the Rebels there for the maintenance of that Rebellion; as likewiſe an exception of *William* Earl of *Newcaſtle* and *George* Lord *Digby*.

XIV. That Your Majeſty will be pleaſed to reſtore ſuch Members of either

Houſe of Parliament to their ſeveral places of Services and Imployment out of which they have been put ſince the beginning of this Parliament; that they may receive ſatisfaction and reparation for thoſe places, and for the profits which they have loſt by ſuch removals, upon the Petition of both Houſes of Parliament; and that all others may be reſtored to their Offices and Imployments who have been put out of the ſame upon any diſpleaſure conceived againſt them for any Aſſiſtance given to both Houſes of Parliament, or obeying their Commands, or forbearing to leave their Attendance upon the Parliament without licence, or for any other occaſion ariſing from theſe unhappy Differences betwixt Your Majeſty and both Houſes of Parliament, upon the like Petition of both Houſes.

Theſe things being granted and performed, as it hath alwayes been our hearty Prayer, ſo ſhall we be enabled to make it our hopeful Endeavour, That Your Majeſty and Your People may enjoy the bleſſings of Peace, Truth and Juſtice; the Royalty and Greatneſs of Your Throne may be ſupported by the Loyal and bountiful Affections of Your People; their Liberties and Privileges maintained by Your Majeſties Protection and Juſtice; and this publick Honour and Happineſs of Your Majeſty and all Your Dominions communicated to other Churches and States of Your Alliance, and derived to Your Royal Poſterity, and the future Generations in this Kingdom for ever.

H. Elſinge Cler. Parl. D. Com.

His MAJESTIES *Anſwer to the Deſires and Propoſitions of both Houſes*, February *the third*, 1642.

Received at a Conference with the Lords, February *the ſixth*, 1642.

IF His Majeſty had not given up all the faculties of His Soul to an earneſt endeavour of a Peace and Reconciliation with His People, or if He would ſuffer Himſelf by any Provocation to be drawn to a ſharpneſs of Language at a time when there ſeems ſomewhat like an Overture of Accommodation, He could not but reſent the heavy charges upon Him in the Preamble of theſe Propoſitions, and would not ſuffer Himſelf to be reproached with protecting of Delinquents by force from Juſtice, (His Majeſties deſire having alwaies been, that all men ſhould be tried by the known Law, and having been refuſed it) with raiſing an Army againſt His Parliament, and to be told that Arms have been taken up againſt Him for the defence of Religion, Laws, Liberties, Privileges of Parliament, and for the ſitting of the Parliament in ſafety, with many other Particulars in that Preamble ſo often and ſo fully anſwered by His Majeſty, without remembring the world of the time and circum-

circumſtances of raiſing thoſe Arms againſt Him, when His Majeſty was ſo far from being in a condition to invade other mens Rights, that He was not able to maintain and defend His own from violence; and without telling His good Subjects that their Religion (the true Proteſtant Religion, in which His Majeſty was born, hath faithfully lived, and to which He will dy a willing Sacrifice) their Laws, Liberties, Privileges and ſafety of Parliament were ſo amply ſettled and eſtabliſhed, or offered to be ſo by His Majeſty, before any Army was raiſed againſt Him, and long before any raiſed by Him for His defence; that if nothing had been deſired but that Peace and Protection which His Subjects and their Anceſtors had in the beſt times enjoyed under His Majeſty or His Royal Predeceſſors, this Miſunderſtanding and diſtance between His Majeſty and His People, and this general Miſery and Diſtraction upon the face of the whole Kingdom, had not been now the diſcourſe of Chriſtendom. But His Majeſty will forbear any Expreſsions of Bitterneſs or of a ſenſe of His own Sufferings, that, if it be poſsible, the memory thereof may be loſt to the World. And therefore though many of the Propoſitions preſented to His Majeſty by both Houſes appear to Him very derogatory from and deſtructive to His juſt Power and Prerogative, and no way beneficial to His Subjects, few of them being already due to them by the Laws eſtabliſhed, (and how unparliamentary it is by Arms to require new Laws, all the World may judge:) yet (becauſe theſe may be waved or mollified, and many things that are now dark or doubtful in them cleared and explained upon debate) His Majeſty is pleaſed (ſuch is His ſenſe of the Miſeries this Kingdom ſuffers by this unnatural War, and His earneſt deſire to remove them by a happy Peace) that a ſpeedy time and place may be agreed upon for the meeting of ſuch perſons as His Majeſty and both Houſes ſhall appoint to diſcuſs theſe Propoſitions, and ſuch others here following as His Majeſty doth propoſe to them.

I. That His Majeſties own Revenue, Magazins, Towns, Forts and Ships, which have been taken or kept from Him by force, be forthwith reſtored unto Him.

II. That whatſoever hath been done or publiſhed contrary to the known Laws of the Land, or derogatory to His Majeſties Legal and

known Power and Rights, be renounced and recalled, that no ſeed may remain for the like to ſpring out of for the future.

III. That whatſoever illegal power hath been claimed and exerciſed by or over His Subjects, as Impriſoning their Perſons without Law, ſtopping their *Habeas Corpuſſes*, and impoſing upon their Eſtates without Act of Parliament, &c. either by both or either Houſe, or any Committee of both or either, or by any perſons appointed by any of them, be diſclaimed, and all ſuch perſons ſo committed forthwith diſcharged.

IV. That as His Majeſty will readily conſent (having done ſo heretofore to the execution of all Laws already made, and to any good Acts to be made, for the ſuppreſsing of Popery, and for the firm ſettling of the Proteſtant Religion now eſtabliſhed by Law: ſo He deſires that a good Bill may be framed for the better preſerving of the Book of Common-Prayer from the ſcorn and violence of *Browniſts*, *Anabaptiſts*, and other *Sectaries*, with ſuch clauſes for the eaſe of Tender Conſciences as His Majeſty hath formerly offered.

V. That all ſuch perſons as upon the Treaty ſhall be excepted out of the general Pardon ſhall be tried *per Pares*, according to the uſual courſe and known Law of the Land, and that it be left to that either to acquit or condemn them.

VI. And to the intent this Treaty may not ſuffer interruption by any intervening Accidents, that a Ceſſation of Arms, and free Trade for all His Majeſties Subjects, may be firſt agreed upon.

This Offer and Deſire of His Majeſty He hopes will be ſo chearfully entertained, that a ſpeedy and bleſſed Peace may be accompliſhed. If it ſhall be rejected, or by inſiſting upon unreaſonable Circumſtances be made impoſsible (which He hopes God in his Mercy to this Nation will not ſuffer) the guilt of the Blood which will be ſhed, and the Deſolation which muſt follow, will lie upon the heads of the Refuſers. However His Majeſty is reſolved, through what accidents ſoever He ſhall be compelled to recover His Rights, and with what proſperous Succeſſes ſoever it ſhall pleaſe God to bleſs Him, that by His earneſt, conſtant endeavours to propagate and promote the true Proteſtant Religion, and by His Governing according to the known Laws of the Land, and upholding the Juſt Privileges of Parliament,

liament, according to His frequent Proteſtations made before Almighty God, which He will always inviolably obſerve, the World ſhall ſee that He hath undergone all theſe Difficulties and Hazards for the defence and maintenance of thoſe, the zealous Preſervation of which His Majeſty well knows is the onely foundation and means for the true Happineſs of Him and His People.

Hen. Elſing, Cler. Parliament. D. C.

The Articles of Ceſſation ſent to His MAJESTY, Februar. ultimo.

WHereas the Lords and Commons in Parliament, out of a tender ſenſe of the preſent Miſeries and Diſtractions of the Kingdom, and for the obtaining and ſettling of a happy Peace between His Majeſty and His People, have humbly preſented to His Majeſty divers Propoſitions, to which He hath been pleaſed to make this return, That His deſire was, that a ſpeedy time and place might be appointed for the diſcuſſing of thoſe Propoſitions, and likewiſe ſome others propoſed by His Majeſty: It is thereupon agreed in both Houſes, that a Committee of both Houſes ſhall be appointed to attend His Majeſty on or before the fourth of *March*, if His Majeſty ſhall ſo pleaſe, to endeavour to give Him all humble and fit ſatisfaction concerning the ſaid Propoſitions, both His Majeſties and their own. And whereas for the more ſpeedy removal of the bloudy and miſerable effects of War, His Majeſty hath likewiſe been graciouſly pleaſed by a late * Meſſage to ſignifie His deſire, that for avoiding all intervening Accidents of War which might interrupt this Treaty, there might be a Ceſſation of Arms under ſuch particular conditions and limitations as ſhould be agreed on; their humble deſires therein concurring with His Majeſty, it is by them aſſented and agreed, That a Ceſſation of Arms, in order to ſuch a Treaty as is reſolved upon by both Houſes of Parliament, may be enjoyned to all the Armies and Forces now on foot in the Kingdom of *England* and Dominion of *Wales*, on either ſide, under the reſtrictions and limitations hereafter following, and that neither ſide ſhall be bound and limited by this Ceſſation in any other wiſe or to any other purpoſe then is hereafter expreſſed.

* Meſſage of *Feb.* 20.

I. That all manner of Arms, Ammunition, Victuals, Money, Bullion, and all other Commodities, paſſing without ſuch a ſafe Conduct as may warrant their paſſage, may be ſtaid and ſeized on, as if no ſuch Ceſſation were agreed on at all.

II. That all manner of Perſons paſſing without ſuch a ſafe Conduct as is mentioned in the Article next going before, ſhall be apprehended and detained, as if no ſuch Ceſſation were agreed on at all.

III. That His Majeſties Forces in *Oxfordſhire* ſhall advance no nearer to *Windſor* then *Wheatly*, and in *Buckinghamſhire* no nearer to *Ailesbury* then *Brill*, and that in *Berks* the Forces reſpectively ſhall not advance nearer the one to the other then now they are; and that the Parliament-Forces in *Oxfordſhire* ſhall advance no nearer to *Oxford* then *Henley*, and thoſe in *Buckingham* no nearer to *Oxford* then *Ailesbury*: and that His Majeſties Forces ſhall take no new Quarters above twelve miles from *Oxford* any way; and that the Parliament-Forces ſhall take no new Quarters above twelve miles from *Windſor* any way.

IV. That no Siege ſhall be begun or continued againſt *Glouceſter*, and that His Majeſties Forces now employed in the Siege ſhall return to *Cirenceſter* and *Malmsbury*, or to *Oxford*, as ſhall be moſt for their conveniency; and the Parliament-Forces which are in *Glouceſterſhire* ſhall remain in the Cities of *Glouceſter*, *Briſtoll*, and the Caſtle and

Town of *Berkly*, or retire nearer to *Windſor*, as they ſhall ſee cauſe; and that thoſe of *Wales* which are drawn to *Glouceſter*, ſhall return into their Quarters where they were before they drew down to *Glouceſterſhire*.

V. That in caſe it be pretended on either ſide that the Ceſſation is violated, no Act of Hoſtility is immediately to follow, but firſt the party complaining is to acquaint the Lord General on the other ſide, and to allow three days after notice given for ſatisfaction; and in caſe ſatisfaction be not given or accepted, then five days notice to be given before Hoſtility begin. And the like to be obſerved in the remoter Armies by the Commanders in chief.

VI. Laſtly, that all other Forces in the Kingdom of *England* and Dominion of *Wales*, and not before mentioned, ſhall remain in the ſame Quarters and places as they are at the time of the publiſhing of this Ceſſation, and under the ſame conditions as are mentioned in the Articles before; and that this Ceſſation ſhall not extend to reſtrain the ſetting forth or employing of any Ships for the defence of His Majeſties Dominions.

All which they humbly deſire His Majeſty will be pleaſed to ratifie and confirm, and that this Ceſſation may begin upon the fourth of *March* next, or ſooner if it may be, and continue untill the five and twentieth of the ſame moneth, and in the mean time to be publiſhed to the Commanders, Officers and Souldiers, and all other His Majeſties loving Subjects on either ſide; and that the Treaty intended may commence upon the fourth of *March* next, or ſooner if it may be, and the continuance thereof not to exceed twenty days.

Hen. Elſinge Cler. Parl. D. Com.

His MAJESTIES *Meſſage to both His Houſes of Parliament in Anſwer to the Articles of Ceſſation; received at a Conference*, Martii 6. 1642.

HIS Majeſty hoped the Treaty would have been begun and the Ceſſation agreed on long ſince, and that much might in this time have been concluded in order to the Peace and Happineſs of the Kingdom; but ſince in almoſt a moneth (for His Majeſties Propoſitions were made on the third of *February*, and He heard not ſince from both Houſes till the firſt of *March*) no conſent hath been yielded to it, He conceives the Ceſſation cannot begin ſo ſoon as the fourth of this Moneth, by which time (though His Majeſty uſes no delay in making His Anſwer) the ſame can hardly be returned to them; and many of the Articles now preſented to Him from both Houſes concerning the Ceſſation are ſo ſtrict, that ſuch of His good Subjects who are not of His Army (and for whom generally He ſhall alwaies have a principal, juſt and compaſsionate regard) receive not any benefit, or are reſtored to any liberty thereby, which His Majeſty ſhall ever inſiſt upon (when in matters merely concerning Himſelf

Himſelf He may deſcend to eaſier Conditions) and which He hath returned with ſuch Alterations as He doubts not both Houſes will conſent to, and do ſufficiently manifeſt how ſollicitous His Majeſty is for the good of His People, and how deſirous He is that in this unnatural contention no more blood of His Subjects may be ſpilt (upon which He looks with much grief, compaſsion and tenderneſs of heart) even of thoſe who have lifted up their hands againſt Him: and His Majeſty therefore deſires (againſt which He can imagine no objection can be made) that the Ceſſation may begin upon the twelfth of this moneth, or ſooner, if the Conditions of the Ceſſation ſhall be ſooner agreed on; and is willing the ſame ſhall continue for twenty daies, in which time He hopes by the Treaty, and a clear underſtanding of each other, a full Peace and Happineſs may be eſtabliſhed throughout the Kingdome. And during that time His Majeſty is willing that neither ſide ſhall be bound or limited by this Ceſſation in any other wiſe, or to any other purpoſe, then is hereafter expreſſed.

I. That all manner of Arms, Ammunition, Money, Bullion and Victuals paſsing for the uſe of either Army, without a Paſs or ſafe Conduct from the Generals of each Army, may be ſtayed and ſeized on, as if no Ceſſation were agreed on at all.

II. That all Officers and Souldiers of either Army, paſsing without ſuch licence or ſafe Conduct as aforeſaid, may be apprehended and detained, as if no ſuch Ceſſation were agreed on at all; and that all manner of perſons His Majeſties Subjects, of what quality or condition ſoever, (except Officers and Souldiers of either Army) ſhall paſs to and from the Cities of *Oxford* and *London* and back again at their pleaſures during this Ceſſation, as likewiſe to and from any other parts of His Majeſties Dominions, without any ſearch, ſtay, or impriſonment of their perſons, or ſeiſure and detention of their goods or eſtates; and that all manner of Trade, Traffick and Commerce, be free and open between all His Majeſties Subjects, excepting, as aforeſaid, between the Officers and Souldiers of either Army, or for Arms, Ammunition, Money, Bullion, or Victuals, for the uſe of either Army, without a paſs or ſafe Conduct as aforeſaid, which may be a good beginning to renew the

Trade

Trade and Correſpondence of the Kingdom, and whereby His good Subjects may be reſtored to that liberty and freedom they were born to, and have ſo happily enjoyed till theſe miſerable Diſtractions, and which even during this Warre His Majeſty hath to His utmoſt laboured to preſerve, opening the way by moſt ſtrict Proclamations to the paſſage of all Commodities even to the City of *London* it ſelf.

III. That His Majeſties Forces in *Oxfordſhire* ſhall advance no nearer to *Windſor* then *Wheatly*, and in *Buckinghamſhire* no nearer to *Ailesbury* then *Brill*, and that in *Berkſhire* the Forces reſpectively ſhall not advance nearer the one to the other then they ſhall be at the day to be agreed upon for the Ceſſation to begin; and that the Forces of the other Army in *Oxfordſhire* ſhall advance no nearer to *Oxford* then *Henley*, and thoſe in *Buckinghamſhire* no nearer to *Oxford* then *Aileſbury*; and that the Forces of neither Army ſhall advance their Quarters nearer to each other then they ſhall be upon the day agreed on for the Ceſſation to begin, otherwiſe then in paſſage and communication between their ſeveral Quarters reſpectively, without any acts of Hoſtility each to other, but may inlarge themſelves within their own Quarters reſpectively as they ſhall finde convenient.

IV. That the Forces of either Army in *Glouceſterſhire*, *Wiltſhire* and *Wales*, as likewiſe in the Cities of *Glouceſter*, *Briſtol*, and the Caſtle and Town of *Berkley*, ſhall be guided by the Rule expreſt in the later part of the precedent Article.

V. That in caſe it be pretended on either ſide that the Ceſſation is violated, no act of Hoſtility is immediately to follow, but firſt the party complaining is to acquaint the Lord General on the other ſide, and to allow three days after notice given for ſatisfaction; and in caſe ſatisfaction be not given or accepted, then five days notice to be given before Hoſtility begin: and the like to be obſerved in the remoter Armies by the Commanders in chief.

VI. That all other Forces in the Kingdom of *England* and Dominion of *Wales*, not before mentioned, ſhall remain in the ſame Quarters and places as they are at the time of publiſhing this Ceſſation, otherwiſe then in paſſage and communication between their ſeveral Quarters, as is mentioned in the later part of the third Article; and that this Ceſſation ſhall not extend to reſtrain the ſetting forth

or

or imploying any Ships for the defence of His Majeſties Dominions, provided that His Majeſty be firſt acquainted with the particulars, and that ſuch Ships as ſhall be ſet forth be commanded by ſuch perſons as His Majeſty ſhall approve of.

VII. Laſtly, that during the Ceſſation none of His Majeſties Subjects be impriſoned, otherwiſe then according to the known Laws of the Land; and that there ſhall be no plundring or violence offered to any of His Subjects. And His Majeſty is very willing, if there be any Scruples made concerning theſe Propoſitions and Circumſtances of the Ceſsation, that the Committee for the Treaty nevertheleſs may immediately come hither, and ſo all matters concerning the Ceſsation may be here ſettled by them.

H. Elſinge Cler. Parl. D. Com.

His MAJESTIES *Anſwer to the * Articles of Ceſsation ſent to His Majeſtie.*

* [*to the Votes of both Houſes, and to their deſire of a ſafe Conduct.*]

HIS Majeſtie hath ſent a ſafe Conduct for the Earle of *Northumberland*, Mr *Pierrepont*, Sir *William Armyne*, Sir *John Holland* and Mr *Whitelocke*, but hath not admitted the Lord *Say* to attend Him, as being excepted againſt by name in His Proclamation at *Oxford* of the third of *November*, and by Writ to the Sheriffe proclaimed then in that County, in which His Majeſties Intention is declared to proceed againſt him as a perſon guilty of High-Treaſon, and ſo falling to be within the caſe of Sir *John Evelin*, who upon the ſame Exception was not admitted to attend His Majeſtie with the reſt of the Committee at *Colebrook* in *November* laſt: But His Majeſtie doth ſignifie, that in caſe the Houſe ſhall think fit to ſend any other perſon in the place of the Lord *Say* that is not included in the like Exception, His Majeſty hath commanded all His Officers, Souldiers and other Subjects, to ſuffer Him as freely to paſſe and repaſſe as if His Name had ben particularly compriſed in this ſafe Conduct.

His Majeſtie is content that His Propoſition concerning the Magazines, Forts, Ships and Revenue, and the Propoſition of both Houſes for the disbanding of the Armies, ſhall be firſt Treated of,

and

and agreed of before the proceeding to treat upon any of the other Propoſitions; and that after, the ſecond of His Majeſties and the ſecond of theirs be treated on, and agreed of, and ſo on in the ſame order; and that from the beginning of the Treaty the time may not exceed Twenty dayes; in which He hopes a full Peace and right underſtanding may be eſtabliſhed throughout the Kingdome.

H. Elſinge Cler. Parl. D. Com.

The laſt Articles of Ceſſation now ſent to His MAJESTIE.

THE Lords and Commons in Parliament being ſtill carried on with a vehement deſire of Peace, that ſo the Kingdome may ſpeedily be freed from the Deſolation and Deſtruction wherewith it is like to be overwhelmed if the Warre ſhould continue, have with as much expedition as they could conſidered of the Articles of Ceſſation, with thoſe Alterations and Additions offered by His Majeſtie, unto which they are ready to agree in ſuch manner as is expreſt in theſe enſuing Articles (*viz.*)

I. That all manner of Armes, Ammunition, Victual, Money, Bullion and all other Commodities, paſsing without a ſafe Conduct from the Generalls of both Armies, as well of His Majeſties as of the Armies raiſed by the Parliament, may be ſtayed and ſeized on, as if no ſuch Ceſſation were agreed on at all.

II. That all manner of perſons paſsing without ſuch a ſafe Conduct as is mentioned in the Articles next going before, ſhall be apprehended and detained, as if no ſuch Ceſſation were agreed on at all.

III. That His Majeſties Forces in *Oxfordſhire* ſhall advance no nearer to *Windſor* then *Wheatly*, and in *Buckinghamſhire* no nearer to *Ailesburie* then *Brill*, and that in *Berkſhire* the Forces reſpectively ſhall not advance nearer the one to the other then they ſhall be at the day to be agreed on for the Ceſſation to begin; and that the Forces of the other Army raiſed by the Parliament ſhall advance no nearer to *Oxford* then *Henley*, and thoſe in *Buckinghamſhire* no nearer to *Oxon* then *Ailesbury*; and that the Forces of neither Army ſhall advance their Quarters nearer to each other then they ſhall be upon the day agreed on for the Ceſſation to begin.

IV. That the Forces of either Army in *Glouceſterſhire*, *Wilts* and *Wales*, as likewiſe in the Cities of *Glouceſter* and *Briſtoll*, and the Caſtle and Town of *Berkly*, ſhall be guided by the Rule expreſt in the latter part of the precedent Article.

V. That in caſe it be pretended on either ſide that the Ceſſation is violated, no act of Hoſtility is immediately to follow, but firſt the party complaining is to acquaint the Lord General on the other ſide, and to allow three daies after notice given for ſatisfaction, and in caſe ſatisfaction be not given or accepted, then five daies notice to be given before Hoſtility begin; and the like to be obſerved in the remoter Armies by the Commanders in chief.

VI. That all other Forces in the Kingdome of *England* and Dominion of *Wales*, not before mentioned, ſhall remain in the ſame Quarters and places as they are at the time of the publiſhing of this Ceſſation, and under the ſame Conditions as are mentioned in the Articles before: and that this Ceſſation ſhall not extend to reſtrain the ſetting forth or employing of any Ships for the defence of His Majeſties Dominions.

VII. That

VII. That as ſoon as His Majeſty ſhall be pleaſed to disband the Armies, which both Houſes earneſtly deſire may be ſpeedily effected, and to diſarme the Papiſts according to Law, the Subjects may then enjoy the benefit of Peace in the liberty of their Perſons, Goods, and Freedom of Trade; in the mean time the Generals and Commanders of the Armies of both ſides ſhall be enjoyned to keep the Souldiers from plundering, which the two Houſes of Parliament have ever diſliked and forbidden.

And for the ſpeedy ſettling of this ſo-much-deſired Peace, they have thought good to ſend their Committees with Inſtructions, that if His Majeſtie be pleaſed to conſent to a Ceſſation ſo limited and qualified, they may forthwith proceed to treat upon the Propoſitions; and becauſe the time is ſo far elapſed in theſe preparations, they deſire the Ceſſation may begin the five and twentieth of this inſtant *March*, or ſooner if it may be, and in the mean time notice to be given to all the Forces in the ſeveral and remote parts, and the Commanders, Officers and Souldiers are enjoyned to obſerve this Ceſſation accordingly, to which they hope and pray that God will give ſuch a bleſſing, that thereupon Peace, Safety and Happineſs may be produced and confirmed to His Majeſty and all His People.

H. Elſinge Cler. Parl. Dom. Com.

INSTRUCTIONS *agreed on by the Lords and Commons in Parliament, for* Algernon *Earle of* Northumberland, William *Lord Viſcount* Say *and* Seale, William Pierrepont *Eſquire*, *Sir* William Armyne *Baronet*, *Sir* John Holland *Baronet*, *and* Bulſtrode Whitelocke *Eſquire*, *Committees appointed to attend His* MAJESTIE *upon the Propoſitions made by His Majeſtie to the Parliament, and likewiſe upon the other Propoſitions humbly preſented from them to His Majeſtie.*

I. YOU ſhall preſent to His Majeſty the Articles agreed on for the Ceſſation of Armes, humbly deſiring His Majeſty to ratifie and confirm the ſame under the Great Seal; which being obtained, you are to ſend it up to the Parliament with all poſſible ſpeed: and ſhall likewiſe beſeech the King to diſpatch away Meſſengers to the Generals, Commanders and Souldiers of all His Armies and Forces, with a ſtrict Command and Injunction that they obſerve thoſe Articles of Ceſſation, according as they are agreed upon, as the two Houſes likewiſe intend to give the like direction to the Lord General of the Armies raiſed for their Defence.

II. After His Majeſty hath declared and ratified the Ceſſation, you ſhall then proceed to the Treaty, beginning with the firſt Propoſition on His Majeſties behalf, concerning His Majeſties own Revenue, His Magazines, Towns, Forts and Ships, and thereunto make this Anſwer;

You ſhall declare, That the two Houſes of Parliament have not made uſe of His Majeſties own Revenue but in a very ſmall proportion, which for a good part hath been employed in the maintenance of His Majeſties Children, according to the allowance eſtabliſhed by Himſelf; and they will ſatisfie what ſhall remain due to His Majeſty of thoſe Sums received out of His Majeſties own Revenues, and ſhall leave the ſame to His Majeſty for the time to come: And you likewiſe ſhall propound to His Majeſty, that He will reſtore what hath been taken for His uſe, upon any of the Bils aſſigned to other purpoſes by ſeveral Acts of Parliament, or out of the proviſion made for the war of *Ireland*.

That they will remove the Garriſons out of all Towns and Forts in their hands wherein there were no Garriſons before theſe Troubles, and ſlight all Fortifications made ſince that time, which Towns and Forts it is to be agreed on both parts ſhall continue in the ſame condition they were in before; and that thoſe Garriſons ſhall not be renewed, nor the Fortifications repaired, without Conſent of His Majeſty and both Houſes of Parliament.

That for thoſe Towns and Forts which are within the Juriſdiction of the Cinque-Ports, they ſhall be delivered up into the hands of ſuch a Noble perſon as His Majeſty ſhall appoint to be Warden of the Cinque-Ports, being ſuch a one as they ſhall confide in.

That the Town of *Portſmouth* ſhall be reduced to the number of the Garriſon as was at the time when the Lords and Commons undertook the cuſtody thereof; and ſuch other Forts, Caſtles and Towns, as were formerly kept by Garriſons, as have been taken by them into their care and cuſtody ſince the beginning of theſe Troubles, ſhall be reduced to ſuch proportion of Garriſon as they had in the year *1636*, and ſhall be ſo continued; and that all the ſaid Towns, Forts and Caſtles ſhall be delivered up into the hands of ſuch perſons of Quality and Truſt, to be likewiſe nominated by His Majeſty, as the two Houſes ſhall confide in.

That the Warden of the Cinque-Ports, and all Governours and Commanders of Towns, Caſtles and Forts, ſhall keep the ſame Towns, Caſtles and Forts reſpectively for the Service of His Majeſty, and the Safety of the Kingdome; and that they ſhall not admit into any of them any Forein Forces raiſed without His Majeſties Authority and Conſent of the two Houſes of Parliament; and they ſhall uſe their uttermoſt endeavours to ſuppreſſe all Forces whatſoever raiſed without ſuch Authority and Conſent; and they ſhall ſeiſe all Arms and Ammunition provided for any ſuch Forces.

That the Ships ſhall be delivered into the Charge of ſuch a Noble perſon as His Majeſty ſhall nominate to be Lord High-Admiral of *England*, and the two Houſes of Parliament confide in, who ſhall receive the ſame Office by Letters Patent *quamdiu bene ſe geſſerit*, and ſhall have power to nominate and appoint all ſubordinate Commanders and Officers, and have all other powers appertaining to the Office of High-Admiral; which Ships he ſhall employ for the defence of the Kingdom againſt all Forein Forces whatſoever, and for the ſafeguard of Merchants, ſecuring of Trade, and the guarding of *Ireland*, and the intercepting of all Supplies to be carried to the Rebels; and ſhall uſe his uttermoſt endeavour to ſuppreſſe all Forces which ſhall be raiſed by any perſon without His Majeſties Authority and Conſent of the Lords and Commons in Parliament, and ſhall ſeiſe all Arms and Ammunition provided for ſupply of any ſuch Forces.

That all the Arms and Ammunition taken out of His Majeſties Magazines, which ſhall remain in their hands, ſhall be delivered into His Stores, and whatſoever ſhall be wanting, they will in convenient time ſupply in kind, according to the proportions which they have received; and that the Perſons to whoſe charge thoſe publick Magazines ſhall be committed, being nominated by His Majeſty, ſhall be ſuch as the Lords and Commons ſhall confide in: And you ſhall propound to His Majeſty, that He will reſtore all ſuch Arms and Ammunition as have been taken for His uſe from the ſeveral Counties, Cities and Towns.

To the Propoſition made by the two Houſes concerning the disbanding of the Armies, you ſhall humbly deſire His Majeſties ſpeedy and poſitive Anſwer; unto which if He ſhall be pleaſed to give His Aſſent, you ſhall then beſeech His Majeſty in the name of both Houſes, that a near day may be agreed upon for the disbanding of all the Forces in the remote parts of *Yorkſhire* and the other Northern Counties, as alſo in *Lancaſhire*, *Cheſhire*, and in the Dominion of *Wales*, and in *Cornwall* and *Devon*; and they being fully disbanded, another day may be agreed on for the disbanding of all Forces in *Lincolnſhire*, *Nottinghamſhire*, *Leiceſterſhire*, and all other places, except at *Oxford* and the Quarters thereunto belonging, and *Windſor* and the Quarters thereunto belonging; and that laſt of all a ſpeedy day be appointed for the disbanding thoſe two Armies at *Oxford* and *Windſor*, and all the Forces Members of either of them.

That

That ſome Officers of both Armies may ſpeedily meet to agree of the manner of the disbanding, and that fit Perſons may be appointed by His Majeſty and the Parliament, who may repair to the ſeveral Armies, and ſee the disbanding put in ſpeedy execution accordingly.

That His Majeſty do likewiſe remove the Garriſons out of *Newcaſtle*, and all other Towns, Caſtles and Forts, where any Garriſons have been placed by Him ſince theſe Troubles; and that the Fortifications be likewiſe ſlighted, and the Towns and Forts left in ſuch ſtate and condition as they were in the year *1636*.

That all other Towns, Forts and Caſtles, where there have been formerly Garriſons before theſe Troubles, be committed to the charge of ſuch Perſons to be nominated by His Majeſty as the Parliament ſhall confide in, and under ſuch Inſtructions as are formerly mentioned.

That if His Majeſty ſhall be pleaſed to aſſent to theſe Propoſitions concerning the Towns, Forts, Caſtles, Magazines and Ships, that then His Majeſty be humbly intreated to name Perſons of Quality to receive the charge of the ſeveral Offices and Forts, Caſtles and Towns, to be forthwith certified to the two Houſes of Parliament, that thereupon they may expreſs their confidence in thoſe perſons, or humbly beſeech His Majeſty to name others; none of which Perſons ſhall be removed during three years next enſuing without juſt cauſe to be approved by Parliament; and if any be ſo removed, or ſhall dye within the ſaid ſpace, the Perſon to be put into the ſame Office ſhall be ſuch as both Houſes ſhall confide in.

That all Generalls and Commanders in any of the Armies on either ſide, as likewiſe the Lord Admiral of *England*, the Lord Warden of the Cinque-ports, all Commanders of any Ships, and Commanders of any Town, Caſtle or Fort, ſhall take an Oath to obſerve theſe Articles afore-mentioned, and to uſe their uttermoſt power to preſerve the true Reformed Proteſtant Religion, and the Peace of the Kingdome againſt all Forein Force, and all other Forces raiſed without His Majeſties Authority and Conſent of the two Houſes of Parliament.

You ſhall move His Majeſty, that for the better diſpatch of the Treaty, and the free intercourſe of Inſtructions and Advertiſements betwixt the two Houſes of Parliament and the Committee, there may be a free paſs of Meſſengers to and from the Parliament and the Committee, without ſearch or interruption, and His Majeſties ſafe Conduct to be obtained to that effect to ſuch Perſons as are or ſhall be appointed for that ſervice, *viz.* for

Maſter *John Ruſhworth*, Maſter *Michael Welden*, Maſter *John Corbet* of *Graies-Inne*, and Maſter *James Standiſh*.

H. Elſinge Cler. Parl. D. Com.

23 Martii, 1642.

The KINGS *Meſſage concerning the Ceſſation.*

CHARLES R.

HIS Majeſty hath immediately upon their arrival admitted the Committee ſent to Him from both Houſes of Parliament (as the Meſſengers of Peace) to His Royal Preſence, and received the Articles of Ceſſation brought by them, which are in effect the ſame His Majeſty formerly excepted to, though their expreſsion in the Preface to theſe Articles, of their readineſs to agree to thoſe Alterations and Additions offered by His Majeſty in ſuch manner as is expreſſed, made Him expect to have found at leaſt ſome of the real Alterations and Additions made by Him admitted, which He doth not diſcover.

I. His Majeſty deſired that Proviſion might be made, and Licence given to His good Subjects for their freedom of Trade, Traffick and Commerce, (though in matters which concerned Himſelf more immediately, as in Arms, Ammunition, Money, Bullion and Victual, for the uſe of His Army, and the Paſſage of all Officers and Souldiers of His Army, He was contented the reſtraint ſhould be in ſuch manner as was propoſed) of which His Majeſty is ſo tender, that as He hath provided for the ſame by His gracious Proclamations, ſo He doth daily releaſe and diſcharge ſuch Merchandize and Commodities as are contrary to thoſe Proclamations ſtayed by any of His Majeſties Forces.

To this Freedom and Liberty of His good Subjects there is not the leaſt admiſsion given by theſe Articles, ſo that they have not any eaſe or benefit by this Ceſſation; which His Majeſty deſires both Houſes to conſider of, and whether, if His Majeſty ſhould take the ſame courſe to ſtop and interrupt the Trade of the Kingdom as the other Army doth, a general Loſs and Calamity would not ſeize upon His good Subjects.

II. His Majeſty, to the end that a full Ceſſation might be as well at Sea as at Land, and He might be ſecured, that the Ships propoſed

to

to be ſet forth for the Defence of His Majeſties Dominions ſhould be employed onely to that end and purpoſe, deſired, that they might be put under the Command of Perſons to be approved of by His Majeſty; which is not conſented to by theſe Articles, but their former, to which His Majeſty excepted, ſtrictly and entirely inſiſted on, by which (beſides that part of Hoſtility remains) the conveying of any number of Forces from any part to any other by that means remains free to them.

III. For the prevention of any Inconveniences which might ariſe upon real Differences or Miſtakes upon the latitude of Expreſſions (as if His Majeſty ſhould now conſent to theſe Articles propoſed in the Terms propoſed, He muſt confeſs the Army of which He complains to be raiſed by the *Parliament*, and either Himſelf to be no part of the Parliament, or Himſelf to have raiſed that Army) and for prevention of that Delay which He foreſaw could not otherwiſe be avoided, if upon every Difference the Queſtions muſt be remitted to *London*, His Majeſty deſired that the Committee (for whom He then ſent a ſafe Conduct) might have liberty to debate any ſuch Differences and Expreſsions, and reconcile the ſame, that all poſsible Expedition might be uſed to the main Treaty.

In this point of ſo high Concernment no power is given in theſe Articles, and the Committee confeſſed to His Majeſty they have no Power given, but are ſtrictly and preciſely bound to the very words of the Articles now ſent, and that before theſe are conſented to by Us, they cannot enter into any Treaty concerning the other Propoſitions.

IV. His Majeſty deſired, that during the Ceſſation none of His good Subjects might be impriſoned, otherwiſe then according to the known Laws of the Land.

This is in no degree conſented to, but the privilege and liberty, to which they were born, reſerved from them till the disbanding of both Armies (though they are no part of either Army) and ſo have no benefit by this Ceſſation.

V. His Majeſty deſired, that during this Ceſſation there ſhould be no Plundering or Violence offered to any of His Subjects.

In the Anſwer to which, His deſire againſt Violence is not at all taken notice of, nor is His deſire againſt Plundering any waies ſatiſ-

fied; His Majeſty not only intending by it the robbing of the Subject by the unrulineſs of the uncommanded Souldier (which their Clauſe of requiring the Generals and Officers to keep them from it ſeems to imply, and the aſſertion, that the two Houſes of Parliament had ever diſliked and forbidden it, declares plainly to be their only meaning) but particularly the Violence and Plundering uſed to His Subjects by forcibly taking away their goods, for not ſubmitting to Impoſitions and Taxes required from them by Orders or Ordinances of one or both Houſes of Parliament, which are contrary to the known Laws of the Land.

VI. Beſides that there is no conſent given to thoſe Alterations and Additions offered by His Majeſty, (whatſoever is pretended) ſo where an abſolute Conſent may be ſuppoſed, becauſe the very words of His Majeſties Article are wholly preſerved, yet by reaſon of the Relation to ſomewhat going before that is varied by them, the ſenſe of thoſe words is wholy varied too; as in the Fourth Article, that part of the Third Article to which that did referre being wholly left out. So that upon the matter all the Propoſitions made by His Majeſty (which did not in Terms agree with thoſe preſented to Him) are utterly rejected.

For theſe Reaſons, and that this Entrance towards a bleſſed Peace and Accommodation (which hath already filled the hearts of the Kingdom with Joy and Hope) may be improved to the wiſhed end, His Majeſty deſires, that the Committee now ſent may ſpeedily have liberty to treat, debate, and agree upon the Articles of Ceſſation, in which they and all the world ſhall find, that His Majeſty is leſs ſollicitous for His own Dignity and Greatneſs then for His Subjects Eaſe and Liberty. And He doubts not upon ſuch a Debate all differences concerning the Ceſſation will be eaſily and ſpeedily agreed upon, and the benefit of a Ceſſation be continued and confirmed to His People, by a ſpeedy disbanding of both Armies, and a ſudden and firme Peace, which His Majeſty above all things deſires.

If this ſo reaſonable, equal and juſt Deſire of His Majeſty ſhall not be yielded unto, but the ſame Articles ſtill inſiſted upon, though His Majeſty next to Peace deſires a Ceſſation, yet that the not-agreeing upon the one may not deſtroy the hopes of nor ſo much as delay the

the other, He is willing however to Treat (even without a Ceſſation, if that be not granted) upon the Propoſitions themſelves, in that order as is agreed upon (and deſires the Committee here may be enabled to that effect.) In which Treaty He ſhall give all His Subjects that ſatisfaction, that if any ſecurity to enjoy all the Rights, Privileges and Liberties due to them by the Law, or that Happineſs in Church and State which the beſt times have ſeen, with ſuch farther acts of Grace as may agree with His Honour, Juſtice and Duty to His Crown, and as may not render Him leſs able to protect His Subjects according to His Oath, will ſatisfie them, He is confident in the Mercy of God, that no more precious blood of this Nation will be thus miſerably ſpent.

My Lord, and Gentlemen,

WHereas by your former Inſtructions you are tied up to a circumſtance of Time, and are not to proceed unto the Treaty upon the Propoſitions untill the Ceſſation of Arms be firſt agreed upon; you are now authorized and required, as you may perceive by the Votes of both Houſes which you ſhall herewith receive, to Treat and debate with His Majeſty upon the two firſt Propoſitions, according to thoſe Inſtructions, for four days after the day of the receit hereof, notwithſtanding that the Ceſſation be not agreed upon.

Your Lordſhips moſt humble Servant, *Mancheſter*, Speaker of the Houſe of Peers *pro tempore*.

March 24. 1642. Received *March* 25.

Die Veneris, 24. *Martii*. 1642.

Reſolved upon the Queſtion by the Lords and Commons in Parliament;

THat the Committee at *Oxon* ſhall have power to Treat and debate with His Majeſty upon the two firſt Propoſitions, according to their Inſtructions, for four days after the day of the receit of this Meſſage, notwithſtanding that the Ceſſation is not yet agreed upon.

Reſolved, &c.

That the Committee formerly appointed to prepare the Articles of Ceſſation, and Inſtructions for the Committee at *Oxon*, ſhall conſider of an Anſwer to be made to His Majeſties Meſſage this day received; and likewiſe prepare Reaſons to be ſent to the Committee, for them to preſs in the Treaty and debate upon the former Articles of Ceſſation; and to ſhew His Majeſty the grounds why the Houſes cannot depart from thoſe former Articles.

Joh. Brown Cler. Parliamentorum.

The Votes of both Houſes, and the Copy of the Anſwer to His MAJESTY, *Received* Martii 25. 1642.

May it pleaſe Your Majeſty;

WE Your Loyal Subjects, the Lords and Commons in Parliament, having received a Meſſage from Your Majeſty, in which You are pleaſed to expreſs Your Self not to be ſatisfied with the Articles of Ceſſation, preſented unto You by our Committee now attending You at *Oxford*, and yet a ſignification of Your Majeſties willingneſs to Treat upon the Propoſitions themſelves, even without a Ceſſation, do with all humbleneſs give our conſent that our Committee ſhall have power to treat and debate with Your Majeſty upon the two firſt Propoſitions, according to their Inſtructions, for four days after the day of the receit of this Meſſage, notwithſtanding that the Ceſſation be not yet agreed upon; that (as much as in us lies) here may be no delay in the proceedings for the obtaining of a bleſſed Peace, and the healing up the miſerable Breaches of this diſtracted Kingdom; and do purpoſe to repreſent very ſpeedily unto Your Majeſty thoſe juſt Reaſons and grounds, upon which we have found it neceſſary to deſire of Your Majeſty a Ceſſation ſo qualified as that is, whereby we hope You will receive ſuch ſatisfaction, as that You will be pleaſed to aſſent unto it, and being obtained, we aſſure our ſelves it will be moſt effectual to the Safety of the Kingdom, and that Peace which with ſo much zeal and loyal affection to Your Royal Perſon, and in a deep ſenſe of the bleeding condition of this poor Kingdom, we humbly beg of Your Majeſties Juſtice and Goodneſs.

Joh. Brown Cler. Parl.

A Letter from the E. of Mancheſter *to the E. of* Northumberland, *Received* March 29.

MY Lord, I am commanded by the Peers in Parliament to ſend unto your Lordſhip the Reaſons which both Houſes think fit to offer unto His Majeſty, in purſuit of their adhering to their former Reſolutions concerning the Articles of the Ceſſation of Arms. My Lord, you ſhall likewiſe receive additional Inſtructions from both Houſes, and a Vote, which I ſend you here incloſed. My Lord, this is all I have in command, as

Mar. 27. Your Lordſhips moſt humble Servant, *Mancheſter*, Speaker of the Houſe of Peers *pro tempore.*

Die Lunæ, 27 Martii, 1643.

Reſolved upon the Queſtion by the Lords in Parliament;

THat the Earl of *Northumberland*, their Committee at *Oxford*, is hereby authorized to acquaint His Majeſty with all their Inſtructions upon the two firſt Propoſitions.

Jo. Brown Cler. Parl.

Additional

Additional Inſtructions, *March* 29.

Additional Inſtructions agreed upon by the Lords and Commons in Parliament, for Algernon *Earl of* Northumberland, William *Viſcount* Say *and* Seal, William Pierrepont *Eſquire*, *Sir* William Armyne *Baronet*, *Sir* John Holland *Baronet*, *and* Bulſtrode Whitelocke *Eſquire*, *Committees attending His Majeſty upon the Ceſſation and Treaty.*

YOu ſhall alter the words mentioned in His Majeſties third Article in this manner, leaving out the words [*The Army raiſed by the Parliament*,] and putting in theſe words, [*The Army raiſed by both Houſes of Parliament.*]

You ſhall humbly preſent to His Majeſty the Reaſons herewithall ſent from both Houſes, for their not aſſenting to thoſe Alterations and Additions to the Articles of Ceſſation offered by His Majeſty.

You ſhall preſs the force of thoſe Reaſons, or any other, as there ſhall be occaſion, in the beſt maner you may, to procure His Majeſties aſſent to thoſe Articles of Ceſſation; which if you ſhall obtain within two dayes after the day of the receit hereof, you ſhall in the name of both Houſes of Parliament agree and conclude upon the Ceſſation, to continue to the end of twenty dayes, to be reckoned from the twenty fifth of *March*, and upon a day certain, as ſoon as may be, when the ſame ſhall firſt begin and be of force: within which time notice is to be given as well by His Majeſty, as by the Lords and Commons, to the ſeveral Generals, Commanders and Souldiers reſpectively, to obſerve the ſame Ceſſation, as it is qualified and limited in thoſe Articles: And after ſuch concluſion made, you ſhall take care that thoſe Articles be paſt under the Great Seal in a fitting and effectual manner, and ſpeedily ſent up to the Lords and Commons in Parliament, with four Duplicates of the ſame at leaſt.

If His Majeſty ſhall pleaſe to agree upon the two Propoſitions concerning His own Revenues, Towns, Forts, Magazines and Ships, and the disbanding of the Armies, you are then authorized fully to agree and conclude upon thoſe Propoſitions, according to your Inſtructions: and you ſhall deſire His Majeſty that the ſame may be forthwith put in execution, according to the Inſtructions formerly given in that behalf; and the two Houſes will be ready to put in execution what is to be performed on their part, of which you have hereby power to aſſure His Majeſty. And if His Majeſty ſhall not be pleaſed to agree upon thoſe two Propoſitions within the time of four days, you ſhall then ſpeedily give advertiſement to the two Houſes of Parliament, that thereupon they may give ſuch further direction as to them ſhall ſeem fit.

Joh. Brown Cler. Parliamentorum.

Reaſons for the Committee, Martii 27. 1643.

To the Kings moſt Excellent Majeſty.

THe Lords and Commons in Parliament aſſembled do with all humble thankfulneſs acknowledge Your Majeſties Favour in the ſpeedy admiſſion of their Committee to Your Royal Preſence, and the expedition of Your Exceptions to their Articles, that ſo they might more ſpeedily endeavour to give Your Majeſty ſatisfaction: and although they were ready to agree to the Articles of Ceſſation in ſuch manner as they expreſt in their Preface, they cannot agree to the Alteration and Addition offered by Your Majeſty without great prejudice to the Cauſe, and danger

danger to the Kingdom, whoſe Cauſe it is: The reaſons whereof will plainly appear in the Anſwer to the particulars preſt by Your Majeſty.

I. They do deny that they have reſtrained any Trade, but to ſome few of thoſe places where Your Majeſties Forces are enquartered, and even now in the heat of War do permit the Carriers to goe into all the parts of the Kingdom with all ſorts of Commodities for the uſe of the Subjects, except Arms, Ammunition, Money and Bullion: But if they ſhould grant ſuch a free Trade as Your Majeſty deſireth to *Oxford* and other places, where Your Forces remain, it would be very difficult, if not impoſſible, to keep Arms, Ammunition, Money and Bullion from paſſing into Your Majeſties Army, without very ſtrict and frequent Searches, which would make it ſo troubleſome, chargeable and dangerous to the Subjects, that the queſtion being but for twenty daies for ſo few places, the Miſchiefs and Inconveniences to the whole Kingdom would be far greater then any Advantage which that ſmall number of Your Subjects (whom it concerns) can have by it.

The caſe then is much otherwiſe then is expreſt by Your Majeſties Anſwer: for whereas they are charged not to give the leaſt admiſſion of this liberty and freedom of Trade during the Ceſſation; the truth is, that they do grant it as fully to the benefit of the Subject even in time of War; and that Your Majeſty in preſſing this for the Peoples good, doth therein deſire that which will be very little beneficial to the Subjects, but exceeding advantagious to Your Majeſty, in ſupplying Your Army with many neceſſaries, and making Your Quarters a ſtaple for ſuch Commodities as may be vented in the adjacent Counties, and ſo draw Money thither, whereby the Inhabitants will be better enabled by Loans and Contributions to ſupport Your Majeſties Army. And as Your Majeſties Army may receive much Advantage, and the other Army much Danger, if ſuch freedom ſhould be granted to thoſe places; ſo there is no probability that the Army raiſed by the Lords and Commons ſhall have any return of Commodities and other Supplies from thence, which may be uſeful for them. And they conceive, that in a Treaty for a Ceſſation thoſe demands cannot be thought reaſonable which are not indifferent, that is, equally advantagious to both parties.

As they have given no interruption to the Trade of the Kingdom, but in relation to the ſupply of the contrary Army, which the reaſon of War requires; ſo they beſeech Your Majeſty to conſider, whether Your Souldiers have not robbed the Carriers in ſeveral parts where there hath been no ſuch reaſon, and Your Ships taken many Ships, to the great damage not only of particular Merchants, but of the whole Kingdom; and whether Your Majeſty have not declared Your own purpoſe, and endeavoured by Your Miniſters of State to embarque the Merchants goods in Foreinparts, which hath been in ſome meaſure executed upon the Eaſt-land Merchants in *Denmark*, and is a courſe which will much diminiſh the Wealth of the Kingdom, violate the Law of Nations, make other Princes Arbiters of the Differences betwixt Your Majeſty and Your People, break off the intercourſe betwixt this and other States, and like to bring us into quarrels and diſſentions with all the neighbour-Nations.

II. To demand the approving of the Commanders of the Ships, is to deſire the ſtrength of one party to the other before the difference be ended, and againſt all Rules of Treaty: To make a Ceſſation at Sea, would leave the Kingdom naked to thoſe Forein Forces which they have great cauſe to believe have been ſollicited againſt them, and the Ports open for ſuch ſupplies of Arms and Ammunition as ſhall be brought from beyond the Seas. But for conveying any number of Forces by thoſe means from one part to another, they ſhall obſerve the Articles of the Ceſſation by which that is reſtrained.

III. As for the expreſsion of [*the Army raiſed by the Parliament*,] they are contented it ſhould be altered thus [*raiſed by both Houſes of Parliament*,] as not deſiring to differ upon words: But to give any concluſive Power in this caſe to the Committee upon ſuch Differences as may ariſe, wherein the Houſes have given no expreſs direction, is neither ſafe for the Committee to undertake, nor fit for the two

Houſes

Houſes to grant; yet to debate and to preſſe the reaſon of their deſires, whereby an Agreement from Your Majeſty may be procured, is granted to them. And although the two Houſes did think it moſt proper the Ceſſation ſhould be firſt agreed on, and that it was unfit to Treat in blood; yet to ſatisfie the world of their earneſt longing after Peace, they have given power to the Committee to enter into the Treaty upon the two firſt Propoſitions, notwithſtanding the Ceſſation be not yet aſſented to: and thoſe being agreed, they hope the foundation will be laid, not only of a ſuſpenſion, but a total abolition of all Hoſtility in the Kingdome.

IV. If the nature of War be duly conſidered, it muſt needs be acknowledged, that it is incompatible with the ordinary rules of a peaceable Government. Your Majeſty would have them commit none but according to the known Laws of the Land; whereby they conceive Your Majeſty underſtands, that it muſt be by the ordinary Proceſſe of Law: which being granted, it will follow, that no man muſt be committed by them for ſupplying Your Majeſty with Arms, Powder, Ammunition; for by the Law of the Land the Subject may carry ſuch goods from *London*, or any other place, to *Oxford*: the Souldiers muſt not be committed if they run from their Colours and refuſe any duty in the Army: no man ſhall be committed for not ſubmitting to neceſſary ſupplies of Money. So that if this be yielded in Your Majeſties ſenſe, they ſhall be diſabled to reſtrain ſupplies from their Enemies, and to govern or maintain their own Souldiers. It cannot be thought reaſonable, that under the diſguiſe of a Ceſſation, they ſhould admit that which will neceſſarily produce the diſſolving of the Army, and deſtruction of the Cauſe.

It ſeems not probable that Your Majeſty doth intend, that if any be taken with ſupplies for this Army, or mutining in Your own, ſuch perſons ſhall not be committed, but according to the known Laws of the Land, that is, by proceſs of Law: but rather that Your Majeſty will ſo interrupt this limitation of known Laws, that though it laies ſtreight bonds upon the two Houſes, yet it leaves Your Generals as much liberty as before. For it hath been denied by Your Majeſty, that theſe known Laws give any Power to the two Houſes of Parliament to raiſe Arms, and ſo conſequently their General cannot exerciſe any Martial Law in thoſe caſes: and it is not unlike but that it will be affirmed, that the Generals conſtituted by Your Majeſties Commiſſion have that power by the ſame known Laws. So that this Article, under the ſpecious ſhew of Liberty and Law, would altogether diſable them to defend their Liberties and Laws, and would produce to Your Majeſty an abſolute Victory and Submiſsion, under pretence of a Ceſſation and Treaty.

V. Being by neceſſity inevitable on their part enforced to a defenſive Warre in this unhappy Breach between Your Majeſtie and them, and that they are therein warranted both by the Laws of God and Man, it muſt needs follow, that by the ſame Law they are enabled to raiſe means to ſupport that Warre; and therefore till it ſhall pleaſe God to incline Your Majeſtie to afford them ſuch a Peace as may ſecure them, they cannot relinquiſh the power of laying Taxes upon thoſe who ought to joyn with them in that Defence, and the neceſſary wayes of levying thoſe Taxes upon them, in caſe of refuſal, for otherwiſe their Army muſt needs be diſſolved. But if Your Majeſtie ſhall conſent to disband the Armies, the Cauſe of the Warre being taken away, the Conſequences will likewiſe be removed, and the Subject reſtored to the benefit of thoſe Laws which the neceſſity of Arms hath in ſuch caſes ſuſpended.

VI. They deny any pretence of conſenting to thoſe Alterations and Additions offered by Your Majeſty; only in the Preamble they ſay they have conſidered of thoſe Articles, with ſuch Alterations and Additions, unto which Articles they profeſt they were ready to agree, not as they were accompanied with thoſe Alterations and Additions, but in ſuch manner as they expreſſed. As for the Clauſe left out in the third Article, it implyed a freedom of paſſage and communication of Quarters, which is contrary to the nature of a Ceſſation, whereby matters ſhould be preſerved in the ſtate they are, and neither party have liberty ſo much to advantage himſelf, as it is evident Your Majeſtie might do, if your Forces in the North and Weſt might joyn with thoſe at *Oxford*, and bring thoſe Supplies of Treaſure or Arms thither

which

which were brought out of *Holland*; or at leaſt it ſhould be ſo indifferent, as to give a proportionable advantage to the other ſide, which this doth not: For the Forces under the power of both Houſes are ſo diſpoſed, that they have an eaſie paſſage from one to the other; but Your Majeſties Forces are ſevered the one from the other by many large Counties, ſtrong Paſſes, and competent Armies: and if they had admitted this Clauſe, they had bereaved themſelves of one of the greateſt Advantages, and freed Your Majeſties party of one of the greateſt Inconveniences which Your Majeſty or they have in this War.

For the Reaſons already alleaged, they cannot agree to the alterations and enlargements of the Ceſſation propounded, or to transferre any ſuch power to the Committee, of treating, debating and agreeing upon thoſe Articles in any other maner then the Houſes have directed: but that a faire and ſpeedy paſſage may be opened to a ſecure and a happy Peace, they have enabled their Committees to treat and debate upon the two Propoſitions concerning His Majeſties own Revenue, the delivery of His Towns, Caſtles, Magazines and Ships, and the disbanding of the Armies; which being agreed upon, a preſent Peace and Security will follow, and the Treaty upon the other Propoſitions be facilitated without fear of interruption by the confuſion of War, or exaſperation of either party by the bloody effects thereof.

In which Treaty the two Houſes will deſire and expect nothing but what doth ſtand with Your Majeſties Honour and the Truſt repoſed in You, and is neceſſary for your Majeſties good Subjects, that they may enjoy the true Religion, and their Liberties and Privileges, and that they may freely and in a Parliamentary way concurre with Your Majeſty in thoſe things which may conduce to the Glory of God, the Safety and Happineſs of Your Majeſty and Your Poſterity and People, and preventing the like miſerable effuſion of *Engliſh* blood for the time to come. For the effecting whereof their moſt earneſt Prayers and uttermoſt endeavours ſhall ever be faithfully and conſtantly employed, in hope that God will give a bleſſing thereunto.

Hen. Elſinge Cler. Parl. D. Com.

Additional Inſtructions concerning the Ceſſation, March 29.

IN caſe we ſhall obtain Your Majeſties Aſſent to the Articles of Ceſſation, as they were laſt preſented to Your Majeſty, within two daies after the day of the receit of the Reaſons this day preſented to Your Majeſty from both Houſes, for their not aſſenting to thoſe Alterations and Additions to the Articles of Ceſſation offered by Your Majeſty; we are authoriſed by our Inſtructions this day received, in the name of both Houſes of Parliament, to agree and conclude upon the Ceſſation, to continue to the end of twenty dayes, to be reckoned from the 25. of this inſtant *March*, and upon a day certain, as ſoon as may be, when the ſame ſhall firſt begin and be of force; within which time notice is to be given as well by His Majeſty, as by the Lords and Commons, to the ſeveral Generals, Commanders and Souldiers reſpectively, to obſerve the ſame Ceſſation as it is qualified and limited in thoſe Articles laſt preſented to Your Majeſty. *Northumberland.*

John Holland. *Will. Pierrepont.*
B. Whitelocke. *Will. Armyne.*

The KING'S *Queſtion concerning Removall of Quarters,* March 13. 1643.

WHether by denying the Communication of Quarters, you intend to reſtrain the Quarters of either Army from each other; as that the Forces at *Abbingdon* may not remove to *Banbury* or

or the Forces at *Henley* may not remove to *Ailesbury*, or to any other places within the Quarter of each Army respectively.

Falkland.

The Committees Answer concerning Removal of Quarters, Mar. 31. 1643.

IN Answer to Your Majesties Question upon the third Article of the Cessation, We humbly conceive, That it is not intended to restrain the Quarters of their Army respectively from each other, so as they come not nearer the Quarters of the other Army; but that the Forces at *Abbingdon* may remove to *Banbury*, or the Forces at *Henley* may remove to *Ailesbury*, or to any other place within the Quarters of each Army respectively: so as the Forces of either Army respectively come not nearer the quarters of the other Army then they shall be upon the day agreed on for the Cessation to begin.

Northumberland.

John Holland. *Will. Pierrepont.*
B. Whitelocke. *Will. Armyne.*

The KING'S *Questions concerning the Cessation*, March 31. 1643.

HIS Majesty desires to be resolved by the Committee of Lords and Commons, whether the Forces of *Oxford* may not as well go to *Reading*, as the Forces of *Henley* may to *Ailesbury*.

Whether His Majesties Forces belonging to the Army at *Oxford* may not go to *Shrewsbury*, or any other place backwards from *London*, so that in their march they approach no nearer to any Quarters of any of the contrary Armies then some of His Majesties Forces shall quarter upon the day agreed upon for the Cessation to begin.

Falkland.

The Committees Answer concerning the Cessation, March 31. 1643.

VVE humbly conceive, that by our Instructions we are not enabled to give any Resolution upon Your Majesties Questions concerning the Removall of Quarters, other then we have already given.

Northumberland.

John Holland. *Will. Pierrepont.*
B. Whitelocke. *Will. Armyne.*

A Letter from the Earl of Manchester, April 4.

My Lord,

I Am commanded by the Lords in Parliament to send unto your Lordship these inclosed Votes, for the giving your Lordship and the Committee longer time to treat of the first Propositions. This is all I have in command, as

April 2. Your Lordships most humble Servant, *Manchester*, Speaker of the House *pro tempore*.

Votes of both Houſes for four daies longer to Treat, April 4.

Die Lunæ, Aprilis 3. 1643.

Reſolved upon the Queſtion by the Lords and Commons in Parliament aſſembled;

THat further time ſhall be given to the Committee at *Oxon* to treat upon the two firſt Propoſitions, *viz.* the firſt Propoſition of His Majeſties, and the firſt Propoſition of both Houſes.

Reſolved, *&c.*

That the time preſcribed for the Treaty upon the two firſt Propoſitions ſhall be untill Friday next.

Reſolved, *&c.*

That Friday in this laſt queſtion ſhall be taken incluſive.

Joh. Brown Cler. Parliamentorum.

His Majeſties Meſſage concerning the Ceſſation.

April 4.

CHARLES R.

HOW His Majeſty hath ſpent His time ſince the Committee from His two Houſes of Parliament came hither, how willing He hath been (during the four daies allowed to them) to expedite the Treaty it ſelf, by the free and diligent diſquiſition of the particulars comprized in thoſe two firſt Articles, and how intent He hath been upon the Ceſſation (which He thinks ſo neceſſary, and ſo much deſires) ſince the laſt Meſſage concerning the ſame came to Him, the Committee themſelves cannot but obſerve: And though no concluſion could be made within the two daies (a time limited with much ſtrictneſſe in a buſineſſe of ſo great moment, where all words and expreſsions muſt be carefully and exactly weighed) His Majeſty cannot doubt but both Houſes will be willing to give and receive ſatisfaction in any particulars which are neceſſarily to be conſidered in concluding the ſame, though the two dayes are expired. And if His Majeſty enlarges Himſelf in His Replies more then may ſeem neceſſary to the Propoſitions and Differences in debate, it muſt be remembred, by what unneceſſary and unwarrantable expreſsions in this laſt Meſſage from His two Houſes He is not only invited, but compelled thereunto; which He could heartily have wiſhed might upon this occaſion have been forborn.

I. For the Freedom of Trade, His Majeſty hath great reaſon to require, and the two Houſes to admit, that Freedom to His good Subjects

Subjects He desired. For what concerns the supply of the Army with Arms, Ammunition, Money, Bullion and Victuals, He consented to the very terms proposed by the two Houses; and that they may be observed, is contented that searches may be made, which being but the trouble of particular persons, is not considerable, in respect of the publick benefit and advantage. But why all other liberty of Traffick and Commerce should not be granted to His good Subjects, He cannot understand; for that His Majesties Army should receive much Advantage thereby, and the contrary Army none, is in no degree confessed. For (besides the restraint is to places where no part of His Majesties Army is, and indeed the whole Trade of the Kingdom interrupted) 'tis as great a support (if not a greater) to the contrary Army, to maintain and keep up the Trade of *London*, from whence that receives its supply and relief, as to His Majesties Army to continue the Trade of *Oxford*, or any other place where His Forces reside; and to stop and seize the Cloth, Kersies, and other Western Commodities (which His Majesty can daily doe from *Reading*) would be as great disturbance to the Trade of *London*, as the seizing of any Commodities (which may be done by the Earl of *Essex* from *Windsor* or *Wickham*) can be to the Trade of *Oxford*. And therefore His Majesty hath great reason to press, that mutual and universal Freedom to all His good Subjects may be granted: Otherwise, He must either permit that Licence to His Army, to seize the goods of His People in their passage to *London*, and to interrupt and break the Trade and Correspondence of the Kingdom (which both out of publick consideration and private compassion His Majesty is most averse from) or else must grant that evident Benefit and Advantage to those who deny the same to Him, and to His People for His sake. And it cannot be denied but this Freedom is so very beneficial to His Subjects, and so wholly considerable to His Majesty under that Notion, that their very subsistence depends upon it, and by this means Trade may be continued; which, if a little more suppressed by these Distractions, will not be easily recovered, even by a settled Peace. His Majesty believes that some Carriers have been robbed by His Majesties Souldiers: But 'tis as true, that no Complaint hath been made to Him of that kind, which He hath not received to the relief

and reparation of the Petitioners. And 'tis therefore His desire, that both Houses would joyn with Him (at least during the Cessation) that there might be no more such Violences and interruptions offered to His good Subjects by either side.

For the embarquing the Merchants Goods in Forein parts, His Majesty denies that any endeavour hath yet been made by His Ministers of State to that purpose: But 'tis true, His Majesty hath declared His Resolution, which He shall pursue, that such persons who absolve themselves from their Obedience to Him, and assist or consent to actions of Disloyalty to Him here, shall be deprived of those advantages, and must not expect that Protection from Him abroad which is due, and which He always hath and will allow to His good Subjects. And this is not to make other Princes Arbiters of the Differences betwixt His Majesty and His People; but to use the mutual Amity and Correspondence with other Princes, for the maintenance and support of that Dignity for which it is made and entred into.

II. His Majesty did not demand the approving of the Commanders of Ships onely with reference to His present Right, for then He would have demanded not the approbation of the Commanders, but the Ships themselves; but this Demand was and is a thing most necessary for His Majesty: for the setting out the present Fleet is pretended to be for the defence of His Majesties Dominions, and which cannot conveniently suffer any alteration in Commanders, if the Cessation and Peace should be fully and speedily agreed upon; and therefore 'tis most necessary for His Majesty both to know the Designs, and to approve of the Commanders, who will not be so fit to be altered when once they are sent out.

His Majesty cannot see how a Cessation at Sea between His Majesty and His Subjects should leave the Kingdom naked to Forein Forces (a continuance of War may well doe it:) And His Majesty is willing to concurre in the resistance of all such of what kind soever, and expects that, during the Cessation, the conveying of all Forces from one part to another by Sea for the assistance of the Earl of *Essex* be restrained; which both Houses seem now to consent to, which was not at all expressed in their former Articles.

III. His Majesties opinion, how unfit it was to Treat in blood, suffi-

ſufficiently appears, this debate concerning a Ceſſation ariſing firſt from His Majeſties motion (it being left out in the Anſwer to His Meſſage for a Treaty.) In order to which He had and hath great reaſon to deſire, that the Committee may have liberty to debate and conclude any differences and expreſsions in the Articles of the Ceſſation, that the ſame may be reconciled and removed, without remitting all queſtions to *London*. For as thoſe now conſented to might in much leſs time have been agreed here if there had been that liberty; ſo there can hardly be a right and clear underſtanding of Intentions without expounding of words, and knowing the meaning from each other: as in the Conſent which His Majeſty now underſtands to be given by both Houſes, that no Forces ſhall during the Ceſſation be ſent by Sea for the relief of any place now held by them, the expreſsion is not ſo clear, but referreth to Articles, in which if it was not compriſed before (as His Majeſty doth not conceive it was) no alteration is made by what now ſeems to be conſented to, and the liberty which to all underſtandings may ſeem to be given, by removing out of one Quarter to another within the Precincts propoſed, is not yet ſo demonſtrable; the Committee having no power to anſwer what they underſtand in that point, which is moſt neceſſary to be known, that the Peace be not broken during that Ceſſation. And His Majeſty wonders that it ſhould be thought unſafe or unfit to give ſuch a concluſive power of ſuch Differences and Doubts to the Committee here, when 'tis notoriouſly known, that the very Liberty and Property of the Subject is committed not only to other Committees of the Houſes without reporting to the Houſes, but to perſons who are employed by them, unintereſſed in and unacquainted with the Directions of either or both Houſes.

IV. It was no part of His Majeſties intention, that His Article againſt Impriſonment of His Subjects, otherwiſe then according to the known Laws of the Land, ſhould extend to the deſtruction of the Military Diſcipline of either Army: But this is a very ſufficient inſtance of the neceſsity of enabling ſome perſons to conclude upon theſe Articles, without which (through inanimadvertence or doubtfulneſs in the expreſsions) they who are neareſt of a minde will hardly ever come to conclude, if every Punctilio muſt be forced to

be ſent forwards and backwards a hundred miles: and (if this authority had been given to the Committee here, as for ſuch cauſes was deſired) a limitation of half a dozen words (which would have been as ſoon agreed to as propoſed) would have ſaved moſt of this fourth Reaſon. And he that deſires any thing neceſſary to the ſpeed of this Ceſſation, gives a good argument of deſiring the Ceſſation it ſelf; and whoever is averſe to the one, can hardly be thought inclinable to the other.

But ſuch of His Subjects as are not concerned in the diſcipline of the Army, are not concerned in this Objection; and His Majeſty hath reaſon to inſiſt, that the ſame liberty may be reſtored to them in which they were born, and the care and defence of which is ſo much and ſo merely pretended by thoſe who deny it to them.

V. Though it grieves His Majeſty to the Soul to ſee the preſent miſerable condition of His Subjects, groaning under ſo many viſible Preſſures becauſe of an inviſible Neceſsity, and plundered and impriſoned to maintain ſuch a defenſive War, as was begun to be raiſed againſt Him before His Majeſty had granted one Commiſsion to raiſe a man; yet He cannot but be pleaſed with the ingenuity of this confeſsion, that the implicite faith of His ſeduced Subjects begins to wear out ſo faſt, that the authority of Declaring new, unknown Fundamental Laws, doth not now ſo work with them, to believe that theſe Taxes are laid according to the Laws of God and Man, nor the many pretences of imminent Dangers and inevitable ruine of their Religion, Laws and Liberties, ſo perſwade them to believe this Cauſe to be the Cauſe of the Kingdom, but that if their Cauſe, Authority and Eloquence were not aſsiſted by force and Rapine, their Army muſt needs be diſſolved for want of being thought fit, much leſs neceſſary, to be pay'd by thoſe who have equal right to judge of the Neceſsity and Danger, and for whoſe ſakes, intereſts and concernments onely it was pretended to be raiſed, and who are defended by it againſt their wills. Nor is it ſtrange that His Majeſty cannot receive theſe Charges upon Him, as a reaſon to make Him contented and acquieſce with theſe Injuries to His Subjects; or that they who ſaw His Majeſties condition the laſt year (till continued Violence againſt Him opened the eyes and hearts of His Subjects to His aſsiſtance) ſhould not believe that He began that War which they

they ſaw Him ſo unlikely to reſiſt; or that they, who could never finde nor hear from them who uſe not too modeſtly to conceal what is for their advantage, that from the beginning of the world to this preſent Parliament ever one man was raiſed before by Commiſsion from both Houſes, ſhould not believe the raiſing of that their Army to be ſo warranted as is pretended, and any more approve of their Law then of their Neceſsity; or that they who know that His Majeſty (in whom the power of making War and Peace was never denied to be, till theſe new Doctrines, which make it unlawful for Him to doe any thing, and lawful to doe any thing againſt Him, were of late diſcovered) though He can legally raiſe an Army, is not allowed to be legally able to raiſe Money to maintain it, will not allow of the Argument, from the power of Raiſing to the power of Taxing, and are as little ſatisfied with their Logick as with their Law, and extremely troubled to pay an Army they do not deſire, for a Neceſsity they cannot ſee, by a Law they never heard of; and that other men, without their conſent, muſt be jealous, fearful and quick-ſighted at their Charges: and they have great reaſon to be apt to ſuſpect that thoſe made moſt haſte to make a Warre, and have leaſt deſire of making Peace, who in time of War pretend their legal power to be ſo vaſtly inlarged. His Majeſty therefore hath great reaſon to inſiſt, that no Violence or Plundering be offered to His Subjects for not ſubmitting to the illegal Taxes of one or both Houſes, which in it ſelf is equal; His Majeſty being willing to be obliged from the like courſe, and relying wholly upon the known Juſtice of His Cauſe, and the Affection of His People, and in which (if the Kingdom be of their minde, and believe the Cauſe of the contrary Army to be really their own) the advantage will be wholly theirs, and this Judgement will be beſt given when the People is leſt to their liberty in this deciſion.

His Majeſties real deſire of disbanding the Armies may fully appear by His often ſeeking, and earneſt endeavours to continue and conclude this Treaty in order to that disbanding.

VI. His Majeſty leaves their Preamble to all the world to conſider and to judge, whether any man by their ſaying they were ready to agree to His Majeſties Articles in the manner as was expreſt, would not have expected to have found after that expreſsion, that

they had agreed at leaſt to ſome one thing material in them, and had not onely meant by agreeing as was expreſt, to expreſs they would not agree at all.

For the Clauſe of Communication of Quarters ſo quietly left out, His Majeſty looks upon it as of moſt infinite importance, the leaving out of that having diſcompoſed the whole, many things having in the reſt been aſſented to, which were therefore onely yielded, becauſe the Inconveniences growing by theſe Clauſes, if they were alone, were ſalved by that Addition; and ſome things, in the other very dark and doubtful, were by that interpreted and cleared. And His Majeſty is ſufficiently informed how highly it concerns Him that every thing be ſo clear, that after no differences may ariſe upon any diſputable point, ſince they whoſe Union, Induſtry, Subtilty and Malice could perſwade any of His People that in the buſineſs of *Brainceford* He had broken a Ceſſation before any was made or offered, would have a much eaſier work to lay the breach of a made Ceſſation to His Majeſties charge, if the ground of that Breach would bear the leaſt diſpute.

His Majeſty doth agree, that to preſerve things in the ſame ſtate on both ſides with as little advantage or diſadvantage to either as the matter will poſsibly bear, is truly the nature of a Ceſſation, and is willing this Principle ſhould be made the Rule, and never intended any thing that ſhould contradict it; but cannot ſee the inequality in this which is pretended: For could Sir *Ralph Hopton* and the Earl of *Newcaſtle* come by this means to the King, and not the Earl of *Stamford* and Lord *Fairfax* to the Earl of *Eſſex*? Nor can His Majeſty finde any ſtronger Paſſes or Forces to hinder His Armies from joyning with Him, then hinders theirs from joyning with them. If the Forces be unequal, theirs will hardly hinder the paſſage of His, without a Ceſſation; if they be equal, their coming in time of Ceſſation will be of equal uſe and advantage to their ſide, ſomewhat in point of Supplies to come with them excepted; and ſome advantage to one ſide will be, poize it how you will. But on the other ſide, if this clauſe be not in, how much greater is the diſadvantage the other way by ſome Clauſes? and how are His Forces (principally the Earl of *Newcaſtle*'s) cooped up in old and eaten-up Quarters, or neceſsitated to retire to ſuch as are more barren

ren and more eaten? So that if this were yielded to under the diſguiſe of a Ceſſation, He muſt admit that which will much endanger the diſſolving of the Army and deſtruction of the Cauſe; which is ſuch a diſadvantage as is againſt the nature of a Ceſſation formerly agreed and ſtated.

Notwithſtanding all this, His Majeſty, to ſhew His extraordinary and abundant deſire of Peace, and to prevent the effuſion of blood, is contented, if both Houſes ſhall refuſe to conſent to His Propoſitions, which are ſo much for the benefit and advancement of the publick Trade and advantage of His good Subjects, to admit a Ceſſation upon the matter of their own Articles (excepting that liberty be given to the Committee to word it according to the real meaning and intention; and that the remove of Quarters within their own bounds, which is intended, may be ſo expreſt and underſtood that no miſtakes may ariſe) ſo that His Majeſty may not be underſtood to conſent to any impoſing upon, levying, diſtraining, or impriſoning His good Subjects to force them to contribute or aſsiſt againſt Him (which He ſhall alwayes continue to inhibit, requiring all men to reſiſt thoſe Illegal acts of Injuſtice and Violence, againſt which He doth abſolutely proteſt;) and ſo that there may not be a liberty for any Rapine, Plundering, or ſeizing upon His Subjects by any of the Souldiers of that Army, for not ſubmitting to ſuch Illegal Impoſitions as aforeſaid: For otherwiſe, they may during this Ceſſation (beſides what is already impoſed) impoſe new Taxes, not only to the Nineteenth part, but, if they pleaſe, (for their pleaſure is all their bound) to the half of, or all their Eſtates, upon His good Subjects in His City of *London*, and all Counties within their reach; and their Army would then be at leiſure to be emploied as Collectors as well of the old Impoſitions, (which in moſt places without their Army they cannot levy) as of any ſuch new one, and vaſt ſummes would and might by this means be raiſed to the deſtruction of His Subjects, extraordinary advantage to them, and great diſadvantage to His Majeſty, who can neither obtain His own Conſent to take the like courſes, nor in caſe He could, is He ſo quartered as to have within the power of His Army, without breach of the Ceſſation by drawing nearer to their Forces, any ſuch City, or ſo many, ſo rich and ſo freſh Counties, as

they

they have, to retire into to that purpoſe. So that as nothing is more juſt in it ſelf and for His People then ſuch a limitation; ſo nothing can be more unequal to His Majeſty, or more advantagious to them, then the admiſsion of or connivance to any ſuch practices upon His People. This Ceſſation to begin on the 9. of *April*, and to continue to the end of 20. dayes from the 25. of *March*. And His Majeſty deſires that the Treaty may proceed upon the Propoſitions in order, upon which His Majeſty hath an earneſt deſire that a firm and ſtable Peace may be agreed on, and both Armies ſpeedily disbanded: otherwiſe, if during this Ceſſation (in the Articles of which His Majeſty in order to Peace hath yielded to things manifeſtly unreaſonable and prejudicial to His Army) the Treaty be not diſpatched, His Majeſty cannot without manifeſt ruine to His Army (principally that of the North) be able to contain Himſelf beyond this time now limited for the Ceſſation in the Quarters in which He hath ſo long been, and now is, and which will hardly be able to hold out ſo long, but muſt be forced to remove as He ſhall finde agreeable for His Occaſions.

And in caſe any delay be made in conſenting to theſe His Majeſties limitations, or that the Houſes ſhall reject this His offer of Ceſſation, His Majeſty, as He hath lately deſired (by a Propoſition to both Houſes, delivered to their Committee, to which He hath yet received no Anſwer) ſo He doth earneſtly continue to deſire, that the Treaty it ſelf may not be delayed or interrupted by it, but that their Committee may be enabled to proceed upon it in the mean while.

Copia vera. *Jo. Brown Cler. Parliamentorum.*

Addition of four dayes longer to Treat, April 4. 1643.

WE humbly acquaint Your Majeſty that we received this morning the reſolution of both Houſes of Parliament, whereby farther time is given to us to Treat upon the two firſt Propoſitions, *viz.* the firſt Propoſition of Your Majeſty, and the firſt Propoſition of both Houſes; and that the time preſcribed for the Treaty upon the two firſt Propoſitions ſhall be until Friday night.

Northumberland.
John Holland. *Will. Pierrepont.*
B. Whitelocke. *Will. Armyne.*

A Letter from both Houſes, received April 8. 1643.

WE are commanded to ſend theſe incloſed Inſtructions to you from both Houſes of Parliament, by which the reſolutions of the Houſes will appear unto you. This is all we have in command, and reſt,

Weſtminſter the 7. of *April*, 1643.

Your humble Servants, *Mancheſter*, Speaker *pro tempore*, *William Lenthall*, Speaker of the Commons Houſe.

Inſtructions concerning the Ceſſation, received *April* 8. 1643.

A farther Addition of Inſtructions agreed upon by the Lords and Commons in Parliament, for Algernon *Earl of* Northumberland, William Pierrepont *Eſquire*, *Sir* William Armyne *Baronet*, *Sir* John Holland *Baronet*, *and* Bulſtrode Whitelocke *Eſquire*, *Committees of both Houſes of Parliament attending His Majeſty at* Oxon.

YOu are hereby to take notice, That the two Houſes have conſidered His Majeſties Anſwer to their Reaſons concerning the Ceſſation, wherein there are divers expreſſions which reflect much upon the Honour and Juſtice of the Houſes, and might occaſion particular Replies; yet at this time they deſire to decline all Conteſtation, their wiſhes and endeavours being earneſtly bent upon the obtaining a ſpeedy Peace: For which cauſe they do not think good to conſume any more of that time allowed for the Treaty in any farther debates upon the Ceſſation; concerning which they finde His Majeſties expreſſions ſo doubtful, that it cannot be ſuddenly or eaſily reſolved; and the remainder of the time for the whole Treaty being but ſeven daies, if the Ceſſation were preſently agreed, it would not yield any conſiderable advantage to the Kingdom. Wherefore you ſhall deſire His Majeſty, that He will be pleaſed to give a ſpeedy and poſitive Anſwer to their firſt Propoſition concerning the Disbanding, that ſo the People may not have only a Shadow of Peace in a ſhort time of Ceſſation, but the Subſtance of it, in ſuch manner as may be a perpetual Bleſſing to them, by freeing the Kingdom from thoſe miſerable effects of War, the effuſion of *Engliſh* blood, and Deſolation of many parts of the Land.

For the obtaining of which Happineſs, the Lords and Commons have reſolved to enlarge your Power, That if you ſhall not have fully agreed upon the two firſt Propoſitions before Friday night, you may, notwithſtanding any former reſtraint, proceed to treat upon them according to the Inſtructions formerly given you, although the Articles of the Ceſſation are not agreed upon.

And thoſe two firſt Propoſitions being concluded, the two Houſes will thereupon give you further Inſtructions to proceed to the other Propoſitions, that ſo the whole Treaty may be determined within the twenty daies formerly limited, to be reckoned from the 25. of *March* laſt, which can admit no alteration or enlargement without manifold Prejudice and Danger to the whole Kingdom.

Joh. Brown Cler. Parliamentorum.

The KING'S *Reply touching Ceſſation; and His deſire to enable the Committee to treat upon the Propoſitions in the mean time; and touching His coming to the Parliament.*

C. R.

IF the Committee, according to His Majeſties deſire, had had but power to agree in the wording of Expreſsions in the Articles of Ceſſation, His Majeſties (which are as clear as the matter would bear, and as He could make them) had not appeared ſo doubtful to any, but that the Ceſſation might have been ſuddenly and ſpeedily reſolved, and that long before this time. And if the expreſsions of both Houſes in their Reaſons had not neceſsitated His Majeſty in His own defence to give ſuch Anſwers, as could not upon thoſe points deliver Truth without ſome ſhew of Sharpneſs, no Expreſsion of that kind in His Majeſties Anſwer had given any pretence for the rejection of, or refuſing ſo much as to treat upon this Ceſſation, which (though it were at preſent for no long time) yet was from the day named by themſelves, the 25. of *March*; whereas His Majeſty firſt moved for a Ceſſation and Treaty without any limitation at all in the time of either, and His Majeſty was moſt ready to have enlarged the time, (ſo that in the mean while the point of Quarters might be ſo ſettled as that His Armies might ſubſiſt) and which might have been (if they had pleaſed) a very good and promiſing earneſt and fore-runner of that great bleſsing of Peace; for the obtaining of which the wiſhes and endeavours of all good men being earneſtly bent, a farther debate in order to ſo great a Benefit did not deſerve to be ſtyled a conſumption of time. And His Majeſty cannot but conceive Himſelf to be in a ſtrange condition, if the doubtfulneſs of Expreſsions (which muſt alwayes be whilſt the Treaty is at ſuch a diſtance, and power is denyed to thoſe upon the place to help to clear and explain) or His neceſſary Replying to charges lay'd upon Him (that He might not ſeem to acknowledge what was ſo charged) or the limitation of the time of ſeven dayes for the Treaty (which was not limited by His Majeſty, who ever deſired to have avoided that and other limitations which have given great

great interruptions to it) ſhould be as well believed to be the grounds, as they are made the arguments, of the rejection of that which (next to Peace it ſelf) His Majeſty above all things moſt deſires to ſee agreed and ſettled, and which His Majeſty hopes (if it may be yet agreed on) will give His People ſuch a taſte of ſuch a Bleſsing, that after a ſhort time of conſideration, and comparing of their ſeveral conditions in Warre and Peace, and what ſhould move them to ſuffer ſo much by a Change, they will not think thoſe their friends that ſhall force them to it, or be themſelves ready to contribute to the renewing of their former Miſeries, without ſome greater evidence of Neceſsity then can appear to them, when they ſhall have ſeen (as they ſhall ſee, if this Treaty be ſuffered to proceed) that His Majeſty neither asks nor denies any thing, but what not only according to Law He may, but what in Honour and care of His People He is obliged to ask or deny. And this alone (which a very ſhort Ceſſation would produce) His Majeſty eſteems a very conſiderable advantage to the Kingdome; and therefore cannot but preſſe again and again, that whatever is thought doubtfull in the expreſsions of the Articles, may (as in an hour it may well be done) be expounded, and whatſoever is excepted at may be debated and concluded, and that Power and Inſtructions may be given to the Committee to that end; that the miſerable effects of War, the effuſion of *Engliſh* blood, and deſolation of *England* (untill they can be totally taken away) may by this means be ſtayed and interrupted.

His Majeſty ſuppoſes, that when the Committee was laſt required to deſire His Majeſty to give a ſpeedy and poſitive Anſwer to the firſt Propoſition concerning Disbanding, His Anſwers in that point (to which no Reply hath been made, and which He hopes by this time have given ſatisfaction) were not tranſmitted and received: but wonders the Houſes ſhould preſſe His Majeſty for a ſpeedy and poſitive Anſwer to the firſt part of their firſt Propoſition concerning Disbanding, when to the ſecond part of the very ſame Propoſition, concerning His Return to both Houſes of Parliament, they had not given any Power or Inſtructions to the Committee ſo much as to treat with His Majeſty; and when His Majeſty (if His deſire of Peace, and of ſpeeding the Treaty in order to that,

had not been prevalent with Him) might with all manner of Juſtice have delayed to begin to treat upon one part, untill they had been enabled to treat upon the other: In which point, and for want of which power from them, the only ſtop now remains; His Majeſties Anſwers to both parts of their firſt Propoſition being given in, tranſmitted, and yet remaining unanſwered.

To which untill the Houſes ſhall be at leiſure to make Anſwer, that as little delay in this Treaty as is poſsible may be cauſed by it, His Majeſty deſires likewiſe, that the Committee may be enabled to treat upon the following Propoſitions in their ſeveral orders.

A Letter from both Houſes, April 8.

VVE have ſent unto you by this Gentleman, Sir *Peter Killegrew*, ſome additional Inſtructions, by which your Lordſhip and the reſt of the Committee will perceive the Reſolutions which the Houſes have taken upon the Papers which they received this day from you. This is all we have in command, and remain,

Weſtminſter this 8 of *April*, 1643.

Your Lordſhips humble Servants, *Mancheſter*, Speaker of the Houſe of Peers *pro tempore*, *Will. Lenthall*, Speaker of the Commons Houſe in Parliament.

Inſtructions concerning the Inſiſting, received *April* 9. 1643.

Additional Inſtructions for Algernon *Earle of* Northumberland, William *Lord Viſcount* Say *and* Seale, William Pierrepont *Eſquire*, *Sir* William Armyne *and Sir* John Holland *Baronets*, Bulſtrode Whitelocke *Eſquire*, *Committees from both Houſes attending His Majeſty at* Oxford.

Magazines, and enlarging the time.

THE two Houſes of Parliament are unſatisfied with His Majeſties Anſwer to that Clauſe of the firſt Propoſition which concerns the Magazines: Wherefore you are to deſire His Majeſty to make a further Anſwer, in ſuch manner as is expreſt in the Inſtructions formerly given you; and you ſhall let His Majeſty know, That the Lords and Commons do not think fit to enlarge the time of the Treaty beyond the twenty daies formerly limited.

Cinque-

Cinque-Ports, Towns, Forts and Caſtles.

They likewiſe remain unſatisfied with His Majeſties Anſwer concerning the Cinque-Ports, Towns, Forts and Caſtles, being in the moſt material points an expreſs Denial: Wherefore you are to inſiſt upon their deſire for another Anſwer, according to your Inſtructions.

Ships.

They obſerve in His Majeſties Anſwer concerning the Ships, not onely a Denial to all the deſires of both Houſes, but likewiſe a Cenſure upon their proceedings. However, you are to inſiſt upon their deſires expreſſed in your Inſtructions.

Disbanding.

They further conceive that His Majeſties Anſwer to their firſt Propoſition concerning the Disbanding is in effect a Denial, unleſs they deſert all thoſe cautions and limitations which they have deſired in their Anſwer to His Majeſties firſt Propoſition: Wherefore you are to proceed, inſiſting upon that part of their firſt Propoſition concerning the Disbanding, according to your Inſtructions.

KINGS Return to the Parliament.

You ſhall declare to His Majeſty the deſire of both Houſes of His Majeſties coming to His Parliament, which they have often expreſt with as full offers of ſecurity to His Royal Perſon, as was agreeable to their Duty and Allegiance; and they know no cauſe why His Majeſty may not repair hither with Honour and Safety: but they did not inſert it into your Inſtructions, becauſe they conceived the disbanding of the Armies would have facilitated His Majeſties Reſolution therein, which they likewiſe conceived was agreeable to His Majeſties Senſe, who in declaring His Conſent to the Order of the Treaty, did onely mention that part of the firſt Propoſition which concerned the Disbanding, and did omit that which concerned His coming to the Parliament.

Oath of Officers.

They conceive the ordinary Oaths of the Officers mentioned are not ſufficient to ſecure them againſt the extraordinary cauſes of Jealouſie which have been given them in theſe troubleſome times; and that His Majeſties Anſwer layes ſome tax upon the Parliament, as if defective, and thereby uncapable of making ſuch a Proviſional Law for an Oath: therefore you ſhall ſtill inſiſt upon their former deſires of ſuch an Oath as is mentioned in your Inſtructions.

If you ſhall not have received His Majeſties poſitive Anſwer to the humble deſire of both Houſes in theſe two firſt Propoſitions, according as they are expreſt in your Inſtructions, before the twenty dayes limited for the Treaty ſhall be expired, you ſhall then with convenient ſpeed repair to the Parliament, without expecting any further direction.

Jo. Brown Cler. Parliamentorum.

[His Majesties Message of *Apr.* 12. at the end of the Treaty.]

CHARLES REX,

TO shew to the whole World how earnestly His Majesty longs for Peace, and that no Success shall make Him desire the continuance of His Army to any other end or for any longer time then that, and until things may be so settled, as that the Law may have a full, free and uninterrupted course for the defence and preservation of the Rights of His Majesty, both Houses and His good Subjects;

1. As soon as His Majesty is satisfied in His first Proposition, concerning His own Revenue, Magazines, Ships and Forts, in which He desires nothing but that the just, known, Legal Rights of His Majesty (devolved to Him from His Progenitors) and of the Persons trusted by Him, which have violently been taken from both, be restored unto Him and unto them, unless any just and legal exceptions against any of the Persons trusted by Him (which are yet unknown to His Majesty) can be made appear to Him:

2. As soon as all the Members of both Houses shall be restored to the same capacity of sitting and voting in Parliament as they had upon the first of *January* 1641. the same of right belonging unto them by their birth-rights, and the free election of those that sent them, and having been voted from them for adhering to His Majesty in these Distractions; His Majesty not intending that this should extend either to the Bishops, whose Votes have been taken away by Bill, or to such in whose places upon new Writs new Elections have been made:

3. As soon as His Majesty and both Houses may be secured from such tumultuous assemblies as, to the great breach of the Privileges and the high dishonour of Parliaments, have formerly assembled about both Houses, and awed the Members of the same, and occasioned two several complaints from the Lords House, and two several desires of that House to the House of Commons to joyn in a Declaration against them, the complying with which desire might have prevented all these miserable Distractions which have ensued; which security His Majesty conceives can be onely settled by adjourning the Parliament to some other place at the least twenty miles from *London*, the choice of which His Majesty leaves to both Houses:

His

His Majeſty will moſt chearfully and readily conſent that both Armies be immediately disbanded, and give a preſent meeting to both His Houſes of Parliament at the time and place at and to which the Parliament ſhall be agreed to be adjourned.

His Majeſty being moſt confident that the Law will then recover the due credit and eſtimation, and that upon a free debate in a full and peaceable convention of Parliament, ſuch proviſions will be made againſt ſeditious Preaching and Printing againſt His Majeſty and the eſtabliſhed Laws, which hath been one of the chief cauſes of the preſent Diſtractions; and ſuch care will be taken concerning the legal and known Rights of His Majeſty, and the Property and Liberty of His Subjects, that whatſoever hath been publiſht ot done in or by colour of any illegal Declaration, Ordinance or Order of one or both Houſes, or any Committee of either of them, and particularly the power to raiſe Arms without His Majeſties Conſent, will be in ſuch manner recalled, diſclaimed and provided againſt, that no ſeed will remain for the like to ſpring out of for the future, to diſturb the Peace of the Kingdom, and to endanger the very Being of it.

And in ſuch a Convention His Majeſty is reſolved by His readineſs to conſent to whatſoever ſhall be propoſed to Him by Bill for the real good of His Subjects, (and particularly for the better diſcovery and ſpeedier conviction of Recuſants, for the education of the Children of Papiſts by Proteſtants in the Proteſtant Religion, for the prevention of practices of Papiſts againſt the State, and the due execution of the Laws, and true levying of the Penalties againſt them) to make known to all the World how cauſleſs thoſe Fears and Jealouſies have been which have been raiſed againſt Him, and by that ſo diſtracted this miſerable Kingdom.

And if this Offer of His Majeſty be not conſented to (in which He asks nothing for which there is not apparent Juſtice on His ſide, and in which He defers many things highly concerning both Himſelf and People, till a full and peaceable convention of Parliament, which in Juſtice He might now require) His Majeſty is confident that it will then appear to all the World, not onely who is moſt deſirous of Peace, and whoſe default it is that both Armies are not now diſ-

banded, but who hath been the true and firſt cauſe that this Peace was ever interrupted, or theſe Armies raiſed; and the beginning or continuance of the War, and the deſtruction and deſolation of this poor Kingdom (which is too likely to enſue) will not by the moſt intereſſed, paſsionate, or prejudicate perſon be imputed to His Majeſty.

His MAJESTIES Queſtions before the Treaty, and the Committees Anſwers, *March* 25. 1643.

His MAJESTY *deſires to be anſwered theſe Queſtions in writing, by the Committee of both Houſes.*

1. WHether they may not ſhew unto Him thoſe Inſtructions (according to which they are to Treat and Debate with His Majeſty upon the two firſt Propoſitions) of which the laſt Meſſage from both Houſes takes notice, and refers unto.

2. Whether they have power to paſs from one Propoſition to the other in the Debate, before His Majeſty have expreſt His mind concerning the Propoſition firſt entred into.

3. Whether they have power to give an entire Anſwer to His Majeſties firſt Propoſition before His Majeſties Reply to any part thereof, or to paſs from any part of that Propoſition to another part of the ſame before His Majeſty hath given a Reply concerning that part.

4. Whether in caſe His Majeſties Anſwer or Reply to any part of either Propoſition do not ſatisfie them, they have power to ſend up that His Anſwer or Reply to both Houſes, and proceed upon the debate of another part of the ſame.

5. Whether they have power to conclude theſe two Propoſitions.

6. Whether they have power to preſs or conſent unto the execution of either of theſe two Propoſitions, or any part of them, till the whole Treaty be agreed upon.

Falkland.

The

The Committee of Lords and Commons appointed to attend His Majesty upon the Treaty, do humbly return these Answers to the Questions propounded by His Majesty.

March 25. 1643.

TO the First; They are enjoyned not to shew or discover their Instructions, or to give any Copy of them.

To the Second, concerning His Majesties first Proposition and the first Proposition of both Houses of Parliament; They humbly conceive they may pass from the one Proposition to the other, after that His Majesty hath given His Answer to the particular part of either Proposition that shall be in debate.

To the Third; They humbly conceive that they are to receive His Majesties Reply to that part of the Proposition to which they give their Answer, before they proceed to any other part of either Proposition.

To the Fourth; They humbly conceive, that when they have received His Majesties Answer or Reply to any part of either Proposition wherein they are not satisfied, they are to send that His Majesties Answer or Reply to both Houses, and in the mean time may proceed to another part of either Proposition.

To the Fifth; They humbly conceive they may conclude these two Propositions, if they be agreed unto according to their Instructions.

To the Sixth; They humbly conceive they may press and consent unto the execution of the two Propositions, according to their Instructions, before the whole Treaty be agreed upon.

Northumberland.

J. Holland. *W. Pierrepont.*
B. Whitelocke. *W. Armyne.*

The Papers concerning leave to repair to His Majesty.

March 27, 1643.

WHereas we humbly presented to Your Majesty several Answers to Your Majesties Demands in Your first Proposition, and in Reply to those Answers we have received several Papers from Your Majesty; our humble desires are that Your Majesty would be pleased to give us leave to repair unto You, for our further satisfaction upon any Doubts which shall arise amongst us in those Papers we have already received, or any other which we shall hereafter receive from Your Majesty, before such time as we shall transmit them to both Houses of Parliament.

Northumberland.

John Holland. *W. Pierrepont.*
B. Whitelocke. *W. Armyne.*

March 28, 1643.

HIS Majesty is well pleased that the Committee of both Houses repair unto Him for their further satisfaction upon any Doubts which shall arise amongst them in the Papers they have already received, or any other which they shall hereafter receive from His Majesty, and to which they shall not have acquiesced, before they transmit them to both Houses of Parliament.

Falkland.

The Papers concerning the Revenue.

March 26. 1643.

TO that part of Your Majeſties firſt Propoſition, concerning Your Majeſties own Revenue, we give this Anſwer;

The two Houſes of Parliament have not made uſe of Your Majeſties own Revenue, but in a very ſmal proportion, which for a good part hath been imployed in the maintenance of Your Majeſties Children, according to the allowance eſtabliſhed by Your Self. And the two Houſes of Parliament will ſatisfie what ſhall remain due to your Majeſty of thoſe ſums received out of Your Majeſties own Revenue; and will leave the ſame to Your Majeſty for the time to come.

We likewiſe humbly propoſe to Your Majeſty, that You will reſtore what hath been taken for Your Majeſties uſe, upon any of the Bills aſſigned to other purpoſes, by ſeveral Acts of Parliament, or out of the proviſion made for the Warre of *Ireland*.

Northumberland.

Will. Pierrepont. *Will. Armyne.*
John Holland. *B. Whitelocke.*

March 26. 1643.

HIS Majeſty knows not what proportion of His Revenue hath been made uſe of by His two Houſes Parliament, but He hath reaſon to believe that if much of it hath not been uſed, very much remains ſtill in their hands, His whole Revenue being ſo ſeized and ſtopped by the Orders of one or both Houſes, even to the taking away of His Money out of His Exchequer and Mint, and Bonds (forced from His Cofferers Clerks) for the Proviſion of His Majeſties Houſhold, that very little hath come to His Majeſties uſe for His own ſupport. He is well contented to allow whatſoever hath been employed in the maintenance of His Children, and to receive the Arrears due to himſelf, and to be ſure of His own for the future.

He is likewiſe willing to reſtore all Moneys taken for His Majeſties uſe by any Authority from Him, upon any Bills aſsigned to other purpoſes; His Majeſty being aſſured He hath received very little or nothing that way: and exſpects that ſatisfaction be made for all thoſe ſeveral vaſt ſummes received and diverted to other purpoſes by Orders of one or both Houſes, which ought to have been paid upon the Act of Pacification to His Subjects of *Scotland*, or employed for the diſcharge of the Debts of this Kingdom, and by other Acts of Parliament for the relief of His poor Proteſtant Subjects of *Ireland*.

Falkland.

March

March 27. 1643.

HIs Majeſty deſires to be reſolved by the Committee from both Houſes, whether their Propoſition to His Majeſty to reſtore what hath been taken for His Majeſties uſe upon any of the Bills, &c. be a new demand, or a condition upon which only that is granted which goes before.

Falkland.

March 27. 1643.

WHereas Your Majeſty deſired to be reſolved by us, whether the Propoſition to Your Majeſty to reſtore what hath been taken for Your Majeſties uſe upon any of the Bills, &c. be a new demand, or a condition upon which only that is granted which goes before;

We humbly conceive it to be no new demand; but whether it be ſuch a condition upon which only that which goes before is granted, we are not able to reſolve.

Northumberland.

W. Pierrepont. *Joh. Holland.*
W. Armyne. *B. Whitelocke.*

March 27. 1643.

WHereas we have received Your Majeſties Anſwer of the 26. of this inſtant to ours of the ſame date, concerning Your Majeſties own Revenue;

We humbly deſire to know of Your Majeſty, if You will not account Your own Revenue to be ſure for the future, if both Houſes of Parliament do leave it in the ſame way as it was before theſe Troubles did begin.

Northumberland.

W. Pierrepont. *J. Holland.*
W. Armyne. *B. Whitelocke.*

March 27. 1643.

HIs Majeſty did intend in His former Anſwer by thoſe words [of being ſure of His own for the future] that no reſtraints or interruptions ſhould be made by one or both Houſes in and upon His Majeſties Revenue, but that it ſhould be left in the ſame way it was before theſe Troubles did begin.

Falkland.

March 28. 1643.

WE ſhall tranſmit Your Majeſties Anſwer to that part of Your Propoſition concerning Your Revenue to both Houſes of Parliament without farther Reply.

Northumberland.

W. Pierrepont. *B. Whitelocke.*
J. Holland. *W. Armyne.*

The

The Papers concerning the Magazines.

March 26. 1643.

TO that part of Your Majeſties firſt Propoſition concerning Your Magazines, we humbly give this Anſwer;

That all the Arms and Ammunition taken out of Your Majeſties Magazines, which ſhall remain in the hands of both Houſes of Parliament, ſhall be delivered into Your Stores, and whatſoever ſhall be wanting, they will in convenient time ſupply in kinde, according to the proportions which they have received. We likewiſe humbly propoſe unto Your Majeſty, that the perſons to whoſe Charge thoſe publick Magazines ſhall be committed, being nominated by Your Majeſty, may be ſuch as the two Houſes of Parliament ſhall confide in: and that Your Majeſty will reſtore all ſuch Arms and Ammunition as have been taken for Your Majeſties uſe from the ſeveral Counties, Cities and Towns.

Northumberland.

W. Pierrepont. *Jo. Holland.*
W. Armyne. *B. Whitelocke.*

March 27. 1643.

HIS Majeſty is content that all the Arms and Ammunition taken out of His Magazines, which do now remain in the hands of both Houſes, or of Perſons employed by them, be forthwith delivered into ſuch of His Stores as His Majeſty ſhall appoint, and that whatſoever ſhall be wanting of the proportions taken out from thence by them be ſupplied by them with all convenient ſpeed in kinde; which ſhall be committed to and continued in the cuſtody of the ſworn Officers, to whoſe places the ſame belongs: And if any of the ſaid Officers ſhall have forfeited, or ſhall forfeit, that Truſt by any miſdemeanours, His Majeſty will by no means defend them from the Juſtice of the Law.

For the reſtoring all ſuch Armes and Ammunition as have been taken for His Majeſties uſe from the ſeveral Counties, Cities and Towns, His Majeſty being compelled to take them, His own being taken from Him, did it alwaies with this Caution and Promiſe to the places from whence He took them, that He would, by the bleſsing of God, reſtore them again, and make recompence out of His own Stores, as ſoon as it ſhould be in His power; which promiſe He will make good to them, exſpecting that ſuch Arms and Ammunition as have been taken from the ſeveral Counties, Cities and Towns, for the uſe of the Armies under the command of the Earl of *Eſſex*, be likewiſe reſtored to them. *Falkland.*

March

March 28. 1643.

WHereas we have received Your Majesties Answer of the 27. of this moneth to ours of the 26. of this instant, concerning Your Majesties Magazines;

We humbly desire to know of Your Majesty what time you intend by the expression in the words [*be forthwith delivered.*]

We likewise humbly desire to know in what places Your Majesty would have Your Stores, and who are the sworn Officers Your Majestie intends, that, according to our Instructions, we may transmit their names to both Houses of Parliament.

Northumberland.

W. Pierrepont. *F. Holland.*
W. Armyne. *B. Whitelocke.*

March 28. 1643.

HIS Majestie intended by that Expression [*be forthwith delivered*] as soon as the Treaty shall be concluded and agreed on.

Falkland.

March 29. 1643.

THE place of Store into which His Majestie is content that the Armes and Ammunition taken out of His Magazines be delivered, is His Tower of *London*; and the Officers He intends, are such as by Patent ought to receive and keep the same.

Falkland.

March 29. 1643.

Concerning the Magazines.

WE humbly desire, according to our Instructions, that the persons to whose charge the publick Magazines should be committed being nominated by Your Majestie, should be such as the Lords and Commons should confide in.

We not knowing whether the two Houses will confide in the persons Your Majesty mentions, must transmit their names to both Houses of Parliament, to receive their farther Instructions.

Northumberland.

W. Pierrepont. *F. Holland.*
W. Armyne. *B. Whitelocke.*

April 5. 1643.

HIS Majesty conceives His Answer concerning the persons to whose custody His Magazines shall be committed to be very clear and sufficient, and shall forbear any more particular Nomination

tion of them, the two Houſes well knowing whether they have any juſt Exceptions to make againſt any of them; which if they have, His Majeſty will leave them to the due courſe of Juſtice.

Falkland.

April 10. 1643.

BY Inſtructions yeſterday received from both Houſes of Parliament, we are commanded humbly to deſire Your Majeſty to make a further Anſwer to that Clauſe of the firſt Propoſition which concerns the Magazines; and we are humbly to acquaint Your Majeſty, that the two Houſes of Parliament do not think fit to enlarge the time of the Treaty beyond the twenty daies formerly limited, to be reckoned from the five and twentieth of *March* laſt, which can admit no alteration or inlargement without manifold prejudice and danger to the whole Kingdome.

Northumberland.

Will. Pierrepont. *Will. Armyne.*
Joh. Holland. *B. Whitelocke*

April 14. 1643.

HIS Majeſty having made ſeveral Anſwers to that Clauſe of the firſt Propoſition which concerns the Magazines, knows not what Anſwer to make further, except He were informed what part of the Propoſitions made to Him was not clearly anſwered, or had reaſons given Him to change and alter the Anſwer already made; neither of which is yet done. And He is very ſorry that both Houſes of Parliament have not thought fit to enlarge the power of the Committee, (whereby leſſe time would have ſerved for the Treaty) and are ſo abſolutely reſolved not to enlarge the time of the Treatie beyond the twenty daies, which (by Meſſages and attending the Inſtructions of the Houſe) are ſo near ſpent, notwithſtanding all poſſible readineſſe in His Majeſty, and which in truth might have ended all the Propoſitions, if ſufficient authority had been given to the perſons imployed to debate and conclude. Neither can His Majeſty underſtand why an Alteration or Inlargement in the point of time cannot be admitted without manifold prejudice and danger to the whole Kingdom: He prayes to God, that an averſeneſſe to ſuch an Alteration and Inlargement may not prove an unſpeakable prejudice and danger to the whole Kingdome.

Falkland.

The

The Papers concerning the Towns, Forts, Cinque-Ports, &c.

March 27. 1643.

TO that part of Your Majesties first Proposition which concerns Your Majesties Towns and Forts, we humbly give this Answer;

That the two Houses of Parliament will remove the Garrisons out of all Towns and Forts in their hands, wherein there were no Garrisons before these Troubles, and slight all Fortifications made since that time, and those Towns and Forts to continue in the same condition they were in before; and that those Garrisons shall not be renewed, nor the Fortifications repaired, without Consent of Your Majesty and both Houses of Parliament.

That for those Towns and Forts which are within the Jurisdiction of the Cinque-ports, they shall be delivered up into the hands of such a Noble Person as Your Majesty shall appoint to be Warden of the Cinque-ports, being such a one as they shall confide in.

That the Town of *Portsmouth* shall be reduced to the number of the Garrison as was at the time when the Lords and Commons undertook the custody thereof; and such other Forts, Castles and Towns as were formerly kept by Garrisons, as have been taken by both Houses of Parliament into their care and custody since the beginning of these Troubles, shall be reduced to such proportion of Garrison as they had in the year 1636. and shall be so continued: and that all the said Towns, Forts and Castles shall be delivered up into the hands of such persons of quality and trust, to be likewise nominated by Your Majesty, as the two Houses of Parliament shall confide in.

That the Warden of the Cinque-ports, and all Governours and Commanders of Towns, Castles and Forts, shall keep the same Towns, Castles and Forts respectively for the Service of Your Majesty and the Safety of the Kingdome; and that they shall not admit into any of them any forein Forces, or any other Forces raised without Your Majesties Authority and Consent of the two Houses of Parliament; and they shall use their utmost endeavours to suppresse all Forces whatsoever raised without such Authority and Consent; and they shall seize all Armes and Ammunition provided for any such Forces.

They likewise humbly propose to Your Majesty, that you would remove the Garrisons out of *Newcastle*, and all other Towns, Castles and Forts, where any Garrisons have been placed by Your Majesty since these Troubles; and that the Fortifications be likewise slighted, and the Towns and Forts left in such state and condition as they were in in the year 1636.

That all other Towns, Forts and Castles, where there have been formerly Garrisons before these Troubles, may be committed to the charge of such persons, to be nominated by Your Majesty, as both Houses of Parliament shall confide in, and under such Instructions as are formerly mentioned.

And that those new Garrisons shall not be renewed, nor their Fortifications repaired, without Consent of Your Majesty and both Houses of Parliament.

Northumberland.

Will. Pierrepont. *Will. Armyne.*
Joh. Holland. *B. Whitelocke.*

March 28. 1643.

HIS Majesty is content that all the Garrisons in any Towns and Forts in the hands of any persons imployed by the two Houses of Parliament, wherein there were no Garrisons before these

Troubles, be removed, and all Fortifications made ſince that time may be ſlighted; and thoſe Towns and Forts ſhall for the future continue in the ſame condition they were in before.

For the Cinque-ports, they are already in the cuſtody of a Noble perſon againſt whom His Majeſty knows no juſt Exceptions, and who hath ſuch a Legal Intereſt therein, that His Majeſty cannot with Juſtice remove Him from it untill ſome ſufficient Cauſe be made appear to Him; but is willing, if He ſhall at any time be found guilty of any thing that may make him unworthy of that Truſt, that he may be proceeded againſt according to the rules of Juſtice.

The Town of *Portſmouth*, and all other Forts, Caſtles and Towns as were formerly kept by Garriſons, ſhall be reduced to their ancient proportion, and the government of them put into the hands of ſuch perſons againſt whom no juſt Exceptions can be made, all of them being before theſe Troubles by Letters Patents granted to ſeveral perſons, againſt any of whom His Majeſty knows not any Exceptions, and who ſhall be removed if juſt cauſe ſhall be given for the ſame.

The Warden of the Cinque-ports, and all Governors and Commanders of Towns, Caſtles and Forts, ſhall keep the ſame Towns, Caſtles and Forts, as by the Law they ought to doe, for His Majeſties Service, and the Safety of the Kingdome; and they ſhall not admit into any of them Forein Forces, or other Forces raiſed or brought in contrary to the Law, but ſhall uſe their utmoſt endeavour to ſuppreſſe all ſuch Forces, and ſhall ſeize all Armes and Ammunition which by the Laws and Statutes of the Kingdome they ought to ſeize.

The Garriſons of *Newcaſtle*, and all other Towns, Caſtles and Forts, in which Garriſons have been placed by His Majeſty ſince theſe Troubles, ſhall be removed, and be all the Fortifications ſhall ſlighted, and the Towns and Forts left in ſuch ſtate and condition as they were in the year 1636.

All other Towns, Forts and Caſtles, where there have been formerly Garriſons before theſe Troubles, ſhall be committed to the charge of ſuch perſons and under ſuch cautions and limitations as His Majeſty hath before expreſt.

And no new Garriſons ſhall be renewed, nor their Fortifications repaired, otherwiſe then as by the Lawes and Statutes of the Kingdome they may or ought to be. *Falkland.*

March

March 29. 1643.

CConcerning the appointing of the Warden of the Cinque-ports, and Governours of Your Majesties Towns, Castles and Forts, we humbly desire to know if Your Majesties Reply doth intend, that both Houses of Parliament may express their Confidence of the persons to whose trust those places are to be committed, for that we are directed by our Instructions, that if Your Majesty be pleased to assent thereunto, that You would nominate persons of Quality to receive the charge of them, that we may forthwith certifie both Houses of Parliament, that thereupon they may express their Confidence in those persons, or humbly beseech Your Majesty to name others; none of which persons to be removed during three years next ensuing, without just cause to be approved by both Houses of Parliament; and if any be so removed, or shall dy within the said space, the persons to be put in the same Offices shall be such as both Houses shall confide in.

We humbly desire to know if Your Majesty intends the Garrison of *Portsmouth*, to be of such a proportion as it was about the year 1641. about which time a new supply was added to the former Garrison to strengthen it, which both Houses of Parliament think necessary to continue.

We humbly desire Your Majesty would be pleased to give a more full Answer to this Clause, that they should not admit into them any forein or other Forces, *Raised without Your Majesties Authority and Consent of the two Houses of Parliament*, and that they shall use their utmost endeavours to suppress all Forces whatsoever, *Raised without such Authority and Consent*, and that those Garrisons should not be renewed, or their Fortifications repaired, without Consent of Your Majesty and both Houses of Parliament.

Northumberland.

F. Holland. *B. Whitelocke.*
W. Armyne. *Will. Pierrepont.*

April 5. 1643.

HIs Majesty doth not intend that both Houses of Parliament shall express their Confidence of the persons to whose trust the Cinque-ports or other His Majesties Towns, Castles and Forts now are or shall be committed; but only that they shall have liberty upon any just Exceptions to proceed against any such persons according to Law; His Majesty being resolved not to protect them against the publick Justice. And well knowing that when any of those places shall be void, the Nomination and free Election is a Right belonging to and inherent in His Majesty, and having been enjoyed by all His Royal Progenitors, His Majesty will not believe that His wel-affected Subjects will desire to limit Him in that Right.

His Majesty intends the Garrison of *Portsmouth* to be of such a proportion as it was in the year 1641. except He finds good cause to enlarge or diminish that proportion.

His Majesty cannot give a more full Answer to that Clause concerning the admission of Forces into any of His Forts, Castles & Towns, then He hath already given, His Majesty having therein made the

Laws and Statutes of the Kingdom the Rule of what is or what is not to be done, which will be alwayes the moſt impartial Judge between Him and His People.

Falkland.

April 10. 1643.

BY Inſtructions yeſterday received from both Houſes of Parliament, we are commanded humbly to deſire another Anſwer from Your Majeſty concerning the Cinque-ports, Towns, Forts and Caſtles; Your Majeſties former Anſwers concerning them being in the moſt material points expreſs Denials, as both Houſes of Parliament underſtand them.

Northumberland.

J. Holland. *W. Pierrepont.*
W. Armyne. *B. Whitelocke.*

April 14. 1643.

HIS Majeſty will not at this time remember the many Acts of Grace and Favour He hath paſſed this Parliament for the good of His People; but He muſt ſay, He hath not denied any one thing propoſed to Him by both Houſes, which in Juſtice could be required of Him, or in Reaſon exſpected; and He hath been and is ſtill ſo unwilling to give a denial to both His Houſes, that as they ſhall be ſure to receive none to any Propoſition they ſhall make of right, ſo in matters of Grace and Favour He ſhall be willing to receive any information and reaſon which at any time may invite him to conſent: and therefore will gladly receive any Reaſon from the Committee or both Houſes, which may induce His Majeſty to give another Anſwer then what He hath already given in the point of the Cinque-ports, Forts & Caſtles; but till ſuch be given, He cannot conſent to diſpoſſeſs any of His Servants of what they are legally poſſeſt of, without a juſt Cauſe expreſt, or to quit His own Right of ſole diſpoſing of their Commands, no other cauſe yet appearing to Him, then that the places they command have been taken from Him.

Falkland.

April 14. 1643.

YOur Majeſty, in one of Your Papers this day delivered unto us, mentions that You would gladly receive any Reaſon from both Houſes or their Committee, which may induce Your Majeſty to give another Anſwer then what You have already given in the point of the Cinque-ports, Forts, Caſtles and Magazines.

We did, according to our Inſtructions, humbly deſire Your Majeſty that the Cinque-ports, Forts and Caſtles might be put into the hands of ſuch Noble perſons and perſons of quality and truſt, to be nominated by Your Majeſty, as the two Houſes of Parliament ſhould confide in, and to be kept for Your Majeſties Service, and the Safety of the Kingdom; that no Forein Forces, or other Forces raiſed without Your Majeſties Authority and Conſent of the two Houſes of Parliament, ſhould be admitted into any

any of them, and the Commanders to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to ſuppreſs all Forces raiſed without ſuch Authority and Conſent, and to ſeize all Armes and Ammunition provided for any ſuch Forces:

Unto which we humbly deſire Your Majeſties Gracious Aſſent, and to our other deſires concerning Your Majeſties firſt Propoſition and the firſt Propoſition of both Houſes of Parliament, for that we humbly conceive Your Conſent thereunto will be the beſt means for ſuch a Peace to be made as will be ſafe, firm and laſting; the which is not to be hoped for, except there be a cure for Fears and Jealouſies, for which an apparent Remedy is, to disband all Forces, and the ſame to be ſo mutually done, as neither part to have any Force remaining of which the other may be jealous or in fear. But if for other cauſes not concerned in theſe unhappy Differences, Forces are to be retained, as in the Cinque-ports, and in ſome Forts, Towns and Caſtles, for the Defence of the whole Kingdom againſt forein Enemies, that then the ſame may remain in the hands of ſuch perſons, with ſuch powers, as both parts might believe themſelves ſecure: for if the ſame places were conſidered in relation only to theſe unnatural Diſtempers, and to the ſettling thereof, the Forces in them were likewiſe to be diſbanded.

Northumberland.

F. Holland. *W. Armyne.*
W. Pierrepont. *B. Whitelocke.*

April 15. 1643.

AS His Majeſty was and is very deſirous to receive any Reaſon from both Houſes or their Committee, which might induce His Majeſty to give other Anſwers, if what He hath or ſhall give do not ſatisfie; ſo He rather exſpected thoſe Reaſons ſhould have had their foundation in the Law of the Land, and have ſhewed Him that by Law He had not the Right He pretended, or that by that, or by ſome fundamental Law, they had a Right ſuperiour to His in what was now in queſtion, or have ſhewed Him ſome Legal Reaſon why the Perſons truſted by Him were incapable of that truſt, then only have inſiſted upon Fears and Jealouſies, of which as He knows not the Ground, ſo He is ignorant of the Cure. But this His Majeſty knows, that if readineſs to acknowledge, retract and provide againſt for the future, any thing of errour that hath hapned againſt Law, and having actually paſſed more important Bills, and parted with more of His known Rights for the ſatisfaction of His Subjects, then not only any one, but all His Predeceſſors, would have been thought a ſufficient Remedy for Fears and Jealouſies, the Kingdom might ſtill have injoyed a ſafe, firm and laſting Peace, and thoſe would not firſt have been made a reaſon to ſeize upon His Rights, and then after have been made an Argument to perſwade Him to part with them. And His Majeſty wonders the Committee ſhould not ſee th[illegible] this Argument might extend to

the depriving Him of, or at leaſt ſharing with Him in, all His juſt Regal Power (ſince Power as well as Forces may be the object of Fears and Jealouſies, and there will be alwaies a power left to hurt, whileſt there is any left to protect and defend;) and that if thoſe Rights which He received from His Predeceſſors were really ſo formidable, that would have been more feared before which is now feared ſo much, and His Forts and Caſtles would either not have been attempted, or at leaſt have enabled Him to defend and keep them, and have kept this from being a Queſtion now between them. Which ſince they could not doe, His Majeſty (if He had as much inclination, as He hath more right, to Fears and Jealouſies) might have more reaſon to inſiſt upon ſome addition of Power, as a ſecurity to enable Him to keep His Forts when He hath them, then they to make any difficulty to reſtore them to Him in the ſame condition they were before. But as His Majeſty contents Himſelf with, ſo, He takes God to witneſs, His greateſt deſire is alwaies to obſerve and maintain, the Law of the Land, and exſpects the ſame from His Subjects, and believes the mutual obſervance of that Rule, and neither of them to fear what the Law fears not, to be on both parts a better Cure for that dangerous Diſeaſe of Fears and Jealouſies, and a better means to eſtabliſh a happy and perpetual Peace, then for His Majeſty to deveſt Himſelf of thoſe Truſts which the Law of the Land hath ſettled in the Crown alone, to preſerve the Power and Dignity of the Prince, for the better Protection of the Subject and of the Law, and to avoid thoſe dangerous Diſtractions which the intereſt of any Sharers with Him would have infallibly produced.

Falkland.

The Papers concerning the Ships.

March 27. 1643.

TO that part of Your Majeſties firſt Propoſition which concerns Your Ships, we humbly give this Anſwer;

That the Ships ſhall be delivered into the charge of ſuch a Noble perſon as Your Majeſty ſhall nominate to be Lord High-Admiral of *England*, and the two Houſes of Parliament confide in, who ſhall receive the ſame Office by Letters Patents, *quamdiu ſe bene geſſerit*, and ſhall have power to nominate and appoint all ſubordinate Commanders and Officers, and have all other powers appertaining to the Office of High-Admiral; which Ships he ſhall employ for the defence of the Kingdom againſt all forein Forces whatſoever, and for the ſafeguard of Merchants, ſecuring of Trade, and

and the guarding of *Ireland*, and the intercepting of all Supplies to be carried to the Rebels; and ſhall uſe his utmoſt endeavour to ſuppreſs all Forces which ſhall be raiſed by any perſon without Your Majeſties Authority and Conſent of the Lords and Commons in Parliament, and ſhall ſeize all Arms and Ammunition provided for ſupply of any ſuch Forces.

Northumberland.

W. Pierrepont. *F. Holland.*
W. Armyne. *B. Whitelocke.*

March 28. 1643.

HIS Majeſty expects that His own Ships be forthwith delivered to Him, as by the Law they ought to be. And when He ſhall pleaſe to nominate a Lord High-Admiral of *England*, it ſhall be ſuch a Noble perſon againſt whom no juſt Exception can be made; and if any ſhall be, His Majeſty will alwayes leave him to his due trial and examination, and grant his Office to him by ſuch Letters Patents as have been uſed: In the mean time His Majeſty will govern the ſaid Admiralty by Commiſsion, as in all times hath been accuſtomed. And whatever Ships ſhall be ſet forth by His Majeſty or His Authority, ſhall be imployed for the defence of the Kingdom againſt all Forein Forces whatſoever, for the ſafeguard of Merchants, ſecuring of Trade, guarding of *Ireland*, and the intercepting of all Supplies to be carried to the Rebels; and ſhall uſe their utmoſt endeavours to ſuppreſs all Forces which ſhall be raiſed by any Perſon whatſoever againſt the Laws and Statutes of the Kingdom, and to ſeize all Arms and Ammunition provided for the ſupply of any ſuch Forces.

Falkland.

March 29. 1643.

WE humbly deſire Your Majeſty would be pleaſed to give a more full Anſwer to the Clauſe for the Ships to be delivered into the charge of ſuch a Noble perſon as Your Majeſty ſhall nominate to be Lord High-Admiral of *England*, and the two Houſes of Parliament confide in, who ſhall receive the ſame Office by Letters Patents, *quamdiu ſe bene geſſerit.*

And to that Clauſe, to ſuppreſs all Forces which ſhall be raiſed by any perſon without Your Majeſties Authority and Conſent of the Lords and Commons in Parliament.

Whereunto if Your Majeſty ſhall be pleaſed to give Your Aſſent, we conceive we are then directed by our Inſtructions, humbly to deſire Your Majeſty to nominate ſuch a Noble perſon to be Lord High-Admiral of *England*, that we may forthwith certifie both Houſes of Parliament, that thereupon they may expreſs their confidence in that Perſon, or humbly beſeech Your Majeſty to name another; and that in caſe ſuch Noble perſon, who ſhall be appointed to be Lord High-Admiral of *England*,

ſhall be removed, or ſhall die within the ſpace of three years next enſuing, that the Perſon to be put in the ſame Office ſhall be ſuch as both Houſes ſhall confide in.

Northumberland.

W. Pierrepont. *F. Holland.*
W. Armyne. *B. Whitelocke.*

April 5. 1643.

HIS Majeſty conceives His former Anſwer of the 28. of *March*, concerning His Ships, to be ſo full, that He can adde nothing thereunto in any part of it.

His Majeſty conceiving it all the Juſtice in the world for Him to inſiſt, that what is by Law His own, and hath been contrary to Law taken from Him, be fully reſtored unto Him, without conditioning to impoſe any new limitation upon His Majeſty or His Miniſters, which were not formerly required from them by Law; and thinking it moſt unreaſonable to be preſt to diminiſh His own juſt Rights Himſelf, becauſe others have violated and uſurped them.

Falkland.

April 10. 1643.

BY Inſtructions yeſterday received from both Houſes of Parliament, we are commanded humbly to inſiſt upon the deſires of both Houſes expreſſed in our former Papers concerning the Ships: And both Houſes of Parliament do obſerve in Your Majeſties Anſwer, not onely a Denial to all their Deſires, but likewiſe a Cenſure upon their Proceedings.

Northumberland.

W. Pierrepont. *F. Holland.*
W. Armyne. *B. Whitelocke.*

April 14. 1643.

HIS Majeſty for the preſent forbears any farther Anſwer touching His Ships, deſiring firſt to receive the Anſwer of both Houſes to His Meſſage of the twelfth of this moneth: But His Majeſty will howſoever, before their departure hence, give them a further Anſwer.

Inſerted before pag. 268.

Falkland.

April

April 15. 1643.

HIS Majeſty gave ſo clear a Reaſon to juſtifie what He inſiſted upon in the point of the Ships, that He cannot but wonder to ſee the ſame again preſt to Him; and yet both the Reaſon He gave left unanſwered, and no other Reaſon oppoſed to weigh againſt it. His Majeſties end in this was not to lay any Cenſure upon their Proceedings; but it being neceſſary to the matter in queſtion for His Majeſty to ſay what had been done, and the matter of fact being ſuch as it ſeems could not be repeated but it muſt appear to be cenſured, His Majeſty did not think Himſelf bound to be ſo tender of ſeeming to cenſure their Proceedings, as by waving His own true reaſonable Juſtifications, to leave His own naked and expoſed to a general Cenſure. And His Majeſty hopes, that ſince they eſteem His ſaying, that they have taken His Ships from Him contrary to Law, to be a Cenſure, they will either produce that Law by which they took them, or free themſelves from ſo juſt and unconfutable a Cenſure by a ſpeedy and unlimited Reſtauration. Upon which Demand His Majeſties care of His ancient and undoubted Rights doth oblige Him to inſiſt. And when His Majeſty ſhall think fit to make an Admiral, as near as He can, He ſhall be ſuch an one againſt whom no juſt Exception can be made; and if any ſhall be offered, He will readily leave him to the trial of the Law.

Falkland.

The Papers concerning an Oath for Officers.

March 29. 1643.

WE are humbly to deſire Your Majeſty, that all Generals and Commanders in any of the Armies on either ſide, as likewiſe the Lord Admiral of *England*, the Lord Warden of the Cinque-Ports, all Commanders of any Ships, and Commanders of any Town, Caſtle or Fort, may take an Oath to obſerve the Articles formerly mentioned, and to uſe their utmoſt power to preſerve the true Reformed Proteſtant Religion, and the Peace of the Kingdom, againſt all Forein Forces, and all other Forces raiſed without Your Majeſties Authority and Conſent of the two Houſes of Parliament.

Northumberland.

W. Pierrepont. *J. Holland.*
W. Armyne. *B. Whitelocke.*

April

April 5. 1643.

HIS Majeſty conceives the Oaths which all thoſe Officers are already by Law obliged to take, to be very fully ſufficient: But if any thing ſhall be made appear unto Him neceſſary to be added thereunto, when there ſhall be a full and peaceable Convocation in Parliament, His Majeſty will readily conſent to an Act for ſuch an addition.

Falkland.

April 10. 1643.

BY Inſtructions yeſterday received from both Houſes of Parliament, we are commanded humbly to inform Your Majeſty, that both Houſes of Parliament conceive the ordinary Oaths of the Officers, mentioned in Your Anſwer concerning the ſame, are not ſufficient to ſecure them againſt the extraordinary cauſes of Jealouſie which have been given them in theſe troubleſome times; and that Your Majeſties Anſwer layes ſome tax upon the Parliament, as if defective, and thereby uncapable of making ſuch a proviſional Law for an Oath: Therefore we are humbly to inſiſt upon our former deſires for ſuch an Oath as is mentioned in thoſe Papers which we have formerly preſented to Your Majeſty concerning this matter.

Northumberland.

John Holland. *W. Pierrepont.*
W. Armyne. *B. Whitelocke.*

April 14. 1643.

HIS Majeſty did not refuſe by His former Anſwer to conſent to any ſuch Oath as ſhall be thought neceſſary, though ~~He~~ did, and doth ſtill, conceive the Oaths already ſettled by Law to be ſufficient; neither did He ever ſuppoſe the Parliament incapable of making a proviſional Law for ſuch an Oath: but as He would be willing to apply any proper remedy to the extraordinary cauſes of Jealouſies, if He could ſee that there were ſuch cauſes; ſo He will be alwayes moſt exact in obſerving the Articles agreed on in preſerving the true Reformed Proteſtant Religion, and the Peace of the Kingdom againſt forein Forces, and other Forces raiſed or imployed againſt Law. And when both Houſes ſhall prepare and preſent ſuch an Oath as they ſhall make appear to His Majeſty to be neceſſary to thoſe ends, His Majeſty will readily conſent to it.

Falkland.

The

The Papers concerning the disbanding of the Armies.

March 28. 1643.

His Majesties Answer to the first Proposition of both His Houses of Parliament.

HIS Majesty is as ready and willing that all Armies be disbanded, as any person whatsoever, and conceives the best way to it to be a happy and speedy conclusion of the present Treaty, which (if both Houses will contribute as much to it as His Majesty shall doe) will be suddenly effected. And that this Treaty may the sooner produce that effect, His Majesty desires that the time given to the Committee of both Houses to treat, may be enlarged.

And as His Majesty desires nothing more then to be with His two Houses, so He will repair thither as soon as He can possibly doe it with His Honour and Safety.

Falkland.

March 29. 1643.

WE are directed by our Instructions humbly to desire Your Majesties speedy and positive Answer concerning the Disbanding of the Armies: to which if Your Majesty be pleased to assent, we are then to beseech Your Majesty in the name of both Houses, that a near day may be agreed upon for the disbanding of all the Forces in the remote parts of *Yorkshire* and the other Northern Counties, as also in *Lancashire*, *Cheshire*, and in the Dominion of *Wales*, and in *Cornwall* and *Devonshire*; and they being fully disbanded, another day may be agreed on for the disbanding of all Forces in *Lincolnshire*, *Nottinghamshire*, *Leicestershire* and all other places, except at *Oxford* and the Quarters thereunto belonging, and *Windsor* and the Quarters thereunto belonging; and that last of all, a speedy day may be appointed for the disbanding of those two Armies at *Oxford* and *Windsor*, and all the Forces members of either of them.

That some Officers of both Armies may speedily meet to agree of the manner of the disbanding, and that fit persons may be appointed by Your Majesty and both Houses of Parliament, who may repair to the several Armies, and see the disbanding put in speedy execution accordingly.

Northumberland.

W. Pierrepont. *W. Armyne.*
J. Holland. *B. Whitelocke.*

March

March 29. 1642.

CONcerning Your Majesties Answer to the Proposition of both Houses for Disbanding of the Armies,

We humbly desire to know, if by the words, [*By a happy and speedy Conclusion of the present Treaty*,] Your Majesty do intend a Conclusion of the Treaty on Your Majesties first Proposition, and their Proposition for Disbanding the Armies, or a Conclusion of the Treaty in all the Propositions of both parts.

We have given speedy notice to both Houses of Parliament of Your Majesties desires, that the time given to the Committee of both Houses to treat may be enlarged.

To the last Clause we have no Instructions.

Northumberland.

Will. Pierrepont. *Joh. Holland.*
Will. Armyne. *B. Whitelocke.*

April 5. 1643.

HIS Majestie intended by the words, [*By a happy and speedy Conclusion of the Treaty*] such a Conclusion of or in the Treaty, as there might be a clear evidence to Himself and His good Subjects of a future Peace, and no ground left for the continuance or growth of these bloody Dissentions; which He doubts not may be obtained, if both Houses shall consent that the Treaty may proceed without further interruption or limitation of daies.

Falkland.

April 5. 1643.

WHen the time for disbanding the Armies shall be agreed upon, His Majesty well approves that some Officers of both Armies may speedily meet to agree of the manner of Disbanding, and that fit persons may be appointed by His Majesty and both Houses of Parliament, who may repair to the several Armies, and see the disbanding speedily put in execution accordingly.

Falkland.

April 6. 1643.

WE humbly desire to know, if by the words [*By a happy and speedy conclusion of the present Treaty*] Your Majesty intends a Conclusion of the present Treaty on Your Majesties first Proposition, and the Proposition of both Houses for Disbanding of the Armies, or a Conclusion of the Treaty on all the Propositions of both parts.

And

And what Your Majesty intends to be a clear evidence to Your Self and Your good Subjects of a future Peace, and no ground left for the continuance or growth of these bloody Dissentions.

Northumberland.

W. Pierrepont. *J. Holland.*
W. Armyne. *B. Whitelocke.*

April 6. 1643.

HIS Majesty desires to know from the Committee of both Houses whether they acquiesce with His Majesties Replies to their Answers concerning His first Proposition, which yesterday they received from Him, and to which they have yet made no return.

His Majesty likewise desires to know, whether they have yet received power and Instructions to treat with His Majesty concerning His Return to His two Houses of Parliament, which is a part of the first Proposition of both Houses.

Falkland.

April 6. 1643.

WE shall transmit Your Majesties Replies to our Answers concerning Your first Proposition to both Houses of Parliament, without farther Reply.

We likewise humbly answer, that we have not received any power or Instructions to treat with Your Majesty concerning Your Return to Your two Houses of Parliament, but we assure our selves they will give Your Majesty satisfaction therein.

Northumberland.

Joh. Holland. *Will. Armyne.*
Will. Pierrepont. *B. Whitelocke.*

April 7. 1643.

HIS Majesty conceives His Answers already given (for He hath given two) to be very clear and significant. And if the Conclusion of the present Treaty on His Majesties first Proposition and the Proposition of both Houses shall be so full and perfectly made, that the Law of the Land may have a full, free and uninterrupted Course, for the defence and preservation of the Rights of His Majesty, both Houses, and His good Subjects, there will be thence a clear evidence to His Majesty and His good Subjects of a future Peace, and no ground left for the continuance and growth of these bloody Dissentions, and it will be such a Conclusion as His Majesty intended.

His Majesty never intending that both Armies should remain

undisbanded untill all the Propoſitions of both ſides were fully concluded. But His Majeſty is very ſorry that in that point of the firſt Propoſition of both Houſes, which hath ſeemed to be ſo much wiſhed, and which may be ſo concluded as alone much to conduce to the evidence deſired, (*viz.* His Return to both Houſes, to which His Majeſty in His Anſwer hath expreſſed Himſelf to be moſt ready whenſoever He may doe it with Honour and Safety) they have yet no manner of power nor Inſtructions ſo much as to treat with His Majeſty.

Falkland.

April 7. 1643.

VVE have not tranſmitted Your Majeſties Anſwer to the Propoſition of Diſbanding, wherein Your Majeſty mentions Your Self to be moſt ready to return to both Houſes of Parliament, whenſoever you may doe it with Honour and Safety, for that we humbly conceive, we were to expect Your Majeſties Anſwer to that Propoſition this day received, before we could give a due accompt thereof to both Houſes of Parliament, the which we will preſently ſend away without farther Reply.

Northumberland.

J. Holland. *W. Armyne.*
W. Pierrepont. *B. Whitelock.*

April 8. 1643.

BY Inſtructions this day received from both Houſes of Parliament, we humbly conceive that we are to acquaint Your Majeſty, That they have taken into conſideration Your Majeſties Anſwer to their Reaſons concerning the Ceſſation, wherein there are divers expreſſions which will occaſion particular Replies, which at this time they deſire to decline, their wiſhes and endeavours being earneſtly bent upon the obtaining a ſpeedy Peace; for which cauſe they do not think good to conſume any more of the time allowed for the Treaty in any farther debates upon the Ceſſation, concerning which they find Your Majeſties expreſſions ſo doubtful, that it cannot be ſuddenly or eaſily reſolved, and the remainder of the time for the whole Treaty being but ſeven dayes, if the Ceſſation were * not preſently agreed, it would not yield any conſiderable advantage to the Kingdome.

* were preſently.

Wherefore we are required to deſire Your Majeſty to give a ſpeedy and poſitive Anſwer to the firſt Propoſition concerning the Disbanding, that ſo Your Subjects may not only have a ſhadow of Peace in a ſhort time of Ceſſation, but the ſubſtance of it in ſuch manner as may be a perpetual bleſſing to them, by freeing the Kingdom from theſe miſerable effects of Warre, the effuſion of *Engliſh* bloud, and deſolation of many parts of the Land.

Northumberland.

Joh. Holland. *Will. Armyne.*
Will. Pierrepont. *B. Whitelocke.*

[*His Majeſties Meſſage replying to this Paper is inſerted before,* p. 264.]

April 10. 1643.

BY Inſtructions yeſterday received from both Houſes of Parliament, we are commanded humbly to inſiſt upon that part of the firſt Propoſition of both Houſes of Parliament concerning the Disbanding, according to the Papers we have formerly preſented to your Majeſty thereupon: and we are humbly to acquaint Your Majeſty, That

That both Houſes of Parliament do conceive Your Majeſties Anſwer concerning the Disbanding to be in effect a Denial, unleſs they deſert all thoſe Cautions and Limitations which they have deſired in their Anſwer to Your Majeſties firſt Propoſition.

Northumberland.

Will. Pierrepont. *Will. Armyne.*
Joh. Holland. *B. Whitelocke.*

April 10. 1643.

BY Inſtructions from both Houſes of Parliament yeſterday received, we are commanded to declare unto Your Majeſty the deſire of both Houſes for Your Majeſties coming to Your Parliament, which they have often expreſſed with full offers of Security to Your Royal Perſon, agreeable to their Duty and Allegiance; and they know no cauſe why Your Majeſty may not return thither with Honour and Safety: but they did not inſert it into our Inſtructions, becauſe they conceived the disbanding of the Armies would have facilitated Your Majeſties Reſolution therein; which they likewiſe conceived was agreeable to Your Majeſties ſenſe, who in declaring Your conſent to the order of the Treaty, did onely mention that part of the firſt Propoſition which concerned the Disbanding, and did omit that which concerned Your Majeſties coming to both Houſes of Parliament.

Northumberland.

Will. Pierrepont. *Will. Armyne.*
Joh. Holland. *B. Whitelocke.*

April 14. 1643.

HIS Majeſty had great reaſon to expect, that as He anſwered to every part of the firſt Propoſition of both Houſes, ſo the Committee ſhould likewiſe have had power and Inſtructions to Treat with His Majeſty concerning both parts of the ſame: nor had the Houſes any reaſon to ſuppoſe their courſe agreeable to His Majeſties ſenſe, for His Majeſty in declaring His conſent to the order of the Treaty, indeed mentioned their firſt Propoſition by the ſtyle of the firſt Propoſition which concerned Disbanding, but did not ſtyle it that part of the firſt Propoſition which concerned Disbanding, as, if He had meant to have excluded any part of that Propoſition from being treated on, He would and ought to have done. But though His Majeſties Anſwers in the point of Disbanding and Return to His Parliament were as particular and as ſatisfactory as His Majeſty had cauſe to make, or could well give, till this latter part were conſented to be Treated upon; yet out of His great deſire of Peace, and of complying with both Houſes, His Majeſty hath made a full and particular Anſwer and Offer to both Houſes concerning as well the firſt part of their firſt Article, upon which He hath Treated with the Committee, as that upon which they have yet no power to Treat, though His Majeſty hath preſt that ſuch power might be given to them.

In His Meſſage of *April* 12. pag. 268.

Falkland.

April 14. 1643.

WE received Inſtructions from both Houſes of Parliament the ninth of this preſent *April*, and in purſuance thereof, we humbly preſented a Paper to Your Majeſty upon the tenth of this inſtant, wherein thoſe Inſtructions were expreſſed, and the deſire of both Houſes concerning Your Majeſties return to Your Parliament.

Northumberland.

Will. Pierrepont. *Will. Armyne.*
Joh. Holland. *B. Whitelocke.*

April 15. 1643.

HIS Majeſty doth acknowledge to have received a Paper from the Committee upon the tenth of *April*, expreſsing, that they had received Inſtructions, to declare unto His Majeſty the deſire of both Houſes for His Majeſties coming to his Parliament, which they had often expreſt with full offers of ſecurity to His Royal Perſon, agreeable to their Duty and Allegiance; and that they know no cauſe why His Majeſty might not return thither with Honour and Safety. But as the Committee had before acknowledged in a Paper of the ſixth of *April*, not to have any power or Inſtructions to Treat with His Majeſty concerning His Return to His two Houſes of Parliament, and as this Paper mentioned no Inſtructions to treat, but onely to deliver that ſingle Meſſage concerning it; ſo His Majeſty took it for granted, that if they had received any new power or Inſtructions in that point, they would have ſignified as much to Him: and therefore conceiving it in vain to diſcourſe, and impoſsible to treat upon that with thoſe who had no power to treat with Him, His Majeſty addreſt that Anſwer concerning that point to both Houſes, of which His Majeſty took notice to the Committee in a Paper of the fourteenth of *April*, and which was ſhewed to them before He ſent it. And if both Houſes will upon it but conſent, to give His Majeſty ſuch Security as will appear to all indifferent Perſons to be agreeable to their Duty and Allegiance (thoſe Tumults which drove Him from thence, and what followed thoſe Tumults, being a moſt viſible and ſufficient Reaſon why He cannot return thither with His Honour and Safety, without more particular offers of Security then as yet they have ever made Him) all diſputes about that point between them will be ſoon ended, and His Majeſty ſpeedily return to them, and His whole Kingdom to their former Peace and Happineſs.

Pag. 268.

Falkland.

[*The Meſſage mentioned in the two laſt Papers of His Majeſty is that of the* 12 *of* April, p. 268. *Upon the receipt of which the Two Houſes preſently recalled their Committees.*]

His

His MAJESTIES *Letter to the Queens Majesty.*

Oxford, *23 Jan. 2 Feb.*

Dear Heart,

SAturday and Sunday last I received two from Thee, of the 29 of *December*, 9 of *January*, both which gave Me such Contentment, as Thou mayest better judge then I describe: the which that Thou mayest the better doe, know, I was full three weeks, wanting but one day, without hearing from Thee; besides scurvy *London* news of Thy stay and lameness, which though I did not believe, yet it vext Me so much the more, that I could not prove them liars. So now I conjure Thee by the Affection Thou beareſt Me, not onely to judge, but likewise participate with Me in the Contentment Thou hast given Me by assuring Me of Thy health and speedy return. Concerning 45.31.7. 4. 132.300. I will answer Thee in Thy own words, *Je le remetteray a vous respondre per bouche*, being confident that way to give Thee contentment: In the mean time assure Thy self, that I neither have, nor will loose any time in that business, and that I have not contented My Self with Generals. And though I hope shortly to have the happiness of Thy company, yet I must tell Thee of some particulars, in which I desire both Thy opinion and assistance. I am persecuted concerning Places, and all desire to be put upon Thee, for the which I cannot blame them; and yet Thou knowest I have no reason to doe it. *Newark* desireth *Savil*'s place, upon condition to leave it when his Father dieth; *Carenworth* the same, being contented to pay for it, or give the profit to whom or how I please: *Digby* and *Dunsmore* for to be Captain of the Pentioners; *Hartford* once looked after it, but now I believe he expects either to be Treasurer, or of My Bed-chamber; I incline rather to the latter, if Thou like it, for I absolutely hold *Cottington* the fittest man for the other. There is one that doth not yet pretend, that doth deserve as well as any, I mean *Capell*; therefore I desire Thy assistance to finde somewhat for him before he ask. One place I must fill before I can have Thy opinion; it is the Master of the Wards. I have thought upon *Nicholas*, being confident that Thou wilt not mislike My choice: and if he cannot perform both, *Ned Hyde* must be Secretary, for indeed I can trust no other. Now I have no more time to speak of more, but to desire Thee not to engage Thy Self for any. So I rest,

Eternally Thine,

Dated *Oxford*,
2 Feb. 23 Jan.

C. R.

My Lord,

IT *is His Majesties pleasure, that there be something attempted upon the Castle of* Warwick; *therefore you are to send as many Musquetiers as you can horse, with the Prince of* Wales *his Regiment of Horse, and your own: this bearer* La Roche *will bring Petarrs, and all things necessary for them: you must march to morrow in the Evening, to be there before break of the day on Saturday.*

Oxford, 2 *of* March, 1643. Your faithful Friend, *Rupert.*

For the Earl of *Northampton* at *Banbury.*

My Lord,

I *Have acquainted the King with the hinderance you have in your desire. He was pleased to command me to tell you, that your Lordship should send one of your Scouts to enquire if* Ingram *be in the Castle: if he be, you may safely go on with your designe; for knowing but of your coming, he will make but little or no resistance, and the sooner the better. If after this you should think it feisible to raise the siege at* Litchfield, *you have also that power to doe it. This bearer will inform you with some other particulars. So I rest,*

Oxford, *the* 3 *of* March, *at* 12 *at night.* Your Lordships most faithful Friend, *Rupert.*

To the Earl of *Northampton*, *Rupert.*

His MAJESTIES *Letter to the Queen.*

Dear Heart,

THough ever since Sunday last I had good hopes of Thy happy Landing, yet I had not the certain news thereof before yesterday; when I likewise understood of Thy safe coming to *York*. I hope Thou expectest not welcome from Me in words; but when I shall be wanting in any other way (according to My wit and power) of expressing My Love to Thee, then let all honest men hate and eschew Me like a Monster: And yet when I shall have done My part, I confess that I shall come short of what Thou deservest of Me.

H 3. 189. *e.* 3. 42. 17. 25. 27. 39. 21. 66. *a.* 1. 45. 31. 7. 4. 32. 18. 47. 46. 9. 3. *d.* 4. *g.* 4. 46. 35. 67. 48. 7. 40. 5. 43. 74. 3. 41. 7. 33. 62. 8. 63. 68. 50. 64. 34. 9. 51. 45. 69. 46. 37. *dear* 45. 31. 7. 1. 33. 18. 49. 47. 19. 21. 10. 70. 13. 7. 45. 58. 8. 9. 41. 10. *this a* 2. 324. *in the mean time* 46. 31. 7. 50. *e.* 3. 20. 3. 6. 8. 48. 75. 41. 9. 2. *upon* 60. 19. 50. 61. 27. 26. 7. 69. 12. 19. 47. 45. 8. 24.

Yesterday there were Articles of a Cessation brought Me from *London*, but so unreasonable that I cannot grant them: yet to undeceive the people by shewing it is not I, but those who have caused and fostered this Rebellion, that desire the continuance of this Warre and universal Distraction, I am framing Articles fit for that purpose; both which, by My next, I mean to send Thee.

219. *b.* 3. 58. 51. 75. 46. 7. 3. 45. 37. 2. 189. 46. 38. 1. *g.* 1. 173. 131. *which I think fit to be done, a.* 5. 4. 30. 3. *n.* 5. *d.* 3. 46. 31. 8. 10. 2. 32. 18. 64. 7. 3. 45. 31. 9. 66. 46. 32. 19. 41. 25. 48. *k.* 1. *e.* 4. 67. 69. 63. I am now confident that 173. is right for My service.

Since the taking of *Cicester* there is nothing of note done of either side, wherefore that little news that is, I leave to others. Onely this I assure Thee, That the distractions of the Rebels are such, that so many fine designes are laid open to us, We know not which first to undertake. But certainly My first and chiefest care is, and shall be, to secure Thee, and hasten Our meeting. So longing to hear from Thee, I rest, eternally Thine,

Oxford, $\frac{12}{2}$ *March*, $164\frac{3}{2}$. *C. R.*

The last I received of Thine was dated the $\frac{16}{6}$ *Febr.* and I believe none of My four last are come to Thee. Their Dates are $\frac{13}{3}$. $\frac{23}{13}$. $\frac{25}{15}$. *Febr.* and 20 *Febr.* or *March* the 2.

MDCXLIII. *A Declaration of the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament upon the Proceedings in the late Treaty, and the aforeſaid Letters.*

THE Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament, being deeply afflicted with a ſorrowful ſenſe of the miſerable Diſtractions of this Kingdom, overwhelmed with the Calamities of the worſt kinde of Warre, have by ſeveral Petitions and many humble Addreſſes to His Majeſty beſought Him, by removing the Cauſes thereof, to put an end thereunto: And although all their endeavours have not only proved fruitleſs, but ſome of their Petitions received a denial even of Audience, (a favour not denied to the Rebels of *Ireland*) which might very well juſtifie them before God and man to decline any further proſecution that way, eſpecially in a caſe where themſelves and the Kingdom are the parties injured and oppreſſed; yet their bowels did ſo much yearn after a happy Peace, that they reſolved, notwithſtanding their former diſcouragements, to break through all difficulties, and yet once more moſt humbly to repreſent to His Majeſty the miſerable Diſtempers of His two Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, and, if poſſibly they could, to encline His Royal heart, really to act what He hath ſo often verbally profeſſed, *To compoſe thoſe unhappy Diſtractions, and reſtore His People to a bleſſed and laſting Peace.* And for that purpoſe, about the firſt of *February* laſt, they in all humbleneſs preſented their Deſires to His Majeſty, digeſted into Fourteen Propoſitions: and how reaſonable and indifferent thoſe Propoſitions were, they expoſe them to the view of the world to judge, reſting aſſured, that no indifferent man that ſhall duely weigh them, with the time and circumſtance, will finde any thing contained in them, but what was neceſſary for the maintenance and advancement of *the true Proteſtant Religion, the due execution of Juſtice, the preſervation of the Liberty and Property of the Subject*, and *the eſtabliſhment of the Kingdoms Peace and Safety.* And becauſe they might with all ſpeed take off the Burthen under which this Kingdom did principally groan, and ſtop the ſpring from whence moſt of theſe Calamities did flow; they in the firſt place propounded, *That the Armies and Forces raiſed on both ſides might be disbanded*, which being effected, the Kingdom might with the more eaſe and ſecurity expect the iſſue of the Treaty; and therefore they were very careful, that no Propoſition or Circumſtance touching the Treaty ſhould precede this.

His Majeſty having received and conſidered theſe Propoſitions, He not long after returned His Anſwer, wherein He profeſſeth to have *given up all the faculties of His Soul to an earneſt endeavour of a Peace and Reconciliation with His People*, and deſires a ſpeedy time and place might be agreed upon, for the meeting of ſuch perſons as His Majeſty and both Houſes ſhould appoint to diſcuſs thoſe Propoſitions, and fix other Propoſitions made by His Majeſtie, and ſent with that Anſwer; whereof one was, *That to the intent the Treaty might not ſuffer interruption by any intervening accidents, that a Ceſſation of Arms and free Trade might be firſt agreed upon:* which Anſwer the Lords and Commons did take into their conſideration. And becauſe His Majeſtie did deſire that a Ceſſation might be firſt agreed upon, they did accordingly ſubmit thereunto, though they had purpoſely avoided it before; being unwilling to waſte the time about the Shadow, that would of it ſelf vaniſh with the disbanding, which they deſired might be concluded in the firſt place.

But they were willing to give all ſatisfaction to His Majeſties Deſires, hoping thereby to incline Him the more readily to conſent to their juſt Requeſts. And according to their reſolution, they prepared ready the Articles of Ceſſation, and that with as much equality and indifferency to both ſides as poſſibly they could. They likewiſe agreed to treat upon the Propoſitions before the Disbanding; in which

which Treaty, ſo much of His Majeſties Propoſitions as concerned His Majeſties Revenue, Magazines, Forts and Ships, and the Propoſitions of both Houſes for the Disbanding, ſhould be firſt treated of and concluded, before the proceeding to treat upon any other: and that this Treaty ſhould begin the fourth of *March*, or ſooner, if it might be; and that from the beginning of the Treaty, the time might not exceed twenty dayes. They further reſolved, that a Committee of both Houſes ſhould be appointed to attend His Majeſty, if His Majeſty ſhould ſo pleaſe, to endeavour to give Him all humble and fit ſatisfaction concerning the ſaid Propoſitions.

All which their reſolutions they forthwith by a Meſſenger diſpatched for that purpoſe preſented to His Majeſty, and not long after ſent a Committee to attend Him. And though they hoped for a ready concurrence from His Majeſty to the Articles of Ceſſation, the Propoſition proceeding from Himſelf, yet they received a return much contrary to their expectation, where they found many ſcruples raiſed, and other Articles propounded, which being aſſented unto by them, would inevitably deſtroy the Forces raiſed by them for *the Defence of themſelves, their Religion and Liberty*, and ſtrengthen the Malignant and Popiſh Army raiſed againſt them; which they made appear by their humble Anſwer to thoſe Alterations and Articles, which are herewith at large publiſhed, and therefore do referre themſelves thereunto. And in the interim, while His Majeſty was conſidering of this their humble Anſwer, they gave power to their Committee to treat upon the two firſt Propoſitions for four dayes, which afterwards they enlarged to the end of twenty dayes. And within ſome diſtance of time afterwards they received a very long Meſſage from His Majeſty, which (indeed) carried not with it the face or ſemblance of a Treaty, but in plain down-right language, was *a bitter Invective againſt the two Houſes of Parliament and their Proceedings*; ſo that by this time it might very well appear, *That the enemies of the Kingdoms Peace, ſo really proſecuted, and likely to be effected by the earneſt endeavours of both Houſes, thought it high time to caſt in their tares of Sedition, to prevent the growth of ſo bleſſed a fruit.* In this Meſſage, after very heavy Taxes and unjuſt Scandals and Accuſations laid to their charge, forced in quite beſides the queſtion, His Majeſty condeſcended to the Ceſſation in manner as was agreed on by both Houſes, to continue onely for five dayes, expecting a liberty notwithſtanding to be given the Committee *to word it according to the real Intention*, and ſo that His Majeſtie might not be underſtood to conſent to any Impoſing upon, Levying, Diſtraining, or Impriſoning of His Subjects, to force them to Contribute, expreſly proteſting againſt it, and inhibiting His Subjects to ſubmit thereunto, and requiring them to reſiſt; and ſo that there might not be a liberty for Seizing upon His Subjects by any Souldiers of the Army for not ſubmitting to ſuch Impoſitions. Which offer of His Majeſties, being but a Ceſſation only for five dayes, and ſome part of that time to be firſt ſpent by the Committee in wording of it, and limited with a Proteſtation againſt, and a Command to reſiſt that Power whereby their Forces muſt be paid and ſupported, which if not anſwered and juſtified, would by a conſent to His Majeſties offer imply a declining of that power, which might indanger the Disbanding of their Army; and if anſwered, would neceſſarily have enforced them to ſome ſharpneſs of language, which the enemies of this Treaty would eaſily take occaſion to quarrel at, and perſwade His Majeſty to break off, which the Lords and Commons, out of their hearty zeal to bring it to a happy concluſion, did purpoſely avoid: therefore they did not only paſs by theſe Scandals and unjuſt Accuſations laid to their charge by that Meſſage, but purpoſely declined to enter into any diſpute of their power, for maintaining the Forces raiſed for their own neceſſary defence; and therefore thought it beſt to ſpend the remainder of the time in Treating upon the Propoſitions, and for that end enjoyned their Committee, as much as in them lay, to haſten it, eſpecially that part touching the Disbanding, which being concluded, would not only produce a temporary Ceſſation, but an abſolute abolition of all acts of Hoſtility. The proceedings and iſſue of which Treaty the Lords and Commons think it neceſſary to publiſh to the

Kingdom.

Kingdom, to the end the ſincerity of their endeavours, to procure a happy ſettlement of theſe miſerable Diſtractions, may appear.

When they perceived that the moſt part of the time preſcribed for the Treaty was like to be ſpent about the Ceſſation, they gave power to their Committee in the mean time to treat upon the Propoſitions in order as they had formerly Voted: and therefore beginning with His Majeſties firſt Propoſition, whereby His Majeſty demanded, *That His own Revenue, Magazines, Towns, Forts and Ships, which had been taken or kept from Him by force, ſhould be forthwith reſtored unto Him*, the Lords and Commons by their Committee made Him this humble Anſwer; Firſt, *That as to His Revenue, they had not made uſe of it but in a ſmall proportion, and a good part of that was employed for the maintenance of His own Children, according to the allowance eſtabliſhed by Himſelf; That what ſhould remain due to His Majeſty they would ſatisfy, and would leave the ſame to His Majeſty for the time to come.* They likewiſe thereupon propounded to His Majeſty, *That He would reſtore what had been taken for His uſe, upon any of the Bills aſſigned to other purpoſes, by ſeveral Acts of Parliament, as out of the proviſion made for the Wars of* Ireland. Which offer of theirs, after ſome debate thereupon with the Committee, was thought reaſonable, and in effect concluded.

And as to the Demand of the Towns, Forts and Ships, they in ſubſtance gave this humble Anſwer; *That they would deliver up ſuch as remained in their hands, into the hands of ſuch perſons of worth, quality and truſt, to be nominated by His Majeſty, as the two Houſes of Parliament ſhould confide in, none of which perſons to be removed during three years next enſuing without juſt cauſe to be approved of by both Houſes; That the Warden of the Cinque-Ports, and all Governours and Commanders of Towns, Forts and Caſtles, ſhould keep the ſame reſpectively for the Service of His Majeſty and the Safety of the Kingdom, and that they ſhould not admit into them any Forein Forces, or any other Forces raiſed without His Majeſties Authority and Conſent of the two Houſes of Parliament; and they ſhould uſe their uttermoſt endeavours to ſuppreſs all Forces raiſed without ſuch Authority and Conſent, and ſeize all Arms and Ammunition provided for any ſuch Forces.* Unto
April 5. which Offer of theirs His Majeſty gave this concluſive Anſwer; *That His Majeſty did not intend that both Houſes of Parliament ſhould expreſs their Confidence of the perſons to whoſe truſt the Cinque-Ports, or other His Majeſties Towns and Forts, were or ſhould be committed, but that they ſhould have liberty to proceed againſt them according to Law*; His Majeſty claiming the nomination and free election to belong to Him of right. And to the Clauſe concerning the admiſſion of Forces into thoſe Forts, Caſtles and Towns, His Majeſty would conſent no further then theſe general tearms; that is, *That no Forces raiſed or brought in contrary to Law ſhould be admitted, and that all Arms and Ammunition ſhould be ſeized upon which by the Laws and Statutes of the Kingdom they ought to ſeize.*

They made the like Anſwer concerning the Ships, *That they ſhould be delivered into the hands of ſuch a Noble Perſon as His Majeſty ſhould nominate to be Lord High-Admiral of* England, *and the two Houſes of Parliament confide in.* To which Offer His Majeſty refuſed His Conſent, declaring His Reſolution to inſiſt upon what by Law was His own (as His Majeſty was pleaſed to expreſs it,) and taken from Him, ſhould be reſtored unto Him without any conditioning, or new limitations to be put upon Him or His Miniſters.

And now the Lords and Commons will referre it to the world to judge, whether their Demands were not ſuch, and ſo moderate, as was fit and neceſſary for them to make, and juſt and reaſonable for His Majeſty to aſſent unto: wherein they may be pleaſed to conſider, that this was a Treaty for the disbanding of two Armies, and Forces raiſed in oppoſition each to other; that the Towns, Forts and Ships, are a great part of theſe Forces, and of the ſtrength of that ſide that poſſeſſeth them; that for any one ſide to demand the poſſeſſion and power thereof, and the other ſide to disband their Forces, and quit themſelves of all their ſtrength, is in effect a total disbanding of that ſide, and a continuing the Forces of the other, which muſt be granted to be moſt unequal; and therefore the Lords and Commons

did

did think it just and honourable, that the remaining strength should be put into such hands as both sides might trust.

Secondly, That their demand to have the Forts and Castles into the hands of such persons as both Houses should confide in, was a Proposition warranted by the frequent * Precedents of former times, whereby it appeareth that many other Parliaments have made the like and greater demands, and His Majesties Predecessors have assented thereunto.

* The fourth of *Edward* the Third,

Artic. 1. against *Roger Mortimer.* The King had put to him four Bishops, four Earls, and four Barons; without whose consent, or of four of them, no great business was to be transacted. *Rot. Parliam.* 13 *E.* 3. *N.* 15, 16. The whole Navy disposed of by Parliament. *N.* 13, 14. Admirals appointed, and Instructions given to them. *N.* 32. Instructions for the defence of *Jersey*, and a Deputy-Governour appointed in Parliament *N.* 35. Souldiers of *York*, *Nottingham*, &c. to go at the cost of the Countrey; and what they are to doe. *N.* 36. A Clark appointed for payment of their wages by the oversight of the Lord *Percy* and *Nevill*. *N.* 38. Sir *Walter Creak* appointed keeper of *Berwick*. *N.* 39. Sir *Tho. de Wake* appointed to set forth the Array of Souldiers for the County of *York*, and *N.* 40, 41, 42, 43. others for other Counties. 14 *E.* 3. *N.* 36. The Parliament agreeth that in the Kings absence the Duke of *Cornwall* shall be Keeper of *England*. *N.* 35. They appoint the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Earls of *Lancaster*, *Warren* and *Huntington*, Councellors to the Duke, with power to call such others as they shall think fit. *N.* 19. Certain appointed to keep the Islands and Sea-coasts. *N.* 42. The Lord of *Mowbray* appointed Keeper of *Berwick*. *N.* 48. Commission to the Lord *Mowbray* of the Justices of *Lentham*. *N.* 53, 54, *&c.* Commissions of Array to the Earl of *Angois*, and others. 15 *E.* 3. *N.* 15. That the Chancellors, chief Justices, Treasurers, Chancellors and Barons of the Exchequer, &c. may be chosen in open Parliament, and there openly sworn to observe the Laws. Answer thus, *That as they fall by death or otherwise, it shall be so done in the choice of a new, with your assents*, &c. 50 *E.* 3. *N.* 10, 11. Ordered in Parliament, That the King should have at the least ten or twelve Councellors, without whom no weighty matters should passe, &c. *N.* 15. A Commission to the L. *Percy* and others, to appoint able persons for the defence of the Marches of the East-Riding. 1 *R.* 2. *N.* 18, 19. The Parliament wholly disposeth of the Education of the King, and of the Officers, &c. *N.* 51. Officers for *Gascoign*, *Ireland*, and *Artois*, Keepers of the Ports, Castles, &c. 2 *R.* 2. *Rot. Parl. par.* 2. *artic.* 39. The Admiralty. *N.* 37. In a Schedule is contained the order of the E. of *Northumb.* and others for the defence of the North Sea-coasts, and confirmed in Parliament. 6 *R.* 2. *N.* 11. The Profer of the Bishop of *Norwich* to keep the Sea-coasts, and accepted in Parliament. 8 *R.* 2. 11, 16. The names of the chief Officers of the Kingdom to be known to the Parliament, and not to be removed without just cause. 11 *R.* 2. *N.* 23. No persons to be about the King, or intermeddle with the Affairs of the Realm, other then such as be appointed by Parliament. 15 *R.* 2. *N.* 15. The Commons name the person to treat of a Peace with the Kings enemies. *Rot. Parl.* 1 *H.* 4. *N.* 106. That the King will appoint able Captains in *England* and *Wales*. *Stat.* 4 *H.* 4. *cap.* 31, 32, 33. printed, The *Welsh*-men shall bear Office. 5 *H.* 4. *N.* 16. The King, at the request of the Commons, removed his Confessor and three other men from about him. *N.* 37. At the request of the Commons, nameth divers Privy-Councellors. 7, and 8 *H.* 4. 26. Power given to the Merchants to name two persons to be Admirals. 7, and 8 *H.* 4. *N.* 31. Councellors appointed by Authority of Parliament. *N.* 26. Commissions granted in Parliament to keep the Sea. *Rot. Parl.* 1 *H.* 6. *N.* 61. Chancellor, Treasurer, and Privy Seal appointed by Parliament. *N.* 24. Protector, and *Defensor Regni*, appointed by Parliament. *N.* 26. Privy Councellors. 2 *H.* 6. *N.* 15. Counsels named by Parliament. 4 *H.* 6. *N.* 19. The Duke, by common consent in Parliament, appoints a Deputy to keep *Berwick* Castle. 14 *H.* 6. *N.* 10. The keeping of the Town of *Calice* is committed to the Duke of *Glouceſter*, by Indenture between him and the King, and confirmed in Parliament. 31 *H.* 6. *N.* 41. *Rich.* Earl of *Salisbury* and others are appointed by Parliament to keep the Seas, Tunnage and Poundage appointed to them for three years. 33 *H.* 6. *N.* 27. Discharged. 39 *H.* 6. *N.* 32. The Duke of *York* made by Parliament Generall. *Stat.* 21. *Jac. cap.* 34. Treasurers and a Councel of War appointed by Parliament, and an Oath directed to be by them taken. The Earl of *Essex* made Lord Lieutenant of the County of *Yorke*, and Sir *Jo. Conyers* Lieut. of the Tower, upon the desire of the Lords and Commons this Parliament.

With very many more Precedents, which, to avoid prolixity, are purposely omitted.

Thirdly, It was a Proposition which His Majestie Himself in several Declarations of His own affirmed to be reasonable and just; for in His Majesties Answer to a Petition of the House of Commons, *January* 28. 1641. He expresseth thus, *For the Forts and Castles of the Kingdom, His Majesty is resolved, they shall be in such hands, and only in such, as the Parliament may safely confide in*, &c. And in another Answer to two Petitions of the Lords and Commons, delivered the second of *February* 1641. His Majesty useth these words, *That (for the securing you from all Dangers, or Jealousies of any) His Majestie will be content to put in all the places both of Forts and* Militia, *in the several Counties, such persons as both Houses of Parliament shall either approve or recommend unto Him; so that you declare before unto His Majesty the name of the persons whom you approve or recommend: unlesse such persons shall be named, against whom He shall have just and unquestionable exception.* Which being declared by His Majesty Himself, they had no cause to suspect a Denial, being confident that His Majesty did intend what He spoke; and if any ill Counsell could prevail to make Him recede from His Word, it must be admitted, the Kingdome hath more cause to be further secured.

Fourthly,

Fourthly, For that to our ſad experience it is well known, that His Majeſties Power in this and other things is to much ſteered and guided by the advice of theſe ſecret and wicked Counſellors that have been the Inſtruments of our preſent Miſeries; and though His Majeſty carrieth the Name, yet they will have the diſpoſing of thoſe places. And the Lords and Commons thought it the more reaſonable and neceſſary to inſiſt thereupon, becauſe that in the time when they were preparing their Propoſitions to His Majeſty, it did appear unto them by a Letter written by His Majeſty to the Queen, (which they have cauſed to be herewith Printed) that the great and eminent places of the Kingdom were diſpoſed by Her Advice and Power; and what Her Religion is, and conſequently how prevalent the Counſels of Papiſts and Jeſuites will be with Her, may be eaſily conjectured: and it is to be obſerved who the Perſons deſigned for preferment were, even during the ſitting of a Parliament; the Lord *Digby*, impeached in Parliament for High Treaſon, and moſt, if not all the reſt, impeached in Parliament, and ſuch as bear Arms againſt them.

Laſtly, admitting that theſe demands touching the Ships and Forts had been made even in a time of Peace and Tranquillity: yet conſidering the attempts of Force and Violence made and practiſed againſt the Kingdome and this preſent Parliament, as the Deſignes many years ſince to bring to this Kingdom the *German* Horſe, to compel the Subject to ſubmit to an arbitrary Government; the endeavour to bring up the late Northern Armie, by force and violence to awe the Parliament; His Majeſties coming in perſon to the Houſe of Commons, accompanied with many Armed men, to demand their Members to be delivered up; and the Treaſon of the Earl of *Strafford*, to bring over the *Iriſh* Popiſh Armie to conquer the Kingdom; they might very well juſtifie, nay they were in duty bound (in diſcharge of the truſt repoſed in them by the Commonwealth) to make that Demand, and expect the performance thereof, to the end the People might be ſecured from any ſuch Violence hereafter. Yet (to their inexpreſſible ſorrow they muſt ſpeak it) neither the Reaſonableneſſe, the Moderation, or Juſtneſſe of the Requeſt, nor the Peace of the Kingdom (which probably would enſue thereupon) could be Arguments prevalent enough to induce His Majeſties Conſent thereunto. And His Majeſties offer of thoſe Commanders that ſhall offend, to leave them to Juſtice and Triall of the Law, is an Anſwer more to ſhew His Power to protect Delinquents, then ſatisfaction to a Parliament, being the due and right of the meaneſt Subject, and yet intituled here as a Favour done to both Houſes of Parliament.

And though His Majeſty is pleaſed to juſtifie His Denial with the Allegation, *That it is His Right by Law*; they muſt appeal to the judgement of all indifferent men, whether that be a ſatisfactory ground of refuſal: for admitting His Majeſties Power of diſpoſing the Ships, Forts and Caſtles, and committing them into what hands He pleaſe, to be by Law abſolutely veſted in His Majeſtie (which they by no means can admit, He being onely truſted with them for *the Defence and ſafety of the Kingdom*) as He Himſelf is pleaſed to aſſume; yet would that be no ground or reaſon for the King to refuſe His Conſent to alter that Law, when by circumſtance of time and affairs that Power becomes deſtructive to the Commonwealth and ſafety of the People, the preſervation whereof is the chief end of the Law. And though the two Houſes of Parliament, being the Repreſentative Body of the Kingdom, are the moſt competent Judges thereof; yet in this Caſe they do not proceed onely upon an implicite Faith, but demonſtrate it both by Reaſon and Experience, *That their Demand is not onely neceſſary to ſecure the Kingdom from Fear and Jealouſie, but to preſerve it even from Ruine and Deſtruction.*

And ſurely had this Argument, of being *Their Right by Law*, been prevailing with His Majeſties Predeceſſours, this Nation ſhould have wanted many an Act of Parliament which now they have, that was neceſſary for their being and ſubſiſtence. And they could heartily wiſh that the Laws and Statutes of the Kingdom might be *The Rule of what is, and what is not to be done*; acknowledging with His Majeſtie, that the ſame is the only Rule between Him and His People, the aſſurance of the free enjoyment whereof is their only aime: but how little fruit the People hath gathered from this tree, let the woful experience of theſe laſt eighteen years judge, where, in a time

time of Peace and Plenty, the power of iſſuing out Commiſſions to compell Loans, a power in the King at His pleaſure to impoſe a Charge upon the People to provide Ships, without limitation of time or proportion, a power in the Councell-Board to commit men and determine buſineſſe, without diſtinction of perſons or cauſes, the power of laying Impoſitions both upon Forein and Domeſtick Commodities, and many other Acts of Oppreſſions, was, under the name and colour of a *Legal Right* thereunto, practiſed and put in execution; againſt which the Subject had no help of relief, but was neceſſitated to ſubmit and lie under the burthen. And when at any time a Parliament was called (being the only cure and remedy for theſe griefs) it could no ſooner touch upon theſe ſores, but it was daſhed in pieces by a ſudden Diſſolution. And now that a remedy is provided for that miſchief by the Act for continuance of this Parliament, it is attempted by the force and power of an Army to effect that which formerly could have been done with more eaſe and readineſſe.

And now they referre it to the cenſure of any honeſt man, whether they have not the warrant of Reaſon and Neceſſity, to demand ſome ſecurity to enjoy that which His Majeſty confeſſeth to be the Peoples right: and in reference to that, whether their Demand of having the Forts, Caſtles and Shipping to be put into ſuch hands as both Houſes ſhall have cauſe to confide in, was not both moderate and reaſonable.

And touching their Demand, and His Majeſties Anſwer to the Clauſe concerning the admiſſion of Forces into thoſe Forts, Caſtles and Towns, they muſt ſtill ſubmit it to all indifferent judgements, how much Reaſon and Juſtice was comprehended in their Demand, and how little ſatisfaction they received therein. His Majeſty anſwers, *That no Forces raiſed or brought in contrary to Law ſhould be admitted*; which they could heartily wiſh heretofore had, or hereafter would be really performed: but they deſire it may be conſidered, what ſecurity this will be to the Kingdom, to prevent the raiſing or bringing in of Forces contrary to Law; who ſhall be Judges of the Law, when thoſe Forces are once raiſed and once brought in? Surely His Majeſty will not acknowledge the two Houſes of Parliament to be; for His Majeſty by ſeveral Declarations hath expreſly denied them any ſuch Power: For contrary to their Declarations, fortified with Law and Reaſon, His Majeſty publiſhed and affirmed the Legality of the Commiſſion of Array, and put the ſame in execution in moſt parts of the Kingdom; hath authorized the Papiſts of the Kingdom to take Arms to oppoſe the Parliament and their Proceedings, and to rob, ſpoil, and deprive the Proteſtants of this Kingdom of their eſtates and lives; hath by divers Proclamations and Declarations publiſhed the raiſing of Forces, and taking up of Arms by the two Houſes of Parliament, and ſuch as therein obey their Commands, for their own defence, and the defence of their Religion and Liberty aſſaulted by an Army of Papiſts and their adherents, to be Rebellion and Treaſon, and the taking up of Arms by the Papiſts and their adherents, to be acts of Duty and Loyalty; and all this urged and pretended to be warranted by the Law of the Land. And they do not doubt but by the ſame Law, perſons legally impeached and accuſed in Parliament of high Treaſon, as the Lord *Digby*, Maſter *Percy*, Maſter *Jermyn*, Maſter *Oneale*, and others, are by the power of an Army protected from the Juſtice of the Parliament: and yet all this while the People have not only His Majeſties Promiſe, but His Oath, to govern and protect them according to the Laws of the Land. And now they appeal to the world, whether ſuch a general Anſwer, *That no Forces raiſed or brought in contrary to Law*, without admitting them ſo much as to declare their confidence in the perſons that are to be entruſted with the Power, be juſt or reaſonable: What is it otherwiſe in effect, then to make thoſe perſons that are the Inſtruments to violate the Law, Judges of that Law? which, to our ſad experience, is the woful and miſerable preſent condition of this Kingdom.

And though, by what had hitherto paſſed, they had little cauſe to ſuſpect ſuch a happy iſſue to the Treaty as they heartily wiſhed and moſt earneſtly laboured for, diſcovering not the leaſt inclination of compliance to their juſt Demands, but all, or moſt of them, anſwered with a Denial, and that not without ſome ſharpneſſe and acrimony; yet reſolving to be wanting in nothing of their parts, they enjoyned their Committee to

preſs on the Propoſition for Disbanding, and humbly deſire His Majeſties poſitive Anſwer thereunto, which (if aſſented unto by His Majeſty) would, though not wholly take away the cauſe, and perfectly cure the Diſtractions of this Kingdom, yet at leaſt take off the ſmart and pain under which both Church and State do moſt miſerably languiſh, and ſo better enable them to endure the expectation of a through Cure.

The Committee applied themſelves to His Majeſty accordingly: and after ſome endeavour to protract the debate of this Propoſition, and deſire that it might be deferred to the concluſion of the Treaty, and that the time of the Treaty might be enlarged, His Majeſty being earneſtly importuned to a poſitive and ſpeedy Anſwer, to the end the Kingdome might know what they might truſt to, His Majeſty was pleaſed to return this Anſwer, That as ſoon as His Majeſty were ſatisfied in His firſt Propoſition, concerning His own Revenue, Magazines, Ships and Forts; ſecondly, as ſoon as all the Members of both Houſes ſhall be reſtored to the ſame capacity of ſitting and voting in Parliament as they had upon the firſt of *January* 1641. not intending to extend it to the Biſhops Votes, or to ſuch in whoſe places upon new Writs new Elections have been made; thirdly, as ſoon as His Majeſty and both Houſes might be ſecured from ſuch tumultuous aſſemblies as formerly aſſembled about both Houſes, which ſecurity His Majeſty explains can be onely ſettled by adjourning the Parliament to ſome place twenty miles from *London*; His Majeſty would conſent that both the Armies ſhould be disbanded, and come to the Parliament. Which in terms plain enough is as much as to ſay, That untill both Houſes ſhall conſent to thoſe Demands, He will not disband His Army, He will continue the Warre. And what Reaſon or Juſtice is either in the matter or manner of thoſe demands, or what hope or expectation the People can have to ſee an end of their preſent Calamities, they leave it to themſelves to judge. His Majeſty in the beginning of the Treaty, in His Anſwer to the Propoſitions of both Houſes, was pleaſed to expreſſe how unparliamentary it was by Arms to require new Laws: but how to apply that to the two Houſes of Parliament, they muſt confeſſe they are to ſeek; they never having demanded any new Laws by Arms, endeavouring onely (what in them lieth) to preſerve and defend themſelves, their Religion and Laws, from the violence of an Army firſt raiſed againſt them; which being laid down and diſbanded, they offer to disband theirs, without any other condition. But they are well aſſured, that by this His Majeſties Anſwer here is not onely a requiring of new Laws, but a repealing of the old, by Arms: for His Majeſty muſt have this Parliament adjourned to another place, which by a Statute made this preſent Parliament cannot be done without the conſent of both Houſes. He muſt have the Members diſabled to ſit there by the reſpective judgement of both Houſes, reſtored to their former capacity of ſitting and voting, or He will not conſent to disband. And how deſtructive to the Liberties of the Parliament and dangerous to the Kingdom theſe Conditions required by his Majeſty to precede the disbanding are, any man that hath an eye to ſee may eaſily diſcern. As firſt, to ſatisfie His firſt Propoſition, in yielding up the Magazines, Ships and Forts, into the hands of ſuch perſons as His Majeſty ſhall appoint to receive the ſame, without any admiſſion to the two Houſes to expreſſe their confidence in thoſe perſons: which being performed, were to yield up the principal part, if not all the ſtrength they have, and expoſe themſelves, Religion, and the Kingdom, to the mercy of a powerful Popiſh Army raiſed againſt them, and ſubmit it to them, and to the will and pleaſure of thoſe Counſellors whoſe intereſt with His Majeſty hath brought this Kingdom to this deſolate condition, whether they would disband or not. Secondly, to ſatisfie Him in His Propoſition touching His Revenue, wherein He demands a reſtitution of what hath been taken from Him; which though it would prove no conſiderable Summe, yet the time that the examination and agreement upon the accompt would neceſſarily take up, would prove ſuch as might very well make the Kingdome ſink under the burthen of two Armies before it came to a concluſion. And touching His Majeſties requiring a reſtitution of the Members to their ſitting and Votes, it is obſervable, that the Demand is made without diſtinction of perſons or offences;

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ſo that be the perſons never ſo criminous, or the offences never ſo notorious, and ſo the Judgement never ſo juſt, yet all muſt be reſtored, or no conſent to disbanding. And the reaſon and ground of the Demand is as obſervable; becauſe they adhered to His Majeſty in theſe Diſtractions: An Argument, they muſt confeſs, much uſed by the Earl of *Strafford* in defence of his Treaſon, who would have juſtified the moſt notorious Crimes laid to his charge by Authority and Commands derived from His Majeſty, and his zeal to advance His Majeſties Service and Profit. And no doubt the ſame reaſon may be uſed for the Judges in caſe of Shipmoney, and moſt of the Monopoliſts and Projectors, who by Letters Patents had not onely His Majeſties Command and Authority for the doing what they did, but brought in great Sums of Money to His uſe and benefit, and that perhaps in times of neceſſity and want thereof: and ſo conſequently, becauſe theſe adhered to His Majeſty, (for what they did was for His Profit) with the like reaſon it may be required that all Impeachments and Proceedings againſt them ſhould be repealed and laid aſide.

And ſurely nothing can be more deſtructive and dangerous both to Parliament and Kingdom then the conſenting to that Demand: for what can be more deſtructive to both Houſes, then to reſtore thoſe perſons to have their former ſuffrage and Votes in Parliament over the Lives and Liberties of the People and the Privilege of Parliament, who have not only deſerted the Parliament, diſobeyed and contemned their Authority, neglected the Truſt repoſed in them by thoſe that ſent them thither, in whoſe behalf they were to attend and ſerve there, but by private practices and open hoſtility have endeavoured to deſtroy both Parliament and People?

And it would be an Objection of difficulty to anſwer, whether in giving a conſent to this Demand, the People, who are to chuſe theſe Members, ſhould not be deprived of their intereſt and freedom of choice and election now devolved unto them, by putting out the Members already ſent. And to this they might adde the danger of the Precedent, and the reflection of diſhonour that would fall upon both Houſes, ſhould they conſent to this, which would be with the ſame breath, as it were, to give and repeal their Judgement, and pronounce ſentence of injuſtice and raſhneſs againſt themſelves. But they will not inſiſt thereupon in a caſe otherwiſe ſo full of danger and inconvenience to the publick.

And touching the Propoſition of Adjourning the Parliament twenty miles diſtant from *London*, they ſhall not need in a caſe ſo apparent to ſpend many words to diſcover the inconvenience and unreaſonableneſs thereof: for, ſhould they aſſent unto it, to paſs over the inconveniences that would happen to ſuch perſons that ſhould have occaſion to attend the Parliament, by removing it ſo far from the reſidencie of the ordinary Courts of Juſtice, and the places where the Records of the Kingdom remain (whereof there is frequent uſe to be made) it would not onely give a tacite conſent to thoſe Scandals ſo often preſſed and affirmed in ſeveral Declarations, that is, That His Majeſty was forced for the Safety of His own Perſon heretofore to withdraw, and hitherto to abſent Himſelf from the Parliament, which both Houſes can by no means admit, but muſt ſtill deny; but likewiſe to that high and dangerous Aſperſion of awing the Members of this Parliament, raiſed without doubt purpoſely to invalide the Acts and proceedings thereof; and by that engine, in caſe the Popiſh Army ſhould prevail againſt the Parliament, (which they truſt God in his goodneſs will never permit) to overturn and nullifie all the good Laws and Statutes made this Parliament.

And it would give too much countenance to thoſe unjuſt Aſperſions laid to the charge of the City of *London*, whoſe unexampled zeal and fidelity to the true Proteſtant Religion and the Liberty of this Kingdom is never to be forgotten, *That His Majeſty and the Members of both Houſes cannot with ſafety to their perſons reſide there*; whenas they are well aſſured, that the Loyalty of that City to His Majeſty and their Affections to the Parliament is ſuch, as doth equal, if not exceed, any other place or City in the Kingdom. And with what ſafety the two Houſes can

ſit in any other place, when even in the place they now reſide the Houſe of Commons was in apparent danger of Violence, when His Majeſty accompanied with ſome hundreds of armed men came thither to demand their Members, let the world judge.

And now the Lords and Commons muſt appeal to the judgement of all impartial men, whether they have not uſed their utmoſt and moſt faithful endeavours to put an end to the Diſtractions of this Kingdom, and to reſtore it to a bleſſed and laſting Peace; and whether their Propoſitions (being the way thereunto) were not ſuch as were reaſonable and neceſſary for them to make, and juſt and honourable for His Majeſty to grant; and whether His Majeſties Anſwers to theſe Propoſitions are ſatisfactory, or correſpondent to His Expreſſion, to have *given up all the faculties of His Soul to an earneſt endeavour of a Peace and Reconciliation with His People.* But they muſt confeſs, that they had juſt cauſe to ſuſpect, that this would be the happy iſſue of the Treaty; for the prevalency of the enemies thereof, who, like that evil ſpirit, do moſt rage when they think they muſt be caſt out, was ſuch, that they would not proceed therein one ſtep, without ſome attempt or provocation laid in the way to interrupt and break it off: for after they had reſolved to preſent their humble Deſires and Propoſitions to His Majeſty, their Committee muſt not without a ſpecial ſafe Conduct and Protection from Him have acceſs to Him, (a liberty incident to them not only as they are Members of the Parliament, and employed by both Houſes, but as they were free-born Subjects;) and yet when they paſſed over this, His Majeſty refuſed a ſafe Conduct to the Lord Viſcount *Say* and *Seal*, being one of the Committee appointed by both Houſes to be employed upon that occaſion, ſuch a breach of Privilege that they believe is not to be parallel'd by the example of former times; and yet their deſire was ſuch to obtain the end they drive at, (that is, a happy and laſting Peace) that they reſolved not to interrupt the Treaty for that time by inſiſting upon it. And then they had no ſooner entred upon the Treaty, but a Proclamation dated at *Oxon* the 16 of *February* 1642. entituled *His Majeſties Proclamation, forbidding all His loving Subjects*, and the Counties of *Kent*, *Surrey*, *Suſſex* and *Hampſhire*, to raiſe any Forces, &c. and another Proclamation dated the 8 of *February*, forbidding the aſſeſſing and payment of all Taxes by virtue of an Ordinance of both Houſes, and all entring into Aſſociations, were publiſhed in His Majeſties Name, containing moſt bitter invectives and ſcandals againſt the proceedings of both Houſes, by ſtyling them and ſuch as obeyed them Traitours and Rebels, charging them under the name of *Browniſts*, *Anabaptiſts*, and *Atheiſts*, to endeavour to take away the Kings Life, and to deſtroy His Poſterity, the Proteſtant Religion, and the Laws of the Kingdoms, with many other ſuch ſcandals and aſperſions; and even at this time were many deſigns practiſing againſt the Parliament, which in all probability were the grounds and reaſons of His Majeſties confidence and denial of their juſt deſire. Inſomuch that His Majeſty in a Letter ſent from Him to the Queen, and read in the Houſe of Commons, did declare, That He had ſo many fine deſigns laid open to Him, that He knew not which firſt to undertake. One whereof probably was the moſt bloody and barbarous deſigne upon *Briſtoll* attempted (though by God's infinite mercy prevented) during the Treaty. And whether that of Sir *Hugh Cholmley*'s in betraying of *Scarborough* Caſtle, wherewith he was entruſted by the Parliament, to the Queens hands, and acted likewiſe during the Treaty, and that of *Killingworth* Caſtle, which ſhould have been likewiſe betraied, and a deſigne diſcovered by a Letter found in the Earl of *Northampton*'s pocket, ſlain near *Stafford*, written to him from Prince *Rupert*, were ſome of the other deſignes mentioned in His Majeſties Letter, they cannot certainly affirm, but conjecture. And when theſe collateral provocations and attempts could not prevail to make them deſert the Treaty, then comes in His Majeſties Meſſage of the fourth of *April*, which they have mentioned before, charging them to abuſe the people with imaginary Dangers and pretended Fears, to uſe Force and Rapines upon His good Subjects, with publiſhing new doctrines, That it is unlawful for the King to doe

doe any thing, and lawful to doe any thing againſt Him; with Malice and Subtilty to abuſe the People, that their Pleaſure is all their bounds; with many other ſuch bitter expreſſions, that no man could think ſuch an Anſwer could be any part of a Treaty, or at leaſt to proceed from a heart that deſired a happy iſſue thereunto. Notwithſtanding all which, the Lords and Commons were ſo reſolutely fixed to proſecute that Treaty, and (if poſſibly they could) to bring it to a bleſſed and happy concluſion, that they were content to lie under all theſe Scandals, and endure all theſe wounds, ſo they might make up the breaches of the Commonwealth; and therefore they did forbear the returning of an Anſwer to any of theſe provocations. And then when that Malignant and Popiſh party (too-too prevalent with His Majeſty) perceived their conſtancy, not to be provoked to break that Treaty of their part, they found it neceſſary to ſeduce His Majeſty to refuſe His Conſent to their moſt neceſſary and juſt Deſires, and to propound ſuch things as could not with the peace and ſafety of the Church and State be yielded to, and ſo effected their own deſires.

All which the Lords and Commons thought it their duty to publiſh to the Kingdome, to the end that they may ſee that what hath been long endeavoured by ſubtile and ſecret practices, is now reſolved to be effected by open Violence and Hoſtility, that is, the deſtruction of our Laws and the Proteſtant Religion, and introducing of Popery and Superſtition; and that there is little or no hope by any endeavour of a Treaty to procure the Peace of this Church and Kingdome, unleſs both be expoſed to the will and pleaſure of the Popiſh party, until the Army and Forces now raiſed and continued by them be firſt deſtroyed or ſuppreſſed. And therefore the Lords and Commons do hope, that not only ſuch as are already convinced of their Deſigne and Malice, but even thoſe that by their ſubtile and falſe pretences have been ignorantly ſeduced to joyn with them, that love their Liberty and the Proteſtant Religion, will now with one heart and minde unite together, to preſerve their Religion and Liberty: in the defence whereof the Lords and Commons are reſolved to offer up themſelves, their lives and fortunes, a willing Sacrifice.

Die Sabbati, 6 May. 1643.

A *Declaration upon the Reſult of the Treaty, brought in with ſome Amendments, was this day read in the Houſe of Commons, and ordered to be delivered unto the Lords at a Conference. And it is further Ordered by this Houſe, That this Declaration ſhall be Printed, and Maſter* Glyn *do take care for the Printing of it, and that none ſhall Print or re-print it, but ſuch as Maſter* Glyn *ſhall appoint, to the end that by his care the Records may be rightly cited, and the Letters and other matters, Ordered to be Printed with it, be carefully Printed.*

H. Elſinge, Cler. Parliament. D. Com.

His MAJESTIES *Declaration to all His Loving Subjects, in Answer to a Declaration of the Lords and Commons upon the Proceedings of the late* Treaty *of* Peace, *and several Intercepted Letters of His* MAJESTIE *to the* QUEEN, *and of Prince* RUPERT *to the Earl of* Northampton.

Oxford, 3. *June* 1643.

THough His Majesty be assured, it cannot but be of great Advantage to Him to have such an occasion as is now given Him by the late Declaration of both Houses, to shew to all His good People who it is that is really in fault, that the last Treaty, so much desired by His Majesty, and only begun upon His Desire, broke off so abruptly (as He doubts not to doe, if those who govern in the remaining part of both Houses have but so much ingenuity left, as to suffer what He saies to be equally freely published to His People;) yet His Majesty cannot without great grief of Soul see that Treaty, which He hoped and expected should have begot the settled Peace and Happiness of His Subjects, in stead thereof beget nothing but Disputes and Declarations: yet it will be some Cordial to Him, when He shall be forced to see the Desolation of this Kingdom and the Misery of His People, that not only it is not He that hath made that Desolate and them Miserable, but that He is able to demonstrate to all the World, that He hath used His utmost and most earnest endeavours to prevent it, as will appear at large by the following state of the Case.

After that the Conspiracy of some Persons against the present establisht Government both Ecclesiastical and Civil had made means to infuse into part of the People (by publishing unheard-of Declarations, obtain'd and past in a new and unheard-of manner, sometimes but by eleven Voices after seventeen hours sitting, and that but in one House) strange Fears and Jealousies of the other House and of His Majesty, and by them given the Rise to those insufferable Tumults and Seditious unparliamentary Petitions at once to and against the Lords, which they afterwards avowed publickly to protect and encourage, and forced the Lords House, by fearing them,

them, to ſeem to fear with them, and to joyn with them firſt in requiring, and next in forcing no leſs ſecurity for thoſe Fears from His Majeſty (who was then in condition to have moſt real Cauſe of Fear Himſelf) then almoſt all that Power which the Law had truſted to Him for the ſecurity of the Crown and the Protection of His People; after that His Majeſty and moſt of the Members were forced away from the Parliament, and that His ſhare in making new Laws was denied to Him in any caſe in which they would pretend Neceſsity, and every Subject that would not ſubmit to any new, extravagant, extemporary, legiſlative Declaration or Order of one or both Houſes, againſt the antient known Law of the Land, was become ſent for up, and impriſoned as a Delinquent, and whoſoever would aſsiſt them, againſt the known Law, was not only protected by them in that, but in any other Caſe (although they were of them who had been moſt apparently active in thoſe former Preſſures upon the People, which they now afreſh impute to His Majeſty) ſo that to be of their ſide was now become a known Sanctuary; after that nothing was left undone or unſaid that might render His Majeſty both weak and odious, and that all that He could ſay or doe to clear Himſelf was either ſuppreſt, or interpreted in a contrary and impoſsible ſenſe (ſo that His very offer to venture His Royal Perſon againſt the *Iriſh* Rebels was voted to be an Encouragement to that Rebellion;) after that from declaring of Law they came to declaring of Thoughts, and forgetting that the Hearts of Kings are inſcrutable, preſumed to dive into His, and without Apparence, and contrary to Truth, had declared that He meant to make Warre upon His Parliament, and made that Declaration a ground to levy a real Warre againſt Him, and then made that Warre a ground to begin to make Warre upon His People, forcing away the Arms and Money of all ſuch as they pleaſed to ſuſpect of the Crimes of Allegiance and Loyalty; after that they had ſo farre expreſt and diſcovered the true end of all theſe Actions, as to propoſe the total Change of the preſent Government, both Eccleſiaſtical and Civil, in the Nineteen Propoſitions, as the onely way to Peace; and that His Majeſty might by all this have been ſufficiently perſwaded, that it was impoſsible for Him to obtain Peace from them but either by Submiſsion or by the Sword: yet after all

this His Majeſty was ſo averſe to the latter Courſe, as to deſcend to ſo great a degree of the former, as from *Nottingham* to propoſe to and deſire from them a Treaty for Peace; and being there twice openly and abſolutely refuſed it, yet did then declare, that He would notwithſtanding be ready to receive it whenſoever they would propoſe it. And to ſhew that theſe Offers proceeded not from His Condition but from His Inclination, after His Victory at *Edge-hill*, and after that the Earl of *Eſſex* had ſo farre forgot his Errand, as to return to *London* alone, in ſtead of bringing up His Majeſty, and thoſe His good Subjects whom they call'd Delinquents; His Anſwer at *Colebrook* will ſhew to all the World, that He was ſtill of the ſame minde as when He ſent His Meſſages from *Nottingham*; and His Meſſage ſo carefully ſent from *Colebrook* to prevent all miſconſtruction of that march of His which they had neceſsitated to *Brainceford*, and His preſsing ſtill that a Treaty might go on in that and ſeveral other Meſſages, all ſlighted and neglected, ſhewed ſufficiently who really was deſirous of, and who were averſe to Peace. But when the Petition of ſo many Citizens, that a Treaty might be accepted, finding ſo little countenance or acceptance from the Houſe of Commons, and the Injuries and Impriſonments which the Petitioners ſuffered for it from Alderman *Pennington* and others, finding ſo much countenance from them, did ſo far begin to open the eyes of the People, that the Averſion to Peace began to be imputed to them who were truely guilty, and that they found this Diſcovery made men generally unwilling to part with their money to make themſelves miſerable, and that again encouraged many of the Members to appear for Peace too, and that conſequently their too open and avowed deſire of Warre would but render them unable to continue it, they thought it neceſſary to make ſome Propoſitions which might deceive the People ſo farre as to make them believe they deſired Peace, and yet reſolved to make them ſo unreaſonable, as they might notwithſtanding be ſure to be out of all danger of effecting Peace by them, and ſent thoſe down to His Majeſty. Which though they pretend now to be ſuch as no indifferent man will finde any thing contained in them but what was neceſſary for the maintenance and advancement of the true Proteſtant Religion, the due execution of Juſtice, the Preſervation of the Liberty and Property

perty of the Subject, and the eſtabliſhment of the Kingdoms Peace and Safety; yet His Majeſty is confident that even thoſe who are not very indifferent are yet able to ſee, that no Propoſitions could be more unreaſonable then thoſe Fourteen, except the former Nineteen.

To paſs by the Preamble, (in which moſt unneceſſarily they lay moſt heavy and moſt unjuſt Charges upon His Majeſty, and yet draw an Argument of His Averſion to Peace from thoſe known Truths which either His defence or the matter in queſtion, Crimes being impoſsible to be ſpoken of but as Crimes, did after extort from Him) would not any man have expected, that had obſerved with what violence this Warre was begun and proſecuted againſt His Majeſty, to have found in the Propoſitions for Peace the Demand of at leaſt ſome, and thoſe very important, Rights which were withheld from them before the Warre, and ſo had given ſome colour for it? But of theſe there appears not ſo much as one: and yet till all theſe are granted and performed, they do as much as ſay in Terms plain enough in their Concluſion, That they have not any hope, nor will uſe any endeavours, that His Majeſty and His People may enjoy the Bleſsings of Peace and Juſtice; which was certainly by terrour of Arms to demand new Laws, and as great a Proof that they did ſo, as they ſeem to confeſs it unparliamentary if they had done it. Is not the taking away of the Biſhops, Deans and Chapters, and indeed the whole eſtabliſht Eccleſiaſtical frame of Order and Government, a new Law? yet unleſs His Majeſty will yield to take it away (though there were but five Lords preſent when the Bill paſt, and though no other form be yet offered or ſhewed to Him, but the Presbyterians and Independents are left to fight it out among themſelves what ſhall ſucceed in the place,) His Majeſty is told, He muſt not hope for Peace. And the diviſion likely to enſue between different Parties, what ſhall after be introduced, ſhews ſufficiently what hope there ſhould be of Peace if He ſhould paſs it.

Are not the Bill againſt Scandalous Miniſters (in which moſt of their own Faction are appointed Commiſsioners, that they may make way for and introduce a new Clergy of their own;) the Bill againſt Pluralities, (which makes no difference of conditions, or merits of Perſons, or of value of Livings, and looks not onely

forwards,

forwards, but extends to the immediate diſpoſſeſsing of preſent Incumbents of what is veſted in them for their Lives by the Law of the Land;) the Bill for the Conſultation of Divines (Perſons of their own choice, and moſt of them of their Faction, and of no eſteem but with themſelves, hardly at all bounded as to the matter, and abſolutely unlimited as to the time of their conſultation,) all new Laws? Is not the ſettling of the *Militia* both by Sea and Land, and the Forts and Ports, in ſuch a manner as ſhall be agreed on by both Houſes (in which His Majeſty is expected with a blinde implicite Faith to truſt them with the whole Power of the Kingdom, and with His onely means of defending Himſelf and protecting His Subjects, though into what hands or for what time or in what manner they will order or diſpoſe of it is ſo farre from appearing to Him, that it doth not yet appear that both Houſes know themſelves, and how they have already uſed that Power is known to all the World) both a new and a ſtrange Demand? Are the Earl of *Briſtoll*'s Removal and Excluſion from all poſsibility of Employment, (a Perſon uncondemned, unimpeacht and unſummoned, no crime or error either proved or but named againſt him,) or the choice of the Judges and Maſter of the Rolls, the change of Commiſsioners of the Peace and Oyer and Terminer, or the reſtoring of Members of the Houſes, even to ſuch meniall places of Service as required a perſonal attendance, and who had yet refuſed to attend upon command, or the aſſenting to whatſoever Acts He ſhall be adviſed for paying of Debts contracted upon the publick Faith, that is, by the Authority of both Houſes (by which His Majeſty muſt allow Himſelf to be no part of the publick, and muſt directly allow, and, as it were, ratifie that Rebellion which this Money was raiſed to foment) either due to them by Law, or reaſonable in themſelves? Doth the directing His Majeſty with whom and how far to make Alliances belong to them? (or was that at all neceſſary, His inclination to the ſtricteſt bands with Princes and States of the Proteſtant Religion being by the Match of His Daughter ſufficiently expreſſed?) And yet till all this be done, and unleſs He will pardon all that have born Arms againſt Him, and leave thoſe that have aſsiſted Him to their Mercy who have none, they will not promiſe any hopeful endeavours for Peace and Juſtice.

But

But is there any thing elſe that is due by Law, which was before denied and is here demanded, that can in any degree juſtifie or extenuate that ever Peace was broken and Juſtice deſtroyed? Not ſo much as one tittle. Did His Majeſty give any Commiſsion till they had muſtered many men? Or did He ſo much as take any Guard to Him, till both they had a much greater many moneths, and had of their own Authority ordered a Serjeant-Major-General of their City Forces, and till His Magazine and Town were by Armes kept againſt Him, though He were provoked to it before by all the other Indignities and Injuries which Inſolence and Injuſtice could deviſe? Was not Sir *John Hotham*, for all his known Treaſon, refuſed to be left by them to Juſtice and the triall of the Law, before ever any that was but call'd a Delinquent was protected by His Majeſty? And was not His Majeſty then denied that which themſelves confeſſe to be the due and right of the meaneſt Subject, and do ſo far expect, as to look upon it rather as a ſcorn then a ſatisfaction now His Majeſty offers it to them? Was any one Papiſt armed by His Majeſty before many of that Religion (and multitudes of perſons againſt whoſe Recuſancy the Law is as ſevere as againſt theirs) were armed againſt Him? or then either, untill their mere being of that Religion made them without colour of Law be plunder'd and impriſon'd in all parts, and ſome of them fly into His Army for protection? Did not His Majeſty before of Himſelf often offer to vindicate the Privileges of Parliament from any imaginable breach of them in the buſineſſe of the Lord *Kimbolton* and Five Members? and did He not offer to wave their Charge, willingly ſubmitting it to the publick Peace? So that the obtaining that demand, or the disbanding of the Army, or the diſarming of Papiſts, or the triall of Delinquents, though they make ſome ſuch ſhew as they are ſet in this place, yet not any of them were any grounds of this their War: And all that is due in theſe Demands having been offered before the War, or occaſioned or neceſsitated by it, and being ſtill to be had without it, the whole People cannot but ſee, that nothing but Fears and Jealouſies have been the fumes with which they have ſo intoxicated His ſeduced Subjects, as to contribute to their own Miſery, to obtain no one Right, how ſmall and inconſiderable ſoever, denied to them by His Majeſty, and that the maintenance and advance-

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ment of Religion, Juſtice, Liberty, Property and Peace, are really but their Stalking-Horſes, and neither the Ground of their War nor of theſe Demands; which will appear to any indifferent man that ſhall duly weigh them, as farre from being moderate as from being neceſſary.

Yet ſuch was His Majeſties moſt earneſt deſire to catch at any thing that by producing a Treaty might ſettle a Peace, and ſo farre were any ſuch Enemies of it (as are ſuppoſed by this Declaration) from being prevalent with Him againſt this deſire, that His Majeſty propoſed that perſons ſhould be appointed by His Majeſtie and both Houſes to Treat even upon theſe very Propoſitions, and ſuch other as His Majeſty propoſed, which were only Demands according to or in behalf of the Law eſtabliſht, and which more concerned His Subjects then Himſelf. And His Majeſty cannot but appeal to all the world, whether not onely any of their Propoſitions did, but whether any other Propoſitions that could be deviſed could expreſſe more deſire of the maintenance and advancement of the true Proteſtant Religion then His Majeſties Fourth Propoſition, (in which His readineſſe to conſent to the execution of all Laws made, and to any good Laws to be made, for the ſuppreſsing of Popery, His deſire that the Laws already made to preſerve the Common-Prayer from the ſcorn and violence of Sectaries be backt and fortified, and His Offer at the ſame time that tender Conſciences be eaſed by it, are ſo clearly and carefully expreſt and united;) or of the due execution of Juſtice then His Majeſties Fifth Propoſition, (which referres all ſuch Delinquents as ſhould by the Treaters be excepted in the Pardon, to the uſual courſe and known Law of the Land;) or of the preſervation of the publick Liberty and Property, (for His Majeſty conceives that He hath a Property too, without maintaining of which He will be never able to defend His Subjects) then His Firſt, Second and Third; or of the Peace of the Kingdom, then His Sixth Propoſition, which by reſtoring His Subjects by a Ceſſation to a ſhort Trial of the quiet and benefit of Peace, would have rendred them ſo far in love with that almoſt-forgotten Happineſs, that ſeeing nothing demanded by them that was worth a Warre, they would have had a hard work to have engaged them again into ſo unprofitable a Madneſs. And His Majeſty is ſo confident of His advantage in all theſe, that He conjures

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His Subjects ſeriouſly to read, conſider and compare what He and what they demanded, and by their indifferent Propoſitions to judge of their ſeveral Intentions.

And indeed, the violent party both in the City and the Houſes (which, for all the publick Fears and Jealouſies they pretend, inwardly and really are fearful and jealous of nothing ſo much as of Peace) diſlike nothing more in His Majeſties Propoſitions then the Moderation; and ſuſpecting that the reaſonableneſs and unreaſonableneſs of what His Majeſty and what they askt would but too generally appear by the Diſcuſsion of both in a free and open Treaty, and ſo might in deſpight of them produce a Peace, earneſtly and openly oppoſe the Treaty, and ſo far oppoſe His Majeſties Propoſition of Ceſſation, that it ſufficiently appeared by their averſion to the Shadow of Peace (as themſelves call it) how much and how heartily they were averſe to the Subſtance it ſelf. But when they found that they could perſwade no man to joyn with them in rejecting all imaginable maners of Treaty and Ceſſation, that did not joyn with them in abhorring any imaginable maner of Peace, they reſerved their Authority to enable them to break off both, upon ſomewhat more plauſible difference in the Circumſtances and Conditions.

A ſafe Conduct is demanded by the Houſes, and their firſt Art is to get the Lord *Say* named in that Demand for a Treater, which they knew certainly (he having born Arms againſt His Majeſty, and been excepted in one of His Proclamations of Pardon) His Majeſty muſt except againſt: but when they could not perſwade even both Houſes (who well remembred an example of no elder date then ſince His Majeſty was at *Colebrook*, when the ſame exception at the perſon of Sir *John Evelyn* was made by His Majeſty, and not excepted at by both Houſes) that this exception was ſo unparallel'd a breach of Privilege, as to deſerve to hinder the Treaty from going on, their next Arts are ſo to bound and limit their Committee, both in the Matter, Manner, Time and Power, as might wholly render it uneffectual: And to that end they firſt obtain that their Committee ſhould Treat with none but with His Majeſty, (a Courſe which how lofty, how advantagious, and how unreaſonable ſoever, yet His Majeſty, out of His earneſt deſire of Peace, contrary to their hopes and expectations, was contented

to admit;) and next obtain that they ſhould not Treat upon any point but of the Ceſſation, till that were concluded, and for that allowed but four daies, and that at twice, (in hope that ſome matter of Advantage might happen in the time of that delay) and allow them no Power (without ſtill ſending to the Houſes upon every occaſion) to conclude farther then the Papers they brought down or delivered, or ſo much as to explain or new-word any thing in them, (a new and a ſtrange way of Treating, and by which at that diſtance it was wholy and plainly impoſsible that any thing ſhould be concluded:) and when His Majeſty had quitted all wherein Himſelf or His Army were ſolely concerned, and yielded almoſt to all that they propoſed, and at laſt inſiſted upon nothing but that they might not make uſe of the leiſure of their Army, occaſioned by this Ceſſation, to force what Summes they would from what Countries they pleas'd, (for they neither would nor could name any other bound of their Taxes then their pleaſure, when they imputed that aſſertion to His Majeſty) and ſo extremely burthen His Subjects, and advantage and enable themſelves againſt His Majeſty, (in contradiction to the Principle lay'd down by themſelves, and approved of by His Majeſty, That by the very nature of a Ceſſation, matters ſhould be preſerved in the ſtate they are in, and neither party have liberty much to advantage himſelf;) nor yet inſiſted any further upon that neither, then to leave room ſtill for ſatisfaction (if any Reaſon could be offered againſt ſo reaſonable a Limitation) by a continuance of the Treaty concerning it; they vouchſafed Him no offer of any ſuch Reaſon, nor allowed their Committee any farther Time or Power to Treat concerning it, without expreſsing any better cauſe for ſo abrupt an end of ſo important a Debate, then to avoid the Waſte of Time: though His Majeſty could not conceive that could be called a Waſte, or how time could be better ſpent, then to ſettle ſuch a degree of publick Peace, as might reduce the minds of all men to ſuch a Temper as might make a full Peace much more probable.

Nor did His Majeſty finde in the Treaty it ſelf that the Committee were any better enabled, (though to avoid delay, and that a Concluſion might be made poſsible) His Majeſty often deſired it. They were

were limited twice to four daies, and once to ſeven: they were bounded to two Propoſitions, and to their bare narrow Inſtructions concerning thoſe: nor had they ſo much as any Power or Inſtructions at all concerning that moſt important part of their own Propoſition, ſo often preſt by themſelves, His Majeſties Return to His Parliament. So that reſolving (as it will be afterward ſhewed they did) to yield no farther to His Majeſties Propoſition then with ſuch Limitations as would in effect retain what they ſeemed to give up, they expect that His Majeſty ſhould entirely yield to theirs without any Limitation, and (to invert their own words upon another occaſion) ſhould yield to that which would have produced to them an abſolute Victory and Submiſsion, under pretence of Agreement and Peace: It being evident to all men, that His Rights forced from Him by Violence being not abſolutely reſtored, His Army being diſbanded, and He returned to *London*, the Members of both Houſes for diſſenting from them and aſsiſting of Him remaining expelled, no ſecurity from Tumults for the reſt of the Members being given, and all good Subjects being totally diſcouraged by ſo abſolute a Prevalence of the Factious and Rebellious, His Majeſty were as much in the diſpoſal of the Five Members as if they had Him in the Tower, and He ought His Crown wholly to their Grace and Favour if they did not Depoſe Him. And yet they would be thought to deſire nothing, in deſiring that the Armies ſhould be upon theſe Terms diſbanded, but only that the Kingdom might be eaſed of their Burthen, and the ſpring of theſe Calamities might be ſtopped.

His Majeſty demands, That His own Revenue, Magazine, Towns, Forts and Ships, taken by Force, be reſtored to Him. The Revenue (which they could eaſily pay back out of other mens Purſes) they eaſily agree about; but to part with ſuch ſtrengths which had and did help to enable them to leave no Subject any more of his Right then they had to the detaining of theſe, they can by no means endure. And therefore they propoſe ſuch Limitations as in effect limit away all, and yet may ſeem to the vulgar or to the careleſs not to ſignifie much: to wit, That theſe Strengths may be put into ſuch hands as they will confide in, and that no leſs then three years; That the Commanders may, during that time, not admit of any Forces upon whatſoever occaſion without Conſent

of the Houſes, and they, and all Generals and Commanders of the Armies on either ſide, may ſwear to preſerve the Peace of the Kingdom againſt all Forces raiſed without conſent of both Houſes, and this for no limited time. His Majeſty, who had asked nothing but what was His by Law, and who in order to Peace had not asked ſo much as by Law was due to Him, (to wit, the puniſhment of thoſe who had taken theſe things from Him) could not but wonder to ſee ſuch things asked of Him to which by Law there was no Pretence: He therefore endeavours to limit their Limitations to the Law of the Land; He names thoſe Perſons to this Cuſtody whom the Law had named firſt, and expreſt Himſelf moſt willing that they ſhould be put out at the ſame door they came in at; that the Law, which had veſted them, might eject them, if they had offended againſt it: but expected not that the Injury done Him, of taking theſe things from Him and them contrary to Law, ſhould be a reaſon why any new Conditions or Limitations ſhould be laid upon Him or His Miniſters, which the Law laid not. To this the Committee replies, not denying what the King asked to be legally His, or to have been illegally taken from Him, nor making any legal, or ſo much as colourable, or at all any, Exceptions, againſt the Perſons legally veſted in thoſe Places, (and without any Cauſe ſhewed, it would have ill become His Majeſty to have deveſted His Servants of their Rights in the inſtant when ſome of them are venturing their Lives for His Service) but retire to their old inacceſsible Fort of Fears and Jealouſies. To this His Majeſty rejoyns, ſhews what He had done to prevent and deſtroy Fears and Jealouſies in them, intimates what they had done to create Fears and Jealouſies in Him; that having by Force taken theſe things from Him when He had them, He had more Reaſon to have inſiſted upon further Security to inable Him to keep them, then ſimply to deſire them to be returned to Him, (and much more then to grant them more hold of them, to enable them the better to wreſt them from Him again:) repreſents to them, that by the ſame Reaſon, upon the ſame ground, they may ask Him all His Legal Power, ſince all the Power veſted in Princes for the neceſſary Protection of their Subjects may poſsibly be employed for their hurt: and concludes, in His Opinion, with a very wholeſome Advice againſt that

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dangerous (and now too Epidemical) Diſeaſe of Fears and Jealouſies, and preſcribes to them to make the Law their Rule and meaſure, as the beſt Antidote and Cure for that Diſeaſe.

This inſiſting upon this Anſwer, as His Majeſty for theſe Reaſons thought to be moſt reaſonable, ſo He likewiſe thought it moſt neceſſary; Firſt, becauſe themſelves having told Him in the Debate about Ceſſation in the point of Ships, that for them to allow Him the Approbation of Commanders, was to give Him up the Strength, He could not want Logick ſo much as not to draw this Concluſion from theſe Premiſſes, That for Him to allow them the Approbation of the Commanders, both of Magazines, Towns, Forts and Ships, was in that to give all back to them which they would ſeem to reſtore to Him. Secondly, becauſe His Majeſty by now conſenting upon the ground of Jealouſies to ſuch Demands as exceed thoſe which (before they had joyned the injuſtice of forcing theſe things from Him to the unreaſonableneſs of demanding them) His Majeſty in His weakeſt Condition denied to them, He muſt appear to juſtifie thoſe Jealouſies, to approve of thoſe Demands and of that Injuſtice, and to condemn Himſelf as guilty of the woful effects of that Contention, for not having ſooner conſented to them. Thirdly, becauſe He muſt condemn the Lords Houſe of the ſame Crime, for having twice refuſed to joyn in that Demand, and having had no Jealouſies as long as they had no Tumults. Fourthly, becauſe He muſt either quit, during the lives of theſe ſeveral Perſons required to be ſworn, and at leaſt for three years (when the *Militia* in their own Bill was asked but for two) His known Right of ſole raiſing men, and without the conſent of both Houſes (even although no Parliament were ſitting, for the Bill that ſaies it may continue, does not ſay it muſt) He muſt neither be able to diſcharge His Duty to Himſelf by His own Defence, nor make good His Oath, by the protecting of His Subjects againſt any ſudden, dangerous Rebellion or Invaſion; or the Commanders of all His Ships, Towns, Forts and Magazines, and all the Commanders of both Armies (that is, the moſt conſiderable *Militia* of *England*) muſt according to this new Oath oppoſe any oppoſition He ſhall make, and muſt be equally obliged by it to fight againſt His Forces, as againſt thoſe of the Rebels or Invaders. Fifthly, becauſe if He ſhould give them ſo great a Prerogative,

for ſo long a time, as this ſhare in the choice of men to places of ſo high Power and Truſt, the Dependence of Subjects upon the Crown would be much diverted, and He could never expect to be faithfully ſerved, when no other Crime of theirs appearing to Him, He ſhould ſo farre deveſt the preſent Proprietaries of their legal Right, as to ſubmit it anew to the Arbitrarineſs of their Confiding, who have given His Majeſty no greater Cauſe to confide in their Choice. Sixthly and laſtly, becauſe if He ſhould allow them that power for that time upon that Reaſon, He cannot doubt but againſt that time were ended, the Sweetneſs of Power being once taſted, they would be ſo unwilling to quit it, that the ſame powerful violent party would not want the like Fears to beget the like Demands of the ſame or greater intereſt, in the choice of the ſame or greater Places; and the ſame Conſequences would not likewiſe fail to follow if theſe Demands were not conſented to, and even His good Subjects ſeeing it the moſt proſperous, might be induced to think Faction and Sedition the wiſeſt Courſe; and when they ſaw His Majeſty give ſuch an Encouragement to Rebellion, might think it pity He ſhould ever be without one. And His Majeſty conceives, Fear and Jealouſie may be a good reaſon to make Him cautious how He parts with His Right, though a very inſufficient juſtification of their forcing that from Him, to which they could pretend none.

But ſtill His Majeſty hoped that they only inſiſted upon ſuch Limitations of His Propoſition, till they ſaw what Limitations He would offer to theirs; and therefore to reduce them to Moderation by His Example, He propoſes to the Houſes (for the Committee had no Power or Inſtruction to treat of the principal point of it) no other Limitations then were both due by Law and neceſſary in themſelves, and offers as ſoon as He was ſatisfied in His firſt Propoſition, (to which if they would have put Him in minde of any ſuch Objection in the Treaty, He would never have required that the exact Computation of His Revenue taken from Him ſhould be agreed on before Disbanding, which is now objected to Him, not as an Injuſtice, but as a purpoſed Delay) as ſoon as the Houſes were reſtored to that Condition in which they were before the Tumults and theſe Diſtractions forced the Members from thence, and

In His Meſſage of *April* 12.

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as ſoon as He and thoſe Houſes were ſecured from Tumults (only adding His own opinion, That adjourning twenty miles from *London* could only effect it, and offering them the choice of any place at that diſtance in His whole Kingdom) He would immediately diſband, and return to His Parliament; and expected much more that this Meſſage when it was received at *London* ſhould have met with Bells and Bone-fires, then have received neither Approbation nor Anſwer.

But that violent Party which looks upon Peace like a Monſter, fearing leſt if the Treaty ſhould any longer continue, ſo fair an approach to Peace might by degrees ſteal it on upon them before they were aware, prevail to return no other Anſwer, then immediately to ſend for their Committee from *Oxford*, and to ſend the Lord of *Eſſex* to *Reading*. His Majeſty waits awhile, and again in a Meſſage He had occaſion to ſend to the Houſes concerning *Ireland*, He takes occaſion to put them in minde of that former Meſſage, and to renew the expreſsions of His Deſire of Peace: But this Meſſage had no better luck then the other, for no Anſwer hath been ſent to it, only in ſtead of an Anſwer, the ſame violent Party makes a ſhift to goe a ſtep or two higher, and to prevail in the Houſe of Commons to vote Exciſes upon Commodities, and the making of a new Great Seal, though the making of it will be Treaſon by the Statute of the five and twentieth of *Edward* the Third (and an Order of the Houſe of Commons will be but an inſufficient Plea againſt that Statute) and though they might have remembred, that it is by the old one that both moſt of them hold their Lands, and all of them are called to that Houſe. But ſince His Majeſty would not allow them a ſhare in making of Peers (as they ask'd Him in their Nineteen Propoſitions) nor allow of their choice of Juſtices of the Peace (as they ask'd Him in their Fourteen) and did ſtill pretend to making of Sheriffs (which they have denied Him by their Votes) it ſeems they thought it neceſſary to make that which (if it could be made legal by Voting) would make all thoſe, and to end the Diſpute about His Majeſties Negative Voice, by paſsing by Commiſsion what new Bills they pleaſed, and ſo to obtain as abſolutely an unlimited Power over their fellow-Subjects as over their Sovereign Himſelf.

His Meſſage of *May* 5.

Yet His Majeſty would take no notice of all this, but ſends once more, a third Meſſage, to deſire an Anſwer to His firſt (which had then lain in their hands above a Moneth.) This preſsing for Peace appears ſo intolerable to them, that the Houſe of Commons (as the beſt way to make a final end of all ſuch Meſſages, and indeed to cut off all Entercourſe) is prevailed with by theſe men to commit the Meſſenger, and the next day to impeach His Majeſties Royal Conſort of High Treaſon, as if they would give Him a fair warning how He trouble them about Peace again, leſt His turn be next, and they impeach Him too. But though they vouchſafe His Majeſty no Anſwer, yet the People is ſtill thought worthy of ſome ſatisfaction: and that produces this Declaration, which pretends fully and ſufficiently to ſhew, that in the Treaty their Demands were ſuch and ſo moderate, as was fit and neceſſary for them to make, and juſt and reaſonable for His Majeſty to aſſent unto; and His Majeſties were ſuch as had neither Reaſon nor Juſtice either in the matter or manner of them, and ſuch as left the People no hope or expectation to ſee an end of their preſent Calamities; and charge the King through His Counſellors in many Circumſtances, before it and during it, to have laboured to interrupt the Treaty, and to have appeared averſe to Peace: and in this Queſtion His Majeſty is content to accept of the Arbitrator they themſelves have choſen, and to refer it to the People to judge.

Meſſage of May 19.

Their Firſt Argument is, That this Treaty is for the disbanding of the Armies and Forces in oppoſition to each other; that theſe Towns, Forts and Ships are a great part of their Forces, ſo that for them to reſtore them abſolutely to the King, would be for them to disband totally, and for His Majeſties Forces to continue. To this His Majeſty anſwers, That this Treaty was intended by Him to be in order to a firm and ſettled (that is, a juſt) Peace, and never to be ſuch wherein a pretended Equality ſhould exclude evident Juſtice. Let Equality determine the manner of the disbanding of the Armies raiſed upon theſe Diſtractions, but let Juſtice reſtore what Violence hath taken, and determine of known undoubted Rights; ſince by this Argument, if any Prince ſeize upon any Strength that belongs to His ſtronger Neighbour, and Arms be taken up upon it, the ſtronger muſt never in a Treaty, when the Armies are to be diſbanded,

banded, expect to have His Strength reſtored to Him, leſt the other return to be what He was and what He ought to be, that is, the weaker of the two. Secondly, His Majeſty anſwers, That by the ſame reaſon of Security, other Power and Prerogatives being Strength as well as Forces, and neither more veſted in Him, nor leſs poſsible to be uſed for the Peoples hurt, they may as well require a ſhare and intereſt in thoſe too, and, that things may be made ſufficiently equall between the ſides, may expect to be as much Kings as He. Thirdly, in their own opinion and by their own confeſsion (as it appears by their Argument uſed in the Ceſſation in the point of Ships) if they be but allowed the Approbation of Commanders, His Majeſty gives up this ſtrength to them, and not they to Him, and it will be their Forces, and not His, which are to continue undisbanded, and that that they ſay to be contrary to Equality, and (as they came by theſe Forces) it is evident to be contrary to Juſtice. Fourthly, His Majeſty anſwers, that theſe Forces are not ſo great, or ſo great a Strength of the ſide that ſhall poſſeſs them, but that the Arts, Union, Induſtry and Violence of that Party was ſo much too ſtrong for His Majeſty when He had that Strength, as to take that Strength from Him; and therefore His Majeſty wonders they ſhould make any difficulty to reſtore what it may appear by ſo freſh experience that they are ſo able to reſume: and therefore His Majeſty hopes His People will attribute it to His great Deſire of Peace, that He did not demand ſome farther ſecurity to enjoy that which is not denied to be His Majeſties. And His Majeſty obſerves that both this and the ſecond Anſwer were given by His Majeſty to the ſame Arguments made upon the ſame occaſion by their Committee in the Treaty, and yet this Declaration repeats the ſame Arguments without replying to thoſe Anſwers. Fifthly, His Majeſty deſires that the Difficulty with which His Majeſty raiſed His Army, and the Eaſe with which they raiſed theirs, may be conſidered; how impoſsible it would have been for Him to have raiſed Forces, if they had not raiſed firſt, and how much ſlowlier (this Army being disbanded) He could raiſe a new one, and how quick and ready their Body of fierce, eager Sectaries and Schiſmaticks would be to return into an Army upon the leaſt Call, and how conveniently they inhabit for ſo ſpeedy a meeting,

meeting, being to continue moſt of them in or ſo near *London*, that their Quarters in War were uſually much more diſtant then their Dwellings in Peace: and then His Majeſty doubts not but it will appear, that in this reſpect too the real and total Disbanding is of His Majeſties part onely, and that in effect the Continuance of Forces is ſtill of theirs.

Their Second Argument, why His Majeſty ſhould admit of their Limitations, is a bundle of Precedents. To which His Majeſty replies, Firſt, that the Records which are here quoted for theſe are now in the ſame hands as His Majeſties Magazines, Towns, Forts and Ships, and therefore knows not how He can either have their Truth ſufficiently conſidered and examined, or without it confide in their Quotations. Secondly, all the particular Circumſtances both of matter and time, what induced it, and what followed it, do not herein appear (though very neceſſary to be known, that they may be poſsible to be anſwered.) But this His Majeſty can finde upon view, That ſome of them concern not any part of what is now demanded, but one of them concerns a Chancellour, Treaſurer, and Privie-Seal, and another concerns Privie-Councellours, and another the Protectorſhip, another the choice of ſome without whoſe Advice, or of four of them, nothing ſhould be done by the King, (which it ſeems they have an eye upon demanding too, which made them run ſo much in their heads who collected theſe as to put them in here:) That ſome concern not the Perſons now demanding, but conclude onely for the Merchants to chuſe an Admirall, and not for the Houſes to confide in him; which Precedent may be of ſome uſe to the Common-Councell, but of none to the Parliament: That ſome are of no concern at all, as onely about appointing of Clarks for paiment of Wages (yet put in to increaſe the bulk:) That hardly any of the Precedents that concern any of the things in Queſtion, concern any more then part of thoſe which are altogether demanded in the Limitations deſired; ſome concerning onely the command of Ships (and thoſe too not granted by Act, but by Commiſsion, and that, for ought appears, onely during pleaſure;) ſome extending but to one Town or Place, as *Berwick* or *Jerſey*: That moſt of theſe Precedents appear to have been when the Kings were in minority and under Protectors, ſome when they were in extreme Age and

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Impotencie, ſome in the Reign of a King who was ſhortly after depoſed, in Parliament too, (an unlikely Circumſtance to invite His Majeſty at this time to follow that example) others in His Reign who ſucceeded Him, and (having no Right to the Crown but the Criminal Conſent of both Houſes) had reaſon to deny them nothing who had given Him All. And of ſome of the Precedents now quoted the Inconveniences are known to have been ſo great and ſo ſuddenly found, that they were ſo ſpeedily revoked in Parliament (with no leſs a Brand then as being contrary to the Cuſtomes of the Realm, and to the blemiſhing of the Crown) that if they had ingenuouſly added thoſe Circumſtances, theſe Precedents would more have juſtified His Majeſty for not yielding, then them for either asking any thing towards thoſe, or but for quoting them at all. But doth any of theſe Precedents tell us that theſe Parliaments claimed any Right in any of theſe, or that any King yielded any degree of Power in any one of theſe Points to both Houſes, when they had firſt taken them from Him by force, and rais'd an Army by Ordinance againſt Him, and He was in a condition to reſiſt what they had raiſed? And if either any of theſe Kings were ſo much in their Power that His Conſent was as much forced from Him as theſe Particulars were forced from His Majeſty, or if they were ſo farre out of Danger of any farther Encroachments upon their Power that He could have no cauſe of Fears and Jealouſies in granting ſome of theſe to them, nay that their advice in the Choice aroſe wholly from His Majeſties Deſire, and not their Demand, then the Precedents fit not to this Caſe, and ſo make nothing for their purpoſe. But now that the perpetuity of this Parliament hath ſo farre encouraged thoſe who by Arts and Violence have gotten power over it, that they may probably hope to make this Power as perpetual as it, and have given ſo ſufficient Evidence what farther uſe they would make of any Power, His Majeſty ſuppoſes Himſelf to have more reaſon to be cautious in that point then any of His Predeceſſors, who were content to ſhare any part of this Power but for once, with but a temporary Aſſembly; eſpecially ſince their ſeveral Propoſitions have ſhewed how much more they wiſh, and M. *Prinne*'s Books (printed by Order of a Committee of the Houſe of Commons, ſignified by warrant under M. *White*'s hand) have ſhewed

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how much more they pretend to; and ſince any Grant of His is deſired by theſe men but to enable them to obtain the reſt of their pretences or deſires; what He yielded to them concerning my Lord of *Eſſex* and Sir *John Conyers* being Lieutenants of *Yorkſhire* and the Tower, being preſt in theſe very Precedents as an Argument to Him why He ſhould grant all they ask now. On the other ſide, if His Majeſty ſhould make uſe of their own kinde of weapon, and doe the ſame or as great things, or make them the like or as great demands, as their Predeceſſors have tacitely approved of or directly aſſented to when they were done or made by His, (as in the juſt famous time of Queen *Elizabeth*, in the Caſe of *Stanhope* and *Savile*, or in the ſame time in *Wentworth*'s Caſe, or in the Reign of *Henry* the Eighth, in the power given to Him to diſpoſe of the Kingdome by His Will and Teſtament, and others of the like and near as high kinds) He believes both Houſes would think what others then did, to be no argument to perſwade them either to approve or conſent, but would rather for ever wave all Arguments from Precedents, then direct themſelves by the ſame Rule.

Their third Argument is, That His Majeſty had formerly expreſt that His Forts and Caſtles ſhould be onely in ſuch hands as both Houſes might ſafely confide in. And His Majeſty expreſſeth ſtill as much; and till ſome juſt legal cauſe be ſhewed Him why the Perſons now in thoſe Commands cannot be ſafely confided in by them, He conceives they might ſafely confide in them if they pleas'd. But His Majeſty did likewiſe once ſay, He would put all thoſe places, both of the Forts and *Militia*, into ſuch hands as both Houſes ſhould approve or recommend, unleſs ſuch were named againſt whom He had juſt and unqueſtionable Exceptions. To which His Majeſty replies, That His Offer not giving them ſatisfaction then, (for they would then limit no time for the *Militia*, which was the Condition of that Offer of His Majeſties) and ſince it ſeems it would give none yet, (for they now ask no leſs for the Ships then for thoſe, and more for both, as to the time and other circumſtances, then He then offered for theſe) and they, by forcing thoſe Places from Him ſince, and ſome of the Perſons legally veſted in thoſe places, by their faithfulneſs to Him in this War, having given Him ſo much more cauſe not to yield to it now, He conceives the caſe to

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be ſo altered by all theſe differences, that though, out of His earneſt deſire to ſatisfie them as long as He thought them capable of ſatisfaction by it, He then intended what He ſpoke, yet He may inſiſt upon what He now inſiſts, without being ſaid to have receded from His Word. Did not they refuſe to accept of four Perſons named in His Majeſties Bill concerning the *Militia*, which themſelves had but newly offered Him in their Ordinance concerning it? And had thoſe perſons in that time given them ſo great cauſe for that refuſal as His Majeſty hath had given Him for this? And yet will they confeſſe that ill Counſell prevail'd with them to recede from their words, and that therefore His Majeſty had the more cauſe to be farther ſecured?

Their fourth Argument is, That unleſs theſe Limitations be granted, thoſe ſecret and wicked Counſellours, that have been Inſtruments of the preſent Miſeries, will have the diſpoſing of thoſe Places, and His Majeſty carry but the Name. To this His Majeſty replies, That knowing who have been the Inſtruments of theſe Miſeries, He ſhould by that believe the ſecret and wicked Counſellors ſpoken of to be the active part of the cloſe Committee; for if He have any wicked Counſellors about Him, He confeſſeth they have cauſe to call them ſecret as well as wicked, ſince they have not only wholly concealed themſelves from Him, but He having often preſs'd to have ſome named, could never obtain from them the name ſo much as of one, nor ſince hath heard ſo much as one proof or charge either of being wicked Counſellors, or of any Legal Crime againſt any of His Servants whom they have named, though they have publiſht them withall to be incapable of Pardon: however He finds, that if what they ſay were true, the ends of theſe Counſellors and of their violent Party is but juſt the ſame, that is, to diſpoſe of theſe Places, and that His Majeſty may only carry the Name.

But they have found a Letter of His Majeſties to the Queen, which ſhews that the great and eminent Places of the Kingdome are diſpoſed of by Her Advice, (and then conclude from Her Religion, that they are by conſequence diſpoſed of by the advice of Papiſts and Jeſuites) and that the Perſons there named, even during the ſitting of Parliament, are either all impeacht by them, or bear Armes againſt them. To this His Majeſty replies, Firſt, That He cannot but deplore the condition of the Kingdome, when Letters of all ſorts,

of Husbands to Wives, even of His Majeſty to His Royal Conſort, are intercepted, read, brought in Evidence, and publiſht to the World. Secondly, That if they will remember how farre many of thoſe Perſons of both Sexes, who have received moſt notable marks of Favour from Her Majeſty, are, even in their own Opinion, from ſo much as inclining to Popery, they muſt confeſſe Her Favours and Recommendations not to be diſpoſed of by Prieſts and Jeſuites. Thirdly, That the Places there named, in which Her Majeſties Advice may ſeem to be deſired, are not places (as they call it) of the Kingdome, but private menial places, a Treaſurer of the Houſehold, a Captain of the Penſioners, and a Gentleman of the Bed-chamber: That concerning the other more publick Places, His Majeſty abſolutely declares Himſelf, without leaving room for Her Advice; which ſeems to prove the contrary to that which by this they intend to prove. Fourthly, That of the Perſons there named there is not one that either is a Papiſt, or ſo like one, that a Jeſuite may be thought to have recommended him, nor any one (except the Lord *Digby*) that was either impeacht or otherwiſe taxt, or that could appear to His Majeſty to have ever been in any degree diſlik'd by both or either Houſe, before aſsiſting His Majeſty againſt a Rebellion did lately become Treaſon: and whoever conſiders the Time and other Circumſtances even of that Impeachment, and that their eyes were then ſo dazled with Feares and Jealouſies as to take a Coach and ſix Horſes for an Army raiſed againſt them, will hardly look upon that Impeachment with that reverence which hath uſually been paid to Accuſations of that kinde. And for their bearing of Arms in ſuch a Time wherein all His Majeſties Subjects do either beare or aſsiſt Arms, either for or againſt Him, He ſuppoſes that it will not be thought ſtrange, if He chuſe Perſons for ſuch Places as are in His own Diſpoſall rather out of the firſt ſort then out of the ſecond.

And as His Majeſty hath fully anſwered their Obſervations upon His Letters, ſo He believes that one thing more (though unobſerved by this Declaration) cannot but be obſerved out of them by His People; and that is, That in His Majeſties moſt private Letters to the Perſon neareſt to Him, wherein He cannot (as by ſome in His publick Declarations He is) be ſuſpected to ſay any thing out of Deſign or Policy,

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His own clear perſwaſion that the Rebels, and not He, have been the cauſe and are the foſterers of this War and univerſal Diſtraction, and His Senſe of it, and His Deſire of the end of it, are ſo plainly expreſt, that they will by this Accident be much ſatisfied with His Majeſties Innocence and Reality, and believe that the reading this in ſuch a Letter, is the very next Degree to reading it in His Heart.

Their fifth and laſt Argument is, The attempts of Force and Violence againſt the Kingdom and this Parliament, and they inſtance in four. The firſt is, a Deſigne many years ſince to bring into this Kingdom the *German* Horſe, to compel the Subjects to ſubmit to an Arbitrary Government. And to this His Majeſty replies, That He eſteems His Condition more miſerable then that of any of His Subjects, when He ſees a few Factious perſons have obtained that power, as to be able to publiſh to all His People, in the name of both Houſes, a Charge which (coming forth with the ſemblance of ſuch Authority) may much work with them againſt Him, and yet do not (which is certainly becauſe they cannot) tell any one proof or particular either whence, whither, when, by whom, or by whoſe Deſigne theſe Horſe ſhould have been brought. They confeſs it is many years ſince, and it ſeems it is ſo many that theſe particulars are all worn out of the memory of man.

The ſecond is, the endeavor to bring up the Northern Army by Force and Violence to awe the Parliament. To this His Majeſty hath ſo often anſwer'd, and received ſo little Reply, that He will only now briefly ſay, that according to the Evidence they have publiſht themſelves, (and that before hearing the perſons concern'd in it, after ſo long a time of the Houſes leiſure and their attendance, whoſe Anſwer it was perhaps feared would have cleared it more) it doth not appear that there was ever any Endeavour uſed in it, nor any thing further then a mere motion, which died as ſoon as it was conceived; and it doth appear that His Majeſty abſolutely diſlik'd it as ſoon as by way of Diſcourſe it was but named to Him: But if it had been really endeavoured, it had been but an Endeavour towards that which was directly put in Execution by the Tumults, and thoſe countenanc'd by the Refuſal of the Houſe of Commons not onely to puniſh them, but ſo much as to joyn with the Lords in a Declaration againſt the like for the future, and by

the ſtopping the legal Proceedings againſt Riots by a ſingle Order of the Houſe.

The third is, His Majeſties coming in Perſon to the Houſe of Commons with many armed men to demand their Members to be delivered up. His Majeſty confeſſeth He came; He denies that (to His knowledge) He came accompanied with any men otherwiſe armed then with His Guard and Penſioners, in the ſame manner as He uſually came to the Houſe of Lords, and with ſome Gentlemen (as His Train when He goes to any publick place is alwaies ſo waited on) with their uſual Weapons, their Swords. And if they had been as carefull to publiſh what Perſons of Quality (as Serjeant-Major *Aſhly* for one) teſtified upon their knowledge and Oath, as what mean, unknown and unſworn Perſons delivered upon their bare Credit or upon hear-ſay, it would have appeared to His People how little Violence was intended by any who came with Him however armed, and what Care He took, and what Orders He gave to be ſure to prevent any that poſsibly might have happened. His Majeſty likewiſe confeſſes, that He demanded the Members He had accuſed of High Treaſon; but puts them withall in minde, that the Houſe of Commons had hardly left him any other Courſe, having by their ſingle Order, the night before, intercepted all ordinary proceedings of Juſtice againſt them, forbidding all Officers to attach any Member for any Crime without the Conſent of the Houſe, and encouraging the People in that caſe to aſsiſt them againſt any Officer; though their Privileges had been confeſs'd by a late Petition of both Houſes not to extend to Treaſon; and though this Order were as illegal and unjuſtifiable, as not onely His Majeſties coming to the Houſe, but even as any thing they would have had the People believe that He intended when He came. But whatever Breach of Privilege there was in this, His Majeſty did not offer to juſtifie it by their preceding breach of Law, but offered them often Reparation and Satisfaction for it: but it ſeems nothing but the Ships, Forts, Ports, Magazine and *Militia* of the whole Kingdom would appear to them a Reparation for a ſingle, and (this Circumſtance conſidered) perhaps a diſputable, Breach of Privilege.

The fourth is, the Treaſon of the Earl of *Strafford*, to bring over the

the *Iriſh* Popiſh Army to conquer the Kingdom. To this His Majeſty replies, That whatever the Earl of *Strafford* could have ſaid (for this Army He is ſure was never brought, nor, that He ever heard, was ever endeavoured to be brought over, either to that or any other purpoſe) His Majeſty cannot ſee why it might not have remained buried with him, or why any other ſatisfaction ſhould be given for it, or other ſecurity againſt the like, then the Puniſhment he hath already undergone.

Having given what Reaſons they can to juſtifie their Limitations of His Majeſties Propoſitions, this Declaration in the next place attempts to ſatisfie that Reaſon inſiſted on by His Majeſty, *That it is His Right by Law*, (to which they ſhould have added, *and contrary to Law forced from Him*;) and not being able to deny that, and yet being willing to deny ſomething, they quarrel at the phraſe, and deny that this power of diſpoſing theſe Commands is by Law *abſolutely* veſted in His Majeſty, and that becauſe He is truſted with them for the Defence and Safety of the Kingdom. His Majeſty ſtill juſtifies what He ſaid Himſelf, and yet confeſſes all that they ſay too, but onely denies the Conſequence; for no man is abſolutely veſted in any thing, if being truſted with it to ſome end hinder him from being ſo. The Houſe of Commons is truſted with a Preparatoty, the Houſe of Lords is truſted with a Judicatory, the King, Lords and Commons are truſted with a Legiſlative Power, and all theſe have thoſe Truſts veſted in them for the publick good; and are not yet all theſe Truſts abſolute, that is, ſubject to the Controll of no other Power? Is no man abſolutely veſted in his Goods, becauſe all we have we are truſted with for the Glory of God? His Majeſty meant onely that this was ſo abſolutely veſted in Him by Law, as nothing but a new Law could without Breach of Law take or hold it from Him.

But the Declaration is content to admit that too, onely denies it to be a Reaſon why His Majeſty ſhould deny to alter that Law, when by Circumſtance of Time and Affairs that Power becomes deſtructive to the Commonwealth and Safety of the People, the Preſervation whereof is the chief End of the Law. And His Majeſty is equally ready to confeſs that it is no Reaſon, but doth abſolutely deny that this is the Caſe, (inſiſting that the circumſtances

of Time and Affairs hath made this Power more neceſſary then ever to remain in His Majeſty for the protection and ſafety of His People;) and He claims Himſelf to be as abſolutely truſted by Law with the final Judgement, whether it be the Caſe or no, and with a Power of rejecting any ſuch Alteration upon any ſuch Pretence, if it appear but a Pretence to Him, as either Houſe is truſted to propoſe any ſuch Alteration to the other, or both to Him, if it appear to them neceſſary and convenient.

But, ſaies this Declaration, the two Houſes of Parliament being the Repreſentative Body of the Kingdome, are the moſt competent Judges thereof: and ſaies His Majeſty, the Repreſentative Body of the Kingdome is indeed, and that is the King, Lords and Commons; elſe either the Head is no part of the Body, or at leaſt will be no longer then the Body pleaſe. Indeed the two Houſes in ſome ſenſe repreſent the Kingdom, in any Action which the Law (which is the Rule of the Kingdom) hath intruſted and enabled them to doe; but either one Houſe or His Majeſty do equally repreſent it in any thing which the ſame Law hath entruſted and enabled Him or them to doe: and for thoſe Actions in which the Law requires the Conſent of all three, every one is to be allowed their own ſeveral diſtinct Judgement, for themſelves only, and any one without the other two have as much Right as any two without the third, to repreſent the Kingdom, and to be competent Judges of the Caſe. And His Majeſty cannot but take notice how much Reaſon He had not to yield to this Demand, ſince the grant of this Demand would be received as an Admiſsion of this Caſe, and it would Logically enough follow, That if His People cannot be ſafe and He retain this Power, He doth not deſerve to retain any: and if their Demands were granted, and the Armies upon their Demands disbanded, this Conſequence in all Probability would ſoon be both perceived and preſt.

But His Majeſty may without Prejudice admit both Houſes to be the moſt competent Judges in this particular, and then put them in minde, that before ſo many things had been done by the violent Party to turn the Tide of Fears and Jealouſies, before they had involved the King and Subject in a common Suffering, and equally deſtroyed all the Property of the one and Prerogatives

of

of the other by Orders and Ordinances; and ſo there then appeared leſs neceſsity that this power ſhould remain in the Crown, either for the preſervation of it Self or of the People, and little danger appeared to the People if this Power were thus ſhared; the Houſe of Lords did then twice deliver their Judgement, That this Power in His Majeſty was not become deſtructive to the Commonwealth and Safety of His People, nor the Alteration of this Law neceſſary, by twice denying to joyn with the Commons in their deſire, That part (for the Ships and the Time were not then named) of this Power might be ſhared, and of this Law altered: by which denial the Commons were forced to Petition for it by themſelves. Nor did they only deny it, but both times, in full Houſes, after long and free debates, it was carried upon the Queſtion by above Twenty Voices, and that at a time when all the Papiſts Lords had left the Town, and hardly any Biſhops were left uncommitted (Twelve being at once clapt up upon an Accuſation of Treaſon, which they themſelves have ſince been aſhamed of enough to wave) who were then the Perſons uſually repreſented to the People to be the evil Counſellours of the Lords Houſe, and to whoſe prevalence it was imputed in the firſt Remonſtrance of the Houſe of Commons, that their good and neceſſary Motions did not paſs in that Houſe. And as they denied it twice, ſo they would have denied it till now, if the Petition of many thouſand poor people about *London* (who certainly did not then believe the Lords to be competent Judges) and the demand of the Houſe of Commons joyned to it, to be told the names of thoſe Lords who denied it, and the direct Threats of ſo many Petitioners (to which the former Tumults gave ſufficient credit that they would be really executed upon them) had not made many of the Lords to be of his minde who would not diſpute with him who commanded thirty Legions, and give way to the potent Minor part to appear the Major, by abſenting themſelves, and ſuffering them to paſs what they pleaſed. So that neither the Votes which then paſt to deſire theſe particulars, nor the Execution of theſe Votes and ſeizing theſe particulars with a Violence yet greater then obtained the Votes, nor the multitude of Conſequences of the ſame kinde built upon that Foundation, can at all be ſaid to have had the Authority of both Houſes; though

moſt of thoſe Actions have been ſuch, as the Authority even of both Houſes, how full and free ſoever, would not be ſufficient to juſtifie. And this Opinion of the neceſsity of altering the Law in theſe points, was even then at moſt but the Opinion of the Houſe of Commons, awed by a few Members aſsiſted by the Common people, and together with them awing the Lords.

They next pretend heartily to wiſh, that the Laws and Statutes of the Kingdom may be the Rule of what is or what is not to be done; but how little fruit hath been gathered from this Tree, they ſay let the experience of the laſt Eighteen years judge. To this His Majeſty replies, That it is true in ſome ſenſe, they are willing theſe Laws ſhould be His Rule, that is, that He goe no farther (though they will by no means allow Him to goe near ſo far;) but almoſt all their Actions, and moſt of their Demands, and particularly theſe, do ſufficiently ſhew, that they will not admit of theſe Laws and Statutes to be any Rule to them. And how much better fruit they have graffed then they found growing, and whether they have not made uſe of the Cure and Remedy of Grievances, a Parliament, to impoſe more of all kind of Grievances upon the People in eighteen months, then can be objected to His Majeſty or Miniſters upon the breach and in the intermiſsion of Parliaments during thoſe eighteen years, let Experience be judge. And it cannot but appear ſtrange to His Majeſty (if any thing could ſtill appear ſtrange to Him) that the Illegalities under which His Subjects ſuffered by ſome of His Miniſters in ſome part of His Reign, ſhould be now, and by them, laid as a Charge upon Him, when not only the People have ſuffered farre greater Illegalities and Preſſures upon the ſame, if not leſs, pretences, by thoſe who charge Him with them; but when He hath by His Acknowledgements, by His ample Satisfactions, by the ſubmitting the Offenders to Puniſhment, how great or near ſo ever to Him, and by His many and ſolemn Proteſtations, given ſecurity to His People that they ſhall never ſuffer the like under Him; and when they on the other ſide as good as profeſs to the People, that they think themſelves obliged to maintain (and conſequently are likely to continue) what they have done, becauſe they have done it, and that their Actions ſhall not be retracted, leſt ſome reflection or diſhonour fall upon both Houſes, and leſt they may

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ſeem to pronounce a ſentence of injuſtice and raſhneſs againſt themſelves: this being one of the Reaſons given by them, why they cannot re-admit the Members they have expelled. And His Majeſty is confident that His People, when they ſhall conſider both His Miniſters Actions and theirs, and after compare His Ingenuity with their Principles, will eaſily conceive under whoſe Government they are moſt likely to return to the known Rule of the Law, and to find that eaſe, and to be continued in thoſe Rights in and to which they were born, and of the Exorbitance of whoſe Power they have moſt reaſon to have any Fears and Jealouſies, and againſt whom they have moſt reaſon to deſire to be ſecured that they ſhall enjoy their Rights.

Nor do they with more colour oppoſe His Majeſties Limitations and Conditions then they defend their own. They object againſt His Majeſties Demand or Limitation of being ſatisfied in His firſt Propoſition, That if His Ships, Forts, &c. were to be delivered before disbanding, it muſt after be left to the pleaſure of the Papiſts, and other evil Counſellors about His Majeſty, whether they would disband or not. But His Majeſty replies, That He made not His Limitation in theſe terms, As ſoon as His firſt Propoſition ſhould be wholly granted to Him, but, As ſoon as He ſhould be ſatisfied in His firſt Propoſition; which left room enough upon debate to have agreed either upon the time of delivery, or upon ſufficient caution, that after the delivery the disbanding ſhould unavoidably follow. Nor can His Majeſty look upon this Objection otherwiſe then as a jeſt, ſince if after the performance of part of the Conditions He had refuſed to perform the reſt, He is perſwaded that ſo open a breach of Faith would have given them a farre greater ſtrength then they had parted with in the Ships and Forts, and have raiſed againſt Him a farre greater Army then He ſhould have refuſed to disband.

They object againſt His Demand of the reſtitution of Members, that in His Demand no diſtinction is made of Perſons or Offences; when the reaſon thereof is, that really no diſtinction can be made, they being all equally innocent, and all equally injuriouſly expelled, not only for committing no Crime, but for that Duty and Loyalty which deſerves both approbation and reward. And if

they

they could make any distinction in this point, or any Objection in any other, which might possibly have satisfied His Majesty, why did they not continue the Treaty, and there offer it to and debate it with His Majesty, rather then break off the Treaty without giving any Answer to any part of His Majesties Message, and to turn themselves wholly to the People, from whom no return could possibly be made that might be in order to Peace?

They object against the Reason of this Demand, [That these Members have been expelled only for adhering to His Majesty] That the same Reason may be used for the Judges who adhered to Him, by furnishing Him with great summes by illegal Judgements about Ship-money and Monopolies; and that He may as well require the Houses to repeal the Impeachments and proceedings against them. To which His Majesty replies, That by never having appear'd at all in the favour, excuse, or extenuation of the fault of those Judges (who are to answer for any unjust Judgement, in all which His Majesty left them wholly to their Consciences, and whensoever they offended against that, they wronged His Majesty no less then His People) and by His being yet so careful of these Lords and Gentlemen, it may appear that His Majesty conceives, that those only adhere to Him who adhere to Him according to Law. And whether the remaining part of the Houses be not more apt to repeal their own Impeachments and proceedings against those Judges (if they conceive they may be made of use, and brought to adhere to them) then His Majesty is to require they should, may appear by their requiring in their Fourteen Propositions, that Sir *John Bramston* (impeacht by themselves of so great Misdemeanors) may be made Chief Justice, and by their freeing and returning Justice *Barkley* (accused by themselves of High Treason) to sit upon the Bench, rather then free and imploy Justice *Mallet*, who was not legally committed at first, but fetcht from the Bench to Prison by a Troop of horse, and who after so many months Imprisonment remains not only unimpeacht, but wholly without any knowledge of what Crime he is suspected.

They next object against the Persons in whose behalf the Demand is made. And to this His Majesty replies, That to shew how farre He was from having raised this Army, or from intending to imploy

imploy it to deſtroy this Parliament, or the Act for the continuance thereof, as is falſely and maliciouſly charged upon Him; to avoid the Objection made againſt Him, as if He only pretended to deſire to rule by Law, but would really be the only Judge of Law Himſelf, and deny all Judgement to both Houſes; to ſhew how willing He was that both Houſes ſhould be the Judges of what belong'd to them to judge, whenſoever they might be in that full and free condition in which it belong'd to them to be; and to avoid the Deſtruction of the Kingdom, which would be occaſioned by the delay of Disbanding, if that were not ended before all the preſent Differences; His Majeſty propoſed this way of a full and free Meeting in Parliament, and to refer thoſe many Differences between Him and the remaining part of both Houſes (on which He might with Juſtice have inſiſted, and which in themſelves were neceſſary to be ſettled) till they might be ſettled in that Meeting, and inſiſted for the preſent only upon that which was neceſſary for the ſettling of ſuch a Meeting. And in ſuch a Convention, if the perſons now in queſtion ſhould upon debate have appeared guilty of ſuch Crimes wherewith this Declaration charges them, as to have deſerted the Houſe, (when intolerable Tumults and unjuſtifiable Votes drove them from it) to have diſobeyed and contemned the Authority of the Houſe, (for not having ſubmitted their Allegiance to that Authority) to have neglected the Truſt repoſed in them, (for ſtaying no longer where they could not with freedome diſcharge it) and to have by practices and Hoſtility endeavoured to deſtroy both Parliament and People, (for having aſsiſted His Majeſty, and defended His Perſon againſt an Army raiſed and fighting againſt Him;) His Majeſty would have been very well contented, if the Houſes ſhould then judge ſo, that they ſhould have been finally expelled, and that the People might enjoy their intereſt and freedome of Choice and Election, when it ſhould have been juſtly devolved to them. But by their declining of this courſe, it is evident that they well know, in ſuch a full and free Meeting, who would appear by moſt voices to be the innocent, and who the guilty, who the deſerters, and who the drivers, and that then and there they would as little be able to juſtifie their own Votes as to condemn theſe perſons: & therefore having by Force got ſole poſſeſsion of the place, are wiſely reſolved to admit none to judge

there

there of what is Law, but only ſuch of the major part of whoſe Judgements they are ſecure, as having been made inſtruments to violate it.

To His Majeſties demand of ſecurity from ſuch Tumults as formerly awed the Houſes, they only anſwer, That what is ſaid of awing the Members is a high and dangerous aſperſion, raiſed without doubt to invalid the Acts and proceedings of Parliament: but to the known Particulars urged by His Majeſty they are wholly ſilent; and neither deny ſuch Tumultuous aſſemblies to have been, nor the Lords to have twice in vain complained of them, and deſired the Houſe of Commons to joyn with them in a Declaration againſt them; nor can they deny but the Lords added this Reaſon, *Leſt ſuch Aſſemblies might be derogatory from the good Acts made and to be made in this Parliament*; all which Acts nevertheleſs that Houſe undoubtedly did not intend to invalid, either by that deſire or by that reaſon. Nor can any man, that hath ſeen what Proteſtations His Majeſty hath taken, (all which He doth now again renew) for maintaining of the Laws conſented to by His Majeſty this Parliament, but ſufficiently free His Majeſty from the aſperſion of having rais'd this to invalid thoſe. But if they mean by their Proceedings, the Votes, Orders, Ordinances and Declarations, wherewith they have almoſt daily oppreſt His Subjects and defamed His Majeſty ſince thoſe Tumults, if they mean the countenance they have given by perſonal Contributions, by Oaths, by Commiſſions of Generalſhip and the like, to the preſent Rebellion raiſed againſt Him; He then confeſſeth, not that He rais'd this Aſperſion, but that He declared this Truth, as an argument of the more evident invalidity of their preſent proceedings, which thoſe Tumults, (and apprehenſions of the like, and of an Army now in the City to boot) rather then the inclination of both Houſes, may appear to have produced. And this appears to be no leſſe their Opinion too, by their being ſo infinitely unwilling to ſuffer the Members to meet in ſo ſecure a manner, that they may be hindred by no awe from declaring to all the world whether they were awed before or no; and thence the world may judge of theſe mens averſion from all Agreement, when in order to ſo bleſſed a thing as Peace, they refuſe ſo juſt a demand as Security.

They next object againſt Adjourning twenty miles from *London*:

and

and in the first place they object against it, That in making that a Condition of Disbanding to which by Law they are not bound to consent, His Majesty requires a new Law by Arms. In which they are wholly deceived, for His Majesty never made it a Condition: to have Security for Himself and both Houses from Tumults (which they cannot deny to have been, and against which notwithstanding they do not offer any other kind of Security) His Majesty did demand as a Condition, (and Security is undoubtedly His Majesties due by Law;) but the Adjournment was only express'd as that which His Majesty only conceived to be the only Security; not but if they could find a better or but another way, His Majesty would as readily approve of it. But His Majesty appeals to the world, whether His Majesty ought to have done less for His Safety and that of the Members, and the freedome of their Votes, then to demand Security against Tumults; whether He could doe more for Peace, then to be ready to accept any sufficient Security that they should offer, and withall to be industrious to find out a fit means for that Security Himself, and to propose it in so large a manner to them, as to leave them to chuse their own place out of all the rest of *England*; and whether on the other side they could doe less toward either, then not to grant the Security, when they cannot deny the Danger, and not only not to seek after and offer any one way that might secure, but so absolutely to refuse that reasonable way of Security which is offered to them; whether the inconvenience of removing Records twenty miles ought to be in any balance with the Miseries of a War; whether the avoiding of this (but tacite) confession of that Truth, (which they call a Scandal, but can never prove one) that His Majesty was forced for His Safety to withdraw from His Parliament, (of which the Army raised without His consent, to bring in triumph to the Houses Persons accused of High Treason by Him, were alone a sufficient testimony) and that the Members were awed (when their Names were sometimes demanded, and sometimes posted, their Persons laid hands on, and the Tumultuous multitude neither punisht nor discountenanc'd so much as by a Declaration;) whether the fear lest *London* (in which and by a part of which all this was done) should seem to suffer under a Charge; and lastly, whether the Doubt, lest in any place out of *London* His Majesty should again come to the House of Commons with armed men, (upon what apparence of Right, after what orders against His known

Right, and with how little either intention, offer or colour of Violence He came thither, having been ſhewed before) can appear a ſufficient Reaſon for their Reſolution againſt ſuch an Adjournment, in order to the publick Peace: and whether, although there were no neceſsity of it but His Majeſties Deſire, (Who out of compliance with them hath put the abſolute Power out of His own hands, not only of Adjourning the Parliament whither, but of Diſſolving it when He pleaſed) it might not ſeem no unreaſonable Requeſt after ſo large a Grant.

Their third part is, to prove His Majeſties averſion to Peace by ſeveral Circumſtances. The firſt is, His having denied to receive their Petitions: which His Majeſty never did. For if they mean (which was all He ever did towards any refuſal) His refuſing to receive any from or by any perſon accuſed of High Treaſon by Him, (when they had other and more direct waies of ſending to Him (as they had) then by the Earl of *Eſſex*, if they had not gone out of their way out of deſire to have it refuſed) they may as well ſay, He hath refuſed all that have ever ſince come to Him from them, for He continued alwaies to make that Exception: and if their hope of preſent and total Victory had not made them inſiſt upon that before *Edge-hill* which they quitted after, the Petition offered to have been ſent from my Lord of *Eſſex* from the head of his Army had been then received too by any other kind of hand; though, if His Majeſty were rightly informed of the Contents of that Petition, neither their offer of ſuch a Petition could ſhew any inclination to Peace in them, nor could His abſolute refuſal have ſhewed any averſion to it in His Majeſty.

The ſecond is, That their Committee muſt not, without a ſpecial ſafe Conduct and Protection from Him, have Acceſſe to Him; a Liberty incident to them not only as Members of the Parliament, and employed by both Houſes, but as they were free-born Subjects. To this His Majeſty replies, That He never denied their Committee to have acceſſe to Him without a ſafe Conduct, nor did He ever ſo much as mention any to them. The firſt motion concerning a ſafe Conduct was in a Letter from the Lord *Grey* of *Wark*, Speaker *pro tempore* of the Lords Houſe, to either of His Majeſties Secretaries, dated the third of *Novemb.* 1642. deſiring one for that Committee which after attended His Majeſty at *Colebrook*; and the ſame was again deſired for the Committee appointed to treat at *Oxford*, by a Letter from the

Earl

Earl of *Mancheſter*, Speaker of the ſame Houſe, to the Lord *Falkland*, dated the 28 of *February*. And muſt it not ſeem ſtrange to all the World, that His Majeſties granting of that which both Houſes in order to the Treaty ask'd of Him, ſhould be after charged upon Him as a provocation laid in the way to interrupt or break off the Treaty? And ſince undoubtedly (and that reaſonably) it would have been interpreted averſion in His Majeſty from Peace, if He had denied this when it was ask'd; His condition was very hard, when, it ſeems, He could not either way have avoided this imputation, whether He had denied or granted it. But His Majeſty deſires His Subjects to conſider the great difference between what His Majeſty hath cauſe to complain of, and what they do. Maſter *Alexander Hampden*, imployed by His Majeſty with an Olive-branch, a Meſſage for Peace directed to both Houſes, incloſed in a Letter to the Speaker of the Lords Houſe, having His Majeſties paſs teſtifying that he was ſo employed, having delivered this Meſſage to the Lords Houſe, and that Houſe having received it as a gracious Meſſage, is committed by the Houſe of Commons (notwithſtanding the liberty of acceſs ſaid to be incident to all free-born Subjects) for not having a ſafe Conduct from their General, upon pretence of an Order of that Houſe but lately made, and never paſt the Lords, nor publiſh'd by themſelves: and notwithſtanding that the Lords at a Conference deſired the Meſſengers releaſe upon the aforeſaid reaſons, and that he was ſent to them, and that their own Meſſengers had divers times of late gone to *Oxford* in the ſame manner, and none of His Majeſties had come otherwiſe, yet the onely Anſwer returned was, *That they would ſtand to their own Order*. Upon which His Majeſty cannot but obſerve, Firſt, that how great Authority ſoever both Houſes expect to have with His Majeſty, yet one Houſe hath but a little with the other: Secondly, That the Privilege of that Houſe is as little conſidered as their Interceſsion, ſince undoubtedly, if the Lords (who in many caſes have power to commit, which the Houſe of Commons hath not over more then their own Members, in any caſe but of breach of Privilege) had committed a Meſſenger ſent to the Houſe of Commons (eſpecially from any to whoſe Meſſengers they paid half that reſpect which they owe to His Majeſties) upon an

Order only of their own Houſe, and having committed him without their conſents, ſhould not releaſe him at their deſire, it would have been lookt upon by them as no leſs a breach of Privilege then His Majeſties coming to their Houſe: Thirdly, That by this His Majeſty hopes that the Violent party doth now ſee better times are not far off, ſince He is told by this very Declaration, That *evil Spirits do then rage moſt, when they think they muſt be caſt out.*

The grounds of their third and fourth (for ſuch as have been taken notice of by the by, and replied to before, need not to be repeated) are theſe. During the Treaty two Proclamations iſſued at *Oxford* againſt Aſſociations, and raiſing of Forces and Taxes by virtue of Ordinances, in which His Majeſty charges a Traitorous and Rebellious Army of *Browniſts*, *Anabaptiſts*, and *Atheiſts*, (but not both Houſes, as, for want of being charged, they charge themſelves) to endeavour to take away His Life, and the Religion and Laws of the Kingdom. And ſome Letters were intercepted, by which, they ſay, it probably appears to them, that His Majeſty had then deſignes upon *Killingworth*, *Scarborough* and *Briſtol*. But His Majeſty thinks it ſtrange that it ſhould be expected, that this Treaty ſhould have ſo much influence on one ſide, and ſo little on the other; that during the Treaty Taxes may be illegally laid and levied, and His Majeſty may not legally forbid them; that Souldiers of the Earl of *Eſſex* his Army daily rail againſt Epiſcopacy, break into Churches, pull down Organs and Monuments, tear Surplices and Common-Prayer-Books, and His Majeſty may not call them *Browniſts*; that that Army may go on daily during the Treaty in overt acts of Rebellion and Treaſon, and it muſt be an Interruption of the Treaty in His Majeſty to call them Rebels and Traitors; that He may not ſay they endeavour to take His Life, who have ſhot at Him as often as He hath come within Cannon ſhot of them; and that the Treaty ſhould not oblige them from taking any Town or Caſtle of His Majeſties from Him, and yet His Majeſty be obliged by it neither to regain any of His Towns, nor receive any of His own Caſtles; that Sir *William Waller* may really take *Malmesbury* and *Teukesbury*, and His Majeſty muſt not ſo much as think of *Scarborough* or *Briſtol*; upon which City as His Majeſty doth avow to have had a Deſigne to recover it from the Rebels, ſo He abſolutely denies it to have been

either

either bloody or barbarous, Epithets which they are pleaſed to give it, but for what reaſon He cannot imagine, His Majeſty abhorring all thought of what is printed at *London*, That it was intended, man, woman and childe ſhould have been all killed in that Town, that had not ſuch a Word or wore not ſuch a Ribband: though ſome Word or mark might well be agreed on, not with intention to kill all that had it not, but that more particular care might be taken of their protection that had it, not only from all danger, but from all diſreſpect. But the execution upon cold blood of ſome of the principal Citizens of that City for their Loyalty to His Majeſty upon a ſingle Order, without the leaſt colour of any Legal proceedings, will appear to all men moſt barbarous and bloody, and ſuch a Murther as His Majeſty muſt not leave unrevenged, nor can His Subjects look upon otherwiſe, then as purpoſely now committed to make Peace yet more impoſsible, and as an earneſt of that intolerable Arbitrary Government which they muſt alwaies expect to ſuffer under, if that Violent party ſhould prevail.

Since therefore, notwithſtanding theſe frivolous Objections, His Majeſties Deſire of Peace (by His earneſtneſs for it both before, and during, and after the Treaty) doth ſo fully appear; and ſince their inclination to the contrary, (by their moſt earneſt and utmoſt endeavours to hinder both the beginning, continuance, and renewing of the Treaty) is no leſs evident; ſince in the Treaty His Majeſties main aime was the immediate disbanding of the Armies, and that Differences might be debated in a full and free Convention in Parliament, and that to that end the Parliament might be reſtored to the natural and genuine Condition, and all things only reſtored into that ſtate wherein they were when the Houſes were full and free; ſince His Majeſty askt nothing that they could deny to be due to Him by Law, and His Majeſty denied nothing that themſelves could claim by Law to belong to them, nor any one thing of that publick neceſsity or value as deſerves the ſhedding of one drop of that Sea of blood which will be ſpent in this unnatural Quarrel; ſince His Majeſty made the laſt moſt reaſonable Propoſition, and they will never ſuffer it to be granted nor debated, and three Meſſages of His Majeſties cannot obtain one Anſwer; His Majeſty hopes that the ſcales will now fall from the eyes of

His moſt blindly-ſeduced Subjects, and they will now be able do diſcern both their Duty and their Intereſt by ſo clear a Light, that it will be no longer in the power of this Violent party to ingage them to be Wicked that they may be Miſerable, and by oppoſing Juſtice to deſtroy Peace. And His Majeſty doth moſt earneſtly conjure thoſe whoſe fault hath hitherto proceeded rather from want of heat then want of light, who out of too much care of their private ſafety have been either lookers on, or have at once diſlik'd and countenanc'd theſe Courſes, that they at laſt rouze up their Courage to take part with their Conſcience, and fear to be Damned more then to be Plundred, and conſider that if they will deſert and oppoſe that Party whom their Tameneſs only makes conſiderable, and unite themſelves with but half that induſtry to defend His Majeſty, and the Religion and Law eſtabliſht, which the others uſe to deſtroy them all, they may avoid the One, and be in no danger of the Other, their numbers being ſuch, that if they once but knew one another, by merely joyning to appear to think as they do, they might ſpeedily end this (truly ſtyled by them) the worſt kind of War, both as it is of *Engliſh* againſt *Engliſh*, and of Subjects againſt their Prince. But if they ſhall ſtill ſuffer themſelves to be carried away with the Stream, they will by that ſuffer the Power of the Violent party to take ſo deep a root (by being ſeized of all the Arms, Ships, and ſtrong places of the Kingdom) that if they ſhould happen to prevail in this War againſt His Majeſty, they will (in deſpight not only of them, but of their preſent Rulers, if they ſhould be willing to divert them) extirpate the Law Root and Branch, alter the whole frame of Government, introduce Democracy, Independence and Parity, and leave neither King, Church nor Gentleman: and (beſides that they will then appear to themſelves guilty of this intolerable Innovation which they have not timely enough oppoſed) this Party will then forget that they did not oppoſe them at all, and remember that they did aſsiſt them but a little, will diſtinguiſh between thoſe who aſsiſted them out of zeal and out of fear, and who are now call'd Moderate, they will then call Malignant, and the Inequality, Injuſtice and Oppreſsion they will then indure, will too late diſcover to them to their Coſts, that they have undone themſelves with too much Diſcretion, and obtain'd nothing by their unjuſtifiable cautious Compliance but to be deſtroyed laſt.

By

By the King.

A Proclamation warning all His MAJESTIES *good Subjects no longer to be miſled by the* Votes, Orders, *and pretended* Ordinances *of one or both* Houſes, *by reaſon the* Members *do not enjoy the Freedom and Liberty of* Parliament: *With His* MAJESTIES *gracious offer of* Pardon *to the Members of both Houſes, and of Protection to ſuch of them as ſhall repair to Him.*

WHereas We have been long ſince driven by Force and Violence from Our Palace at *Weſtminſter*, (the place of ſitting for Us and Our two Houſes of this Parliament) ſo that We could not with ſafety of Our Life be preſent with Our great Councel, and much the greater part of the Members of both Houſes of Parliament have been likewiſe driven by Tumults and Force for their ſafety from their Attendance upon that Councel, the ſaid Members having been threatned and aſſaulted for delivering their Opinions freely in the Houſes, or have out of Conſcience and Duty withdrawn themſelves from being preſent at the Debates and Reſolutions which they have well known to be ſo contrary to their Duty and Allegiance, or for ſo withdrawing, or for freely ſpeaking in the Houſes, have been expelled or ſuſpended from being Members of that Councel, contrary to the antient practice and juſt Privileges of Parliament; ſince which time, and by which means, a great and Rebellious Army hath been raiſed againſt Us, under the Command of *Robert* Earl of *Eſſex*, which Army hath not only endeavoured to take Our Life from Us in a ſet Battel, but the ſame, and other Forces raiſed by the like means, have committed all the Acts of Outrage, Robbery and Murther upon Our good Subjects throughout the Kingdom, and ſtill continue to doe the ſame: and though in truth a very ſmall part of that great Councel remain there together, yet under pretence of having the countenance of Our two Houſes of Parliament, ſome Seditious Perſons aſſume to themſelves (with the aſſiſtance of thoſe Rebel-

lious Armies, and of divers mutinous and desperate *Brownists*, *Anabaptists*, and other ill-affected Persons in Our City of *London*, by whose means they awe such Members of both Houses who yet continue amongst them) a power to doe things absolutely contrary to the Laws of the Land, and destructive to Our Rights, and to the Liberty and Property of the Subject, and to alter the whole frame and Government of this Kingdom, disposing of the Lives and Fortunes of Us and Our good Subjects according to their discretion, subjecting both to their own unlimited Arbitrary Power and Government: We have onely accused some particular Persons, whom We well knew to be the Authors and Contrivers of these desperate Counsels and Actions, and have forborn to censure or charge the whole number of the Members remaining, by whose Orders and Authority the evils have been pretended to be done, well hoping that the Sense of the miserable Distractions of the Kingdom would at length have brought them to discern where they had erred, and Our often Messages and Complaints of the Violence offered to Us, and to the Members of both Houses, would have procured Justice and Redress, and that the Power and Reputation of such amongst them who wished well to the Peace of the Kingdom, and Honour and Dignity of Parliaments, would at last have so farre prevailed, that a right understanding might have been begotten between Us and Our People, and all shew of Force and Violence so taken away and suppressed, that We might in a full and peaceable Convention of Parliament, with the Advice of that Our great Councel, have so settled the present Distempers, that there might be no fear left of the like for the future. But finding to Our great grief, that the power of those Seditious Persons who first contrived these desperate and bloody Distractions continues so great, That as they have driven and now keep Us and the much greater part of both Houses from being present at that Councel, so they so farre awe those who remain there, that they cannot with freedom give their Votes and Resolutions according to their Consciences, and the Laws and Constitutions of the Kingdom: That the Members of both Houses have been compelled to make Protestations to live and dye with the Earl of *Essex*, the General of the Rebellious Army, and other unlawful and Treasonable

ſonable Proteſtations, and that ſuch who have refuſed to take the ſaid Proteſtations have been expelled and impriſoned for ſuch their refuſal; That the great Affairs of the Kingdom are managed and concluded by a private Committee without being ever reported to the Houſes, contrary to the Laws and Rules of Parliament; That the Common-Councel of *London* (moſt of them being Perſons factiouſly choſen out of *Browniſts*, *Anabaptiſts*, and ſuch who oppoſe the regular wholeſome Government of that City, and have promiſed themſelves the deſtruction of the Church) are grown the Superintendents over both Houſes, and obtrude upon them what Concluſions and Reſolutions they pleaſe; That they take upon them to juſtifie this Rebellion againſt Us, and have preſumed, under pretence of the Order of both Houſes, to invite Forein Forces to invade this Kingdom; to ſend Agents to Forein Princes, to negotiate and treat with them in their own names; to impriſon Our good Subjects contrary to Law, prohibiting Our Judges to grant *Habeas Corpus* according to Law; to introduce a new Clergy throughout the Kingdom, by diſplacing Godly Learned Divines, without the leaſt colour of Law or judicial proceedings, and putting ignorant Seditious Preachers in their Places, to poiſon the hearts of the People; to countenance the vilifying of the Book of Common-Prayer eſtabliſhed by the Law of the Land; to ſeize, levy, and take away what they pleaſe of the Eſtates and Fortunes of Our Subjects, by diſpoſing of the Twentieth Part of their Eſtates, by exhauſting them with inſupportable Weekly Taxes, for the maintenance of their Rebellious Army, and by endeavouring to lay odious Exciſes upon Victuals, Goods and Merchandize of Our People for the ſame purpoſe, whilſt they ſuffer Our poor Proteſtant Subjects of Our Kingdom of *Ireland*, whoſe defence was undertaken by Our two Houſes, and that Army raiſed for the ſuppreſsing that horrid Rebellion, to be ſtarved, and in danger of disbanding, or neceſsitated to deſert that Kingdom for want of Money, Victual and ſuch other neceſſaries as were to be provided for them by Act of Parliament, out of thoſe Moneys which they have ſpent to deſtroy Us and this Kingdom; by exacting from Merchants Tonnage and Poundage, and other Impoſitions upon Merchandizes as wel Native as Forein, contrary to an Act made this preſent Parliament,

with

with a penalty of *Præmunire* on thoſe who ſhall pay or receive it; And laſtly, that they have (after the breaking of the late Treaty by a peremptory recalling the Committee, who in truth during their abode with Us had no power to Treat, by reaſon of their ſtrict Limitation) ſo farre rejected all poſsible means and Overtures of Treaty and Accommodation, that in ſtead of anſwering Our gracious Meſſages, the Houſe of Commons hath impriſoned Our Meſſenger ſent by Us to them to invite both Houſes to an Accommodation, and eſpecially to move them to take ſuch a courſe for the freedome of Parliament, that We might ſafely adviſe with that Our great Councel for the ſettling thoſe miſerable Diſtempers; and have maliciouſly and in Contempt of Us (and after an attempt to murther Her at *Burlington*-Rode, the place of Her Landing) impeached Our Royal Conſort of High Treaſon, for aſsiſting Us with Arms and Ammunition to defend Us from this Rebellion: 'Tis time now to let Our good Subjects know, that they may no longer look upon the Votes and Actions of the Perſons now remaining as upon Our two Houſes of Parliament, Freedom and Liberty to be preſent, and of Opinion and Debate there, being eſſential to a Parliament; which Freedom and Liberty all men muſt confeſs to be taken away from this Aſſembly, when they remember the great Tumults brought down to awe and terrifie both Houſes, and that they were then brought down when any great Debate was in either Houſe, and not like to be ſo carried as ſome Seditious perſons who governed thoſe Tumults did deſire; that in the greateſt heat and fury of thoſe Tumults, the principal Governors amongſt them directed the unruly People to goe to *White-hall*, where Our own Perſon then was, and deſigned by force to have ſurpriſed the Perſon of Our Son the Prince; that when it was deſired that a Declaration might be made againſt ſuch Tumults, in ſtead of conſenting thereunto, the Tumults themſelves were juſtified, and when a Legal courſe was preſcribed by the Lords, and taken by the proper Miniſters of Juſtice, to ſuppreſs and prevent ſuch Tumults and Riots, that Legal courſe was ſuperſeded by thoſe who were then preſent of the Houſe of Commons, and the Miniſters of Juſtice puniſhed and impriſoned for executing the Law; when they remember that ſeveral Members

of

of either Houſe have been threatned and aſſaulted in thoſe Tumults; and their own Names proſcribed as Perſons diſaffected, becauſe they freely uſed to ſpeak their Conſciences in both Houſes; that the Houſe of Peers have been ſo farre threatned and menaced, that the Names of thoſe have been with Threats demanded by the Houſe of Commons at the Barre of the Lords Houſe, who refuſed to conſent to this or that Propoſition which hath been in debate before them, and Tumultuous Petitions countenanced which have been preſented to that ſame purpoſe; that the Members of both Houſes have been impriſoned and forbid to be preſent at thoſe Counſels, for no Reaſon but becauſe their Opinions have not been liked; that Our Negative Voice (Our greateſt and moſt ſovereign Privilege) is boldly denied; that a preſumptuous Attempt hath been made by the major part of the remaining part of the Houſe of Commons to make Our Great Seal of *England*, the making of which by the expreſs Letter of the Law is High Treaſon, and would ſubvert the antient and fundamentall Adminiſtration of Juſtice; that at this time We and the major part of both Houſes are kept by a ſtrong and Rebellious Army from being preſent at that Councel, and that thoſe who are preſent are by the ſame Army aw'd and forced to take unlawful and Treaſonable Proteſtations to engage their Votes; and that ſuch Reſolutions and Directions which concern the Property and Liberty of the Subject are tranſacted and concluded by a few Perſons (under the name of a Cloſe Committee, conſiſting of the Earl of *Manchester*, the Lord *Say*, Maſter *Pym*, Maſter *Hampden*, Maſter *Stroud*, Maſter *Martin*, and others, the whole number not exceeding ſeventeen Perſons) without reporting the ſame to the Houſes, or having the ſame confirmed by the Houſes, contrary to the expreſs Law and Cuſtomes of Parliament. All which for the matter of Fact We are ready to make proof of, and deſire nothing but to bring the Contrivers of all the aforeſaid Miſchiefs to their Triall by Law; and till that be ſubmitted to, We muſt purſue them by Arms or any other way, in which all Our good Subjects ought to give Us aſſiſtance to that purpoſe: The imagining the Death of Us, Our Royal Conſort, or Our Eldeſt Son, the Levying Warre againſt Us in Our Realm, or adhering to Our Enemies in Our Realm, giving to them Aid or Comfort, the counterfeiting Our *Great Seal* or

Money,

Money, being by the expreſs words of the Statute of the 25 year of King *Edward* the 3. chap. 2. High Treaſon. And how applicable this is to thoſe who have actually born Arms againſt Us, and to thoſe who have conſented that ſuch Arms be born, to thoſe who have promiſed to live and dye with the Earl of *Eſſex*, and thoſe who every day conſent to ſome Act for the ſupport and encreaſe of that Army, We ſhall leave to all the World to judge; and hope that this gracious Warning and Information now given by Us will make that impreſsion in the hearts of Our People, that they will no longer ſuffer themſelves to be miſ-led from their Duty and Allegiance upon any pretences whatſoever. And We do declare, That We ſhall proceed with all ſeverity againſt all Perſons whatſoever who ſhall henceforward aſsiſt, Vote or concurre in any kinde toward the maintaining or countenancing ſuch Actions and Reſolutions, which by the known and expreſs Laws of the Land are High Treaſon, and againſt all thoſe who ſhall adhere to them who are in Rebellion againſt Us, as againſt Rebels and Traitors, in ſuch manner as by the Laws and Statutes of the Realm is directed and appointed. And ſince by the power of Seditious Perſons We and both Houſes are kept from being ſecured againſt Tumultuous Aſſemblies, and both Houſes from Adjournment to ſome place of Safety, which being done might quickly make an end of theſe miſerable Diſtractions, whereby We are debarred from the benefit and advice We expected from that Our great Councel, the Members thereof being ſcattered into ſeveral places; therefore that the whole Kingdom may ſee that We are willing to receive Advice from thoſe who are truſted by them, though We cannot receive the ſame in the place to which they were called, for the Reaſons aforeſaid, nor intend to receive Advice from them elſewhere in the capacity of Houſes of Parliament, We do hereby declare, that ſuch of the Members of both Houſes, as well thoſe who have been by the Faction of the Malignant Party expelled for performing their Duties to Us, and into whoſe Rooms no perſons have been ſince choſen by their Countryes, as the reſt who ſhall deſire Our Protection, ſhall be welcome to Us at Our City of *Oxford*, untill by the Adjournment of the Houſes to ſome fit and free place, or otherwiſe due courſe be taken for the full and free convention in Parliament of Us and all the Members of both

both Houſes. And for their better encouragement to reſort to Us, We do hereby Will and Command all the Officers and Souldiers of Our Army, to ſuffer all ſuch Perſons who are Members of either Houſe, with their Attendants and Servants, to come to Us to this Our City of *Oxford*. And that none of Our good Subjects may believe that by this Our neceſſary Declaration againſt the Freedome and Liberty of that preſent Aſſembly, We may have the leaſt intention to violate or avoid any Act or Acts paſſed by Us for the good and benefit of Our People this Parliament, We do hereby declare to all the World, That We ſhall, as We have often promiſed, as inviolably obſerve all thoſe Acts, as if no ſuch unhappy Interruption had happened of the Freedome and Liberty in that Councell; and deſire nothing more then to have ſuch a free Convention in Parliament, that We may adde ſuch further Acts of Grace as ſhall be thought neceſſary for the Advancement of the true Proteſtant Religion, for the maintenance of the Liberty and Property of the Subject, and the preſervation of the Liberty, Freedome and Privileges of Parliament. And that all the World may ſee how willing and deſirous We are to forget all the Injuries and Indignities offered to Us by ſuch who have been miſled through Weakneſſe or Feare, or who have not been the principal Contrivers of the preſent Miſeries, We do offer a free and general Pardon to all the Members of either Houſe, (except *Robert* Earle of *Eſſex*, *Robert* Earle of *Warwick*, *Edward* Earle of *Mancheſter*, *Henry* Earle of *Stamford*, *William* Viſcount *Say* and *Seal*, Sir *John Hotham* Knight and Baronet, Sir *Arthur Heſilrigge* Baronet, Sir *Henry Ludlow*, Sir *Edward Hungerford*, Sir *Francis Popham*, Knights, *Nathaniel Fiennes*, *John Hampden*, *John Pym*, *William Stroude*, *Henry Martin* and *Alexander Popham*, Eſquires, *Iſaack Pennington* Alderman of *London*, and Captain *Venne*, who being the principal Authors of theſe preſent Calamities, have ſacrificed the Peace and Proſperity of their Country to their own Pride, Malice and Ambition, and againſt whom We ſhall proceed as againſt Perſons guilty of High Treaſon by the known Laws of the Land, and ſhall in the proceeding be moſt carefull to preſerve all Privileges in the fulleſt manner that by the Law or the uſage of former times is due to them) if they ſhall within Ten daies after the publiſhing this Our Proclamation return to their Duty and Allegiance to Us. And laſtly, We further enjoyn and command all Our

Subjects upon their Allegiance to Us, as they will answer the contrary to Almighty God, and as they desire that they and their Posterity should be free from the foul Taint of High Treason, and as they tender the Peace of this Kingdome, that they presume not to give any Assistance to the before-mentioned Rebellious Armies in their Persons or Estates in any sort whatsoever, but joyn with Us, according to their Duty and the Laws of the Land, to suppresse this horrid Rebellion. And Our Pleasure and Command is, That this Our Proclamation be read in all Churches and Chappels within this Our Kingdome.

Given at Our Court at *Oxford*, the twentieth day of *June*, in the Nineteenth year of Our Reign.

God save the King.

A DECLA-

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DECLARATION

CONCERNING THE CESSATION

IN *IRELAND*.

ALSO

DECLARATIONS

AND PASSAGES

OF THE PARLIAMENT

AT OXFORD.

The Grounds and Motives inducing His MAJESTY *to agree to a Ceſſation of Arms for one Year with the* Roman Catholicks *of* IRELAND.

MDCXLIII. *Octob.* 19.

AS there hath been no Argument with which the Minds and Affections of Our People have with more Subtilty and Malice been infected and corrupted, by the great Authors and Contrivers of this unnatural and odious Rebellion in *England*, then with the groſs and ſenſeleſs Imputations of Our neglect of Our poor Proteſtant Subjects in *Ireland*; ſo there is no Calumny of theirs againſt which We can with more Confidence, Clearneſs and Integrity juſtifie Our Self and all Our Actions before God and Man. We will not now trouble Our Self with the remembring Our ſeveral Meſſages and Importunities to Our two Houſes of Parliament in that buſineſs; Our offer to engage Our own Royal Perſon in that Warre, and the ſcornful rejection of that offer; Our conſenting to all Propoſitions and Acts propoſed to Us for the raiſing of Men or providing of Money for that Service, till it was evident that Men and Money being raiſed under pretence of quenching the Rebellion there, were both imployed in kindling and maintaining the Rebellion here; Our granting a Commiſsion to Perſons named by themſelves, for the managing the Affairs of that Kingdom, according to Inſtructions drawn by themſelves, not one of which have been obſerved by them: We ſhall have occaſion of publiſhing all theſe particulars in a full and clear Narration to the World, that all Our good Subjects may ſee that the ſame men (and only they) who have brought all theſe Miſeries and Calamities upon them here, have been the Promoters (if not the Contrivers) of the Miſeries of their Brethren in *Ireland*, by preventing thoſe Remedies, and diverting that Aſsiſtance which, being ſeaſonably applied, might have eaſed that poor People of many of thoſe Calamities they have ſince endured. But for the preſent We ſhall only (being to publiſh the Articles of Ceſſation agreed on Our behalf by the Perſons truſted by Us in that Kingdom) let Our good Subjects briefly know the Grounds and Circumſtances of that Treaty and Concluſion.

About the Moneth of *November* laſt (after We had been adverti-ſed, as well by Our Councel-Board of that Kingdom, as ſeveral Petitions and Remonſtrances of all the principal Commanders and Officers of Our Army, of the miſerable condition of Our Forces there, by the extreme want of Money, Victuals and Ammunition; of which they were ſo farre from being like to receive ſupply from Our two Houſes here, who had undertaken to defray thoſe Charges, that We had had too ſad experience, that both the Money raiſed by Act of Parliament, and the Men raiſed by Our own Commiſsion for that purpoſe, were imployed againſt Us in that Rebellious Army which not long before had given Us Battel) a ſhort Petition was ſent to Us by the Lords Juſtices and Councel of that Kingdom, which they had received in the name of the *Roman* Catholicks of Our Kingdom of *Ireland*, directed to Us, in which nothing was deſired of Us, but that We would appoint ſome Perſons to hear what they could ſay for themſelves, with many expreſsions of Duty and Submiſsion to Us. Shortly after, in the end of that Moneth, or beginning of *December*, the Committee for *Ireland* attended Us at *Oxford*, and ſet forth by their Petition, *That all paſſages by which Comfort and Life ſhould be conveyed unto that gaſping Kingdom ſeemed totally to be obſtructed, and that unleſs timely Relief were afforded, Our Loyal Subjects there muſt yield their Fortunes a prey, their Lives a ſacrifice, and their Religion a ſcorn to the mercileſs Rebels.* Hereupon We granted a Commiſsion to ſome Perſons of Honour and Truſt to meet and conferre with ſuch Perſons as the Rebels ſhould imploy, but without power to conclude any thing, or with other authority then only to receive ſuch Propoſitions as they ſhould make, and to derive the ſame to Us. The meeting upon this Commiſsion produced little effect, inſomuch that the Lieutenant-General of Our Army there (whom We truſted principally in that Commiſsion) being *unſatisfied with the Cavils and proceedings of the Rebels*, in *February* marched out with 2500. foot and 500. Horſe, to force Victual and Proviſion from them for the ſubſiſtence of Our Army; in which Expedition he performed thoſe good ſervices which are known to moſt men: ſo that all men may obſerve, the diſcourſe or expectation of a Treaty cauſed Us not to omit any opportunity which was offered for Our advantage. No Succeſs of Our Army there (though God bleſſed it

then

then with a very great Victory) could ſupply thoſe extreme wants they ſuffered, by not having received any Relief either of Money or Victual in above four Moneths from hence; and therefore the Lords Juſtices and Councel by their Letter of the 16. of *March* ſignified unto Us, *That the State and Army there were in very terrible want of means to ſupport a Warre, and that unleſs ſupplies of Money, Munition, Arms, Cloaths, and other Abiliments of Warre were ſpeedily ſent thither, there was little hope to eſcape utter Deſtruction and Loſs of the Kingdome.* And by their Letter of the 4th of *July*, after mentioning how often and how much in vain they had recommended their condition to the Two Houſes, they told Us plainly, that unleſs the ſupplies then mentioned in their Letters to the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, (a Copy of which was ſent to Us) were forthwith ſent to them, *that Our Army would be forced through wants to disband or depart the Kingdome, and that there would be nothing to be exſpected there but the inſtant Loſs of the Kingdome, and the deſtruction of the remnant of Our good Subjects yet left there.* In ſtead of any redreſs or relief according to theſe Letters, ſuch Ships as were by the care and charity of ſome well-affected Perſons provided to tranſport Clotahs and Victuall to them, were in their voiage thither ſeized and taken by the Ships under the Command of the Earl of *Warwick*, and in ſtead of endeavours to ſend more Forces thither, attempts were made to draw the *Scotch* Forces from thence into this Kingdom. So that We thought Our Self bound in Duty and Conſcience, ſince it was not in Our power otherwiſe to preſerve that Kingdome from utter Ruine, at leaſt to admit any Expedient which with God's bleſsing might be a means to preſerve that People; and therefore We directed the Lord Marqueſs *Ormond* (whom for his Courage, Affection and Loyalty, We had made Our Lieutenant-General of that Our Army, and who having gotten ſo many notable Victories upon the Rebels, was very well approved of by the two Houſes of Parliament) to agree on Our behalf to ſuch a Ceſſation of Arms with the Rebels, as upon his underſtanding and knowledge of the condition of Our Affairs there ſhould be thought reaſonable. This Ceſſation was concluded on the 15. day of *September* for one whole year; and the Articles thereof, printed at *Dublin*, were ſent to Us by Our Lords Juſtices and Councell, and arrived here on Saturday laſt, with a Letter from them

to one of Our Secretaries, expreſsing the *great ſufferings of Our Army there, through want of relief out of* England. We have thought fit with this true and plain Relation to publiſh the ſaid Articles according to the Copy ſent Us, that all Our good Subjects may ſee how We have proceeded herein. What opinion the principal Perſons as well of Our Councel as the Officers of Our Army there have of this Ceſſation, may appear by the teſtimony which We have cauſed to be Printed after the Articles, with their names who have ſet their hands to the ſame. And let all Our good Subjects be aſſured, that as We have for theſe Reaſons, and with this Caution and deliberation, conſented to this Preparation to Peace, and to that purpoſe do continue Our Parliament there; ſo We ſhall proceed in the accompliſhing thereof with that care and circumſpection, that We ſhall not admit even Peace it ſelf, otherwiſe then as it may be agreeable to Conſcience, Honour and Juſtice.

By the Lords Juſtices and Councel.

Jo. Borlaſe. Hen. Tichborne.

UPon conſideration had of the annexed *Articles of Ceſſation of Arms, whereby it is concluded and accorded, that there be a Ceſſation of Arms, and of all Acts of Hoſtility, for one whole year, beginning the fifteenth day of* September, Anno Domini *one thouſand ſix hundred forty three, at the hour of twelve of the clock of the ſaid day; we the Lords Juſtices and Councel, according to His Majeſties Letters of the one and thirtieth of* July *laſt, do by this Proclamation in His Majeſties Name ratifie, confirm and publiſh the ſame; and do require all His Majeſties Subjects whom it may concern, by Sea and Land, to take notice thereof, and to yield all due Obedience thereunto in all the parts thereof.*

Given at His Majeſties Caſtle of Dublin, *the* 19*th day of* Septemb. 1643.

R. Bolton *Canc.* La. Dublin. Ormonde.
Roſcomon. Edw. Brabazon. Ant. Midenſis.
Cha. Lambart. Geo. Shurley. Gerard Lowther.
Tho. Rotherham. Fr. Willoughby.
Tho. Lucas. Ja. Ware.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

Articles

ARticles of Ceſſation of Arms agreed and concluded on at *Singingſtown* in the County of *Kildare*, the 15. day of *September*, in the nineteenth year of His Majeſties Reign, by and between *James* Marqueſs of *Ormond*, Lieutenant-General of His Majeſties Army in the Kingdom of *Ireland*, for and in the Name of our Gracious Sovereign Lord CHARLES, by the Grace of God King of great *Britain*, *France* and *Ireland*, &c. by virtue of His Majeſties Commiſſion, bearing date at *Dublin*, the laſt of *Auguſt*, in the ſaid nineteenth year of His Majeſties Reign, of the one part; and *Donnogh* Viſcount *Muskery*, Sir *Lucas Dillon* Knight, *Nicholas Plunket* Eſquire, Sir *Robert Talbot* Baronet, Sir *Richard Barnewell* Baronet, *Torlogh O-Neal*, *Geffry Brown*, *Ever Mac-Gennis*, and *John Walſh*, Eſquires, authorized by His Majeſties *Roman* Catholick Subjects, of whoſe party they are, and now in Arms in the ſaid Kingdom, &c. to Treat and conclude with the ſaid Marqueſs for a Ceſſation of Arms, by virtue of an Authority given unto them, bearing date at *Caſhell*, the 7. day of *September*, in the ſaid nineteeth year of His Majeſties Reign, of the other part.

FIrſt, *It is concluded and accorded, that there be a Ceſſation of Arms, and of all Acts of Hoſtility, between His Majeſties ſaid* Roman *Catholick Subjects who are now in Arms, &c. in this Kingdom, and their Party, and all others His Majeſties good Subjects, for one whole year, to begin the fifteenth day of* Septemb. Anno Dom. 1643. *at the hour of* 12. *of the clock of the ſaid day.*

Item, *It is concluded and accorded, that free Paſſage, Entercourſe, Commerce and Traffick, during the ſaid Ceſſation, ſhall be between His Majeſties ſaid* Roman *Catholick Subjects who are now in Arms, &c. and their Party, and all others His Majeſties good Subjects, and all others in League with His Majeſty, by Sea and Land.*

Item, *It is concluded and accorded, and the ſaid Viſcount* Muskery *and the reſt of the above-named Perſons do promiſe and undertake for and in the behalf of thoſe for whom they are authorized to Treat and conclude as aforeſaid, that all Ships, Barques and Veſſels which ſhall bring Proviſions to any Harbour in this Kingdom, in the hands or poſſeſſion of ſuch as ſhall obey the Articles of this Ceſſation, from* Minehead *and* White-haven, *and from all the Ports between, on that ſide where* Wales *is ſituate, ſo as they be Ships belonging to any of the ſaid Ports, and do not uſe any Acts of Hoſtility to any of the ſaid* Roman *Catholicks who are now in Arms, &c. or to any of their Party, or to any who ſhall be waged or employed unto or by them, ſhall not be interrupted by any of their Party, nor by any Ships or other Veſſels, of*

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what Country or Nation ſoever, under their power or Command, or waged, employed, or contracted with on their behalf, or by any Forts, Garriſons, or Forces within this Kingdom under their power, in their coming to this Kingdom, or returning from thence.

Item, *It is concluded and accorded, and the ſaid Lord Viſcount* Muskery *and the reſt of the above-named parties do promiſe and undertake for and in the behalf of thoſe for whom they are authorized as aforeſaid, that all Ships, Barques and Veſſels which ſhall bring Proviſions to any Harbour in this Kingdom, in the hands of ſuch as ſhall obey the Articles of this Ceſſation, from any Ports in the Kingdom of* England, *having His Majeſties Paſs, or the Paſs of any who is or ſhall be His Majeſties Admiral or Vice-Admiral, or the Paſs of any Governor or Governors of any the Ports in* England *in His Majeſties Hands, or which ſhall hereafter during this Ceſſation be in His Majeſties Hands, or the Paſs of the ſaid Marqueſs, ſhall not be interrupted by any of thoſe for whom the ſaid Lord Viſcount* Muskery *and the reſt of the above-named Perſons are authorized as aforeſaid, neither in their coming to this Kingdom nor in their return, ſo as they uſe not any act of Hoſtility to any of their ſaid Party: And this to be a Rule untill His Majeſties pleaſure be further declared therein, upon application of the Agents of the ſaid* Roman *Catholick Subjects now in Arms, &c. to His Majeſty.*

Item, *It is concluded and accorded, and the ſaid* James *Marqueſs of* Ormond *doth promiſe and undertake for and in the name of His Majeſty, that no interruption ſhall be given by any Ship or Ships under His Majeſties power and Command, or waged, employed, or contracted with, by or in the behalf of His Majeſty, or by any of His Majeſties Forts, Garriſons, or Forces within this Kingdom, to any Ship or Ships that ſhall trade with any of the ſaid* Roman *Catholicks who are now in Arms, &c. or any of their Party, or which ſhall come in or goe out of any the Cities, Towns, Harbours, Creeks or Ports of this Kingdome in the hands of the ſaid* Roman *Catholicks now in Arms, &c. with Arms, Ammunition, Merchandize, Commodity, or any thing whatſoever, during this Ceſſation: as on the other ſide, the ſaid* Donnogh *Viſcount* Muskery, *and the reſt above named of that Party, do promiſe and undertake for and in the behalf of thoſe by whom they are authorized, that no interruption ſhall be given by any Ship or other Veſſel whatſoever under the power and Command of their Party, or waged, employed, or contracted with by or in the behalf of their Party, or by any Forts, Garriſons, or Forces within this Kingdom in their power, to any Ship or Ships that ſhall Trade with any of*

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His Majeſties Subjects obeying this Ceſſation, or which ſhall come in or go out of any the Cities, Towns, Harbours or Ports of this Kingdome which ſhall obey this Ceſſation, with Armes, Ammunition, Merchandize, Commodity, or any other thing whatſoever, during this Ceſſation. Provided that no Ship or Ships ſhall be admitted free Trade, by colour of this Article, but ſuch as are warranted by the precedent Articles.

Item, *It is concluded and accorded, that the Quarters in the Province of* Leimſter *be as followeth*: viz. *That the County of* Dublin, *the County of the City of* Dublin, *the County of the Town of* Droghedagh *and the County of* Lowth, *ſhall remain and be, during the Ceſſation, in the poſſeſſion of His Majeſties Proteſtant Subjects, and of ſuch as adhere unto them reſpectively; ſaving and excepting unto the ſaid* Roman *Catholick Subjects now in Armes, &c. and their Party, all ſuch Caſtles, Towns, Lands, Territories, and the Lands and Hereditaments thereunto belonging, which upon the ſaid fifteenth day of* September 1643. *at the hour aforeſaid, are poſſeſſed in the ſaid Counties, or any of them, by any of the ſaid Party. And it is further concluded and accorded, that as much of the County of* Meath *as is on the Eaſt and South ſide of the River of* Boyne, *from* Droghedagh *to* Trim, *and thence to the Lordſhip of* Moylagh, *and thence to* Moyglare, *and thence to* Dublin, *ſhall, during the ſaid Ceſſation, remain and be in the poſſeſſion of His Majeſties Proteſtant Subjects, and of ſuch as adhere unto them reſpectively; ſaving and excepting to the ſaid* Roman *Catholick Subjects now in Armes and their Party all ſuch Caſtles, Towns, Lands and Territories, and the Lands and Hereditaments thereunto belonging, which upon the ſaid fifteenth day of* September 1643. *at the hour aforeſaid, are poſſeſſed by any of the ſaid* Roman *Catholick Subjects now in Armes, &c. and of their Party, within the ſaid limits and boundaries: and that the reſidue of the ſaid County of* Meath *ſhall remain in the hands and poſſeſſion of the ſaid* Roman *Catholick Subjects now in Armes, &c. and their Party; except the Caſtles, Towns, Lands, Territories, and the Lands and Hereditaments thereunto belonging, which upon the fifteenth day of* September 1643. *at the hour aforeſaid, are poſſeſſed within the ſaid laſt-mentioned Quarters in the County of* Meath *by His Majeſties Proteſtant Subjects, and ſuch as adhere unto them, or by any of them reſpectively. And that ſo much of the County of* Kildare *as is on this ſide of the* Liffy, *where* Naas *is ſituate, and on the other ſide of the* Liffy, *from* Dublin *Weſtward into the County of* Kildare, *ſo far as the* Rye *water at* Kilcock, *and ſo far betwixt that and the* Liffy *as ſhall be at the ſame diſtance from* Dublin *as the ſaid* Rye *water is at* Kilcock, *on that ſide of the* Liffy, *ſhall, during the ſaid*

Ceſſation,

Ceſſation, remain and be in the hands and poſſeſſions of His Majeſties Proteſtant Subjects and their adherents reſpectively; except ſuch Caſtles, Towns, Territories, and the Lands and Hereditaments thereunto belonging, which upon the ſaid fifteenth day of September 1643. at the hour aforeſaid, are poſſeſſed within the ſaid Quarters by the ſaid Roman Catholick Subjects who are now in Armes, &c. and their Party: and that the reſidue of the ſaid County of Kildare ſhall remain in the hands of the ſaid Roman Catholick Subjects now in Arms, &c. and their Party; except ſuch Caſtles, Towns, Lands, Territories, and the Lands and Hereditaments thereunto belonging, which upon the ſaid fifteenth day of Septemb. 1643. at the hour aforeſaid, are poſſeſſed by His Majeſties Proteſtant Subjects and their adherents reſpectively within the ſaid laſt mentioned Quarters in the ſaid County of Kildare. And that the ſeveral Counties of Wicklow, Weſt-Meath, Kings County, Queens County, Catherlagh, Kilkenny, County of the City of Kilkenny, Weixford and Longford, ſhall during the ſaid Ceſſation remain in the hands of the ſaid Roman Catholick Subjects now in Armes, &c. and their Party; except ſuch Caſtles, Towns, Lands, Territories, and the Lands and Hereditaments thereunto belonging, which upon the ſaid fifteenth day of Septemb. 1643. at the hour aforeſaid, are poſſeſſed within the ſaid County by His Majeſties Proteſtant Subjects and their adherents reſpectively.

Item, It is concluded and accorded, that what Corn hath been ſown by any of His Majeſties Army, or by any of His Proteſtant Subjects, or their adherents, or by any of them, within any of the Quarters allotted in the Province of Leimſter to the ſaid other Party, the ſame ſhall be enjoyed by the ſowers and manurers, paying for the ſame as they did agree; and in caſe they did not agree, paying the fourth ſheaf unto ſuch Garriſon within whoſe Quarters the ſame ſhall fall. And that in caſe any of the ſaid Roman Catholick Subjects now in armes, &c. or any of their Party, have ſown Corn within any the Quarters allotted in the Province of Leimſter to the ſaid other Party, the ſame ſhall be enjoyed by the ſowers and manurers, paying for the ſame as they did agree; and in caſe they did not agree, paying the fourth ſheaf unto ſuch Garriſons within whoſe Quarters the ſame ſhall fall. And it is likewiſe concluded and accorded, that thoſe places which have been protected by the Lords Juſtices, or any Officer of His Majeſties Army, do pay according to the agreement which was made; and if no agreement were made, to pay the fourth ſheaf to thoſe Garriſons or perſons who protected them, in whoſe ſoever Quarters they are: and this to continue for a Rule, other then as to ſo many of thoſe Garriſons who granted ſuch protection, and are ſince regained by the ſaid Party, or ſome of them, for whom the ſaid Donnogh Viſcount Muskery and

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the perſons above named are authorized as aforeſaid. And that the Tenants of the Town of Ballibogh *in the County of* Dublin, *if they have not been protected, ſhall pay according to agreement; and if no agreement made, then the fourth ſheaf, and to continue their poſſeſſion during this Ceſſation. And it is further concluded and accorded, that where His Majeſty or any of His Proteſtant Subjects or their adherents ſhall happen to have any Garriſon or Garriſons within the Quarters ſet forth in the next precedent Article for the ſaid other Party, that ſuch Garriſon and Garriſons ſhall have ſuch competency of the Lands, as well profitable as unprofitable, now termed Waſt, as ſhall be found neceſſary for them by any indifferent Commiſſioners to be appointed to that purpoſe.*

Item, *It is concluded and accorded, that the Quarters in the Province of* Munſter *be as followeth:* viz. *That the County of the City of* Corck, *and ſo much of the County of* Corck *as is within the ſubſequent Garriſons,* viz. *from* Youghall *and* Mogeely, *thence to* Formoye, *thence to* Michells-town, *thence to* Liſcarroll, *and ſo in a line from* Michells-town *and* Liſcarroll *Northward, as farre as His Majeſties out-Garriſons on that ſide do extend, and from* Liſcarroll *to* Mallow, *thence to* Corck, *thence to* Carrig-croghan, *thence to* Rochfords-town, *thence to* Bandon-bridge, *thence to* Timmoleagie, *and thence forward to the Sea, together with the ſaid Garriſons, ſhall, during the ſaid Ceſſation, remain and be in the poſſeſſion of His Majeſties Proteſtant Subjects, and of ſuch as adhere unto them; ſaving and excepting to the ſaid* Roman *Catholick Subjects now in Armes, &c. and their Party, all ſuch Caſtles, Towns, Lands, Territories, and the Lands and Hereditaments thereunto belonging, which on the ſaid fifteenth day of* September 1643. *at the hour aforeſaid, are poſſeſſed in the ſaid Counties or any of them by any of the ſaid* Roman *Catholick Subjects now in Armes, &c. and their Party: And that the reſidue of the ſaid County of* Corck *ſhall likewiſe remain to the ſaid Party laſt named; ſaving and excepting to His Majeſties Proteſtant Subjects and their adherents all ſuch Caſtles, Towns, Lands, Territories, and the Lands and Hereditaments thereunto belonging, which on the ſaid fifteenth day of* September 1643. *at the hour aforeſaid, are poſſeſſed in the laſt mentioned Quarters by them or any of them. And that the County of* Tipperary, *the County of* Limerick, *the County of the City of* Limerick, *the County of* Kerry, *the County of* Waterford, *the County of the City of* Waterford, *and the County of* Clare, *ſhall, during the ſaid Ceſſation, remain and be in the poſſeſſion of the ſaid* Roman *Catholick Subjects now in Armes, &c. and their Party; except* Knockmorne, Ardmore, Piltowne, Cappoquin, Ballinetra, Stroncally, Liſmore, Balli-

duffe, Lisfinny and Tallow, all ſituate in the County of Waterford, or as many of them as are poſſeſſed by His Majeſties Proteſtant Subjects and their adherents the ſaid fifteenth day of September 1643. at the hour aforeſaid; and likewiſe except all ſuch Caſtles, Towns, Lands, Territories and Hereditaments thereunto belonging, as within the ſaid Counties reſpectively, on the ſaid fifteenth day of September 1643. at the hour aforeſaid, are poſſeſſed by any of His Majeſties Proteſtant Subjects or ſuch as adhere unto that Party reſpectively, in the ſaid County of Waterford and the reſt of the laſt mentioned Counties. And it is concluded and accorded, that the like Rule for Corne ſown, and what ſhall be payed by places protected, and for the laying out Waſts for the reſpective Garriſons, ſhall be obſerved in the Province of Munſter, as it is ſet down for Leimſter.

Item, It is concluded and accorded, that the Quarters in the Province of Ulſter be as followeth: viz. That ſuch Counties, Baronies, Lands, Tenements and Hereditaments in the Province of Ulſter, which the ſaid fifteenth of September 1643. at the hour aforeſaid, are poſſeſſed by any of His Majeſties Proteſtant Subjects or any that adhere unto them, and all places protected by any Commander deriving Authority from His Majeſty, ſhall, during the ſaid Ceſſation, remain entirely in the hands and in the poſſeſſion of His Majeſties Proteſtant Subjects and ſuch as adhere unto them; excepting ſuch Caſtles, Lands and Hereditaments as on the ſaid fifteenth day of September 1643. at the hour aforeſaid, are poſſeſſed by the ſaid Roman Catholick Subjects now in Armes, &c. or their Party. And that all ſuch Counties, Baronies, Lands, Tenements and Hereditaments in the ſaid Province, which on the ſaid fifteenth of September 1643. at the hour aforeſaid, are poſſeſſed by the ſaid Roman Catholick Subjects now in Armes, &c. and their Party, ſhall remain entirely during this Ceſſation in the hands and poſſeſſion of the ſaid Roman Catholick Subjects now in Armes, &c. and their Party; ſaving and excepting thereout all places protected by any Commander deriving Authority from His Majeſty, and likewiſe excepting thereout all ſuch Territories, Caſtles, Towns, Lands, Tenements and Hereditaments which on the ſaid fifteenth day of September 1643. at the hour aforeſaid, are poſſeſſed by any of His Majeſties Proteſtant Subjects or ſuch as adhere unto them. And it is concluded and accorded, that the like Rule for Corne ſown, and what ſhall be payed for protected places, and for the laying down of Waſts for the reſpective Garriſons, ſhall be obſerved in the Province of Ulſter, as is ſet down for Leimſter.

Item,

Item, *It is concluded and accorded, that the Quarters in the Province of* Connaght *be as followeth:* viz. *That the County of* Galway, Roſcomon, Slego *and* Letrym, *in the Province of* Connaght, *and all ſuch Caſtles, Lands, Tenements and Hereditaments in the ſaid Province, which the ſaid fifteenth day of* September 1643. *at the hour aforeſaid, are poſſeſſed by the ſaid* Roman *Catholick Subjects now in Arms, &c. and their Party, ſhall, during the ſaid Ceſſation, remain entirely in the poſſeſſion of the ſaid* Roman *Catholick Subjects now in Arms and their Party; excepting all ſuch Territories, Caſtles, Lands, Tenements and Hereditaments within the ſaid ſeveral Counties, which upon the ſaid fifteenth of* Septemb. 1643. *at the hour aforeſaid, are poſſeſſed by any of His Majeſties Forces, or by any of them; and that thoſe who after taking protection from any of His Majeſties Forces, or any of that Party, or from any Governors deriving Authority from His Majeſty there, have joyned themſelves to the ſaid* Roman *Catholick Subjects now in Arms, &c. and their Party, ſhall pay no Contribution unto ſuch who protected them. But in regard there may be a Rule different touching perſons that may be ſaid to doe this, and conſequently touching the Contributions payable by them; it is concluded and accorded, that ſuch diſputes and queſtions, if any ſhall ariſe, be determined by Commiſsioners indifferently choſen on each ſide. And it is concluded and accorded, that the like Rule for ſowers and manurers of Corn within the Quarters of each other ſhall be obſerved in the Province of* Connaght, *as is ſet down for* Leimſter.

Item, *It is concluded and accorded, and the ſaid Marqueſs of* Ormond *for and in the name of His Majeſty doth promiſe and undertake, that no Interruption ſhall be given unto any of the ſaid* Roman *Catholick Subjects now in Arms, &c. or their Party, in any of the ſaid Counties, Quarters, or places by the ſaid precedent Articles unto them or any of them limited as aforeſaid, during this Ceſſation; like as the ſaid* Donnogh *Viſcount* Muskery *and the reſt of the above-named perſons who are authorized as aforeſaid, do promiſe and undertake, that no Interruption ſhall be given unto any of His Majeſties Forces, Proteſtant Subjects or ſuch as adhere unto them, within any of the ſaid Counties, Quarters, or places by the precedent Articles limited unto them as aforeſaid, during the ſaid Ceſſation.*

Item, *It is concluded and accorded, that no Officer of the Army or Souldier of either ſide ſhall be admitted, without licence from the Commander in chief of the Army on both ſides, or of the Commander of the next chief Garriſons reſpectively, to paſs or repair into any of the Garriſons on either ſide; ſave that it be lawful for either Party to furniſh any Garriſon in their power, during the Ceſſation, with Victuals, Cloth, Ammunition or other Neceſſaries, by licence as aforeſaid, which is not to be denied upon demand.*

Item, *It is concluded and accorded, that if any Army or Forces in this Kingdom, raised by His Majesties Authority, or any part thereof, or any other His Majesties Subjects, shall not yield obedience to the Articles of this Cessation, but shall publickly stand in opposition thereunto, that the said* Roman *Catholick Subjects now in Arms, &c. and their Party may prosecute such: and the said* James *Marques of* Ormond *doth promise and undertake, that such who shall so stand in opposition shall not be assisted, protected, or defended against the said* Roman *Catholick Subjects now in Arms, &c. or their Party, by His Majesty or any of His Forces; and yet nevertheless the same shall not be understood to be any breach of Cessation as to other parts of the Kingdom which shall conform and yield thereunto. And whereas the assistance of His Majesties Forces is desired by the said* Roman *Catholick Subjects now in Arms, &c. against such as shall oppose the Articles of this Cessation, and will not yield obedience thereunto, or interrupt the Trade and Traffick, albeit that it is not to be supposed that there will be any such, the said* James *Marques of* Ormond *doth further promise and undertake, that their said request shall be made known to His Majesty, and upon signification of His Pleasure the same shall be obeyed.*

Item, *It is concluded and accorded, that if in other cases it be pretended on either side that the Cessation is violated, that yet no act of Hostility is immediately to follow, but first the party complaining is to acquaint the Lord General, Lieutenant-General, or other chief Commander of either side in that Province in which the said Cessation is pretended to be violated therewith, and to allow fourteen dayes after notice given for reparation or satisfaction; and in case reparation or satisfaction be not given or tendred, then fourteen daies notice to be given before Hostility begin.*

Item, *It is concluded and accorded, that all Prisoners and Hostages of both sides in all parts of the Kingdom, excepting such of them as are indicted of any Capital offence, shall be mutually released and set at liberty within seven dayes after publication of the said Cessation. And the said Marques of* Ormond *doth farther promise and undertake, that such Prisoners who are indicted of any Capital offence shall be set at liberty upon Bail, until His Majesties further Pleasure be known therein. Provided nevertheless, that if any party of His Majesties Army in any other Province of the Kingdom shall not within ten daies after Publication of these Articles yield obedience thereunto, that the same shall be no breach of Cessation, but that His Majesty be first made acquainted with such Disobedience, and His Direction expected therein: and that all other persons that do reside with either Party, and all Women and Children, shall be permitted within seven dayes after*

after publiſhing of this Ceſſation, or when they pleaſe, with their goods and chattels to depart to what place they pleaſe, with a ſafe Conduct or Convoy, if they deſire it.

Item, *It is concluded and accorded, that the ſaid* Roman *Catholick Subjects now in Arms, &c. and their Party, may at any time, during the Ceſſation, ſend ſuch Agents to His Majeſty as they ſhall think fit; and that the ſaid Agents ſhall have ſafe Conduct in writing from the chief Governor or Governors of this Kingdom for the time being upon demand.*

Item, *It is concluded and accorded, and the ſaid Marqueſs of* Ormond *doth promiſe and undertake for and in the name of His Majeſty, that all and every of the precedent Articles which have been agreed unto and undertaken by the ſaid Marqueſs for and in the behalf of His Majeſty, ſhall be faithfully, truly and inviolably obſerved, fulfilled and kept. And the ſaid Viſcount* Muskery, *Sir* Lucas Dillon *Knight*, Nicholas Plunket *Eſquire*, *Sir* Robert Talbot *Baronet*, *Sir* Richard Barnewell, Torlogh O-Neale, Geffry Browne, Ever Mac-Gennis, *and* John Walſh, *Eſquires, for and in the behalf of the ſaid* Roman *Catholick Subjects now in Arms, &c. and their Party, do promiſe and undertake, that all and every of the precedent Articles which have been agreed unto and undertaken by them for and in the behalf of their Party, ſhall be faithfully, truly and inviolably obſerved, fulfilled and kept.*

Laſtly, It is concluded and accorded, that all poſſeſſions, and likewiſe all goods and chattels, that ſhall be found in ſpecie *taken by either Party after the hour of twelve aforeſaid, and before publication of this Ceſſation, ſhall be reſtored to the owners; and after publication, all poſſeſſions and goods that ſhall be taken, to be reſtored to the owners upon demand, or damages for the ſame.*

In witneſs whereof the ſaid Marqueſs to the ſaid Articles remaining with the ſaid Viſcount Muskery *and the reſt of the above-named perſons, hath put his Hand and Seal: And the ſaid Viſcount* Muskery, *Sir* Lucas Dillon *Knight*, Nicholas Plunket *Eſquire*, *Sir* Robert Talbot *Baronet*, *Sir* Richard Barnewell *Baronet*, Torlogh O-Neale, Geffry Browne, Ever Mac-Gennis, *and* John Walſh, *Eſquires, to that part of the Articles remaining with the ſaid Marqueſs of* Ormond, *have put their Hands and Seals, the day and year firſt above written.*

Muskery. Lucas Dillon. Nic. Plunket. Rob. Talbot.
Rich. Barnewell. Torl. O-Neale. Geffry Browne.
Ever Mac-Gennis. Jo. Walſh.

An Inſtrument touching the manner of payment of 30800. pound ſterling by ſeveral Payments.

WHereas by an Inſtrument bearing Date with theſe preſents, we have, in the behalf and by Authority from the Roman *Catholicks of this Kingdom, freely given unto His Majeſty the ſumme of thirty thouſand pounds ſterling, wherein the times or manner of payments are not expreſſed; we do therefore hereby agree, that the ſame ſhall be paid in manner following:* viz. 5000 *pounds within one moneth next after the Date of theſe preſents, the one half in money, and the other half in goods and merchantable Beeves, not under four or above ten years old, at the rate of 30 pounds the ſcore, at the City of* Dublin: 5000 *pounds more within one moneth next after the ſaid firſt moneth, the one half in money, and the other half in Beeves, as aforeſaid, at the like rates, at the City of* Dublin *aforeſaid: alſo within two moneths next after* 5000 *pounds more, whereof one half of Beeves, as aforeſaid, at the like rates, and the other half in money: one other* 5000 *pounds at or before the laſt of* February *next: and the ſumme of* 10000 *pounds, being the laſt payment of the ſaid thirty thouſand pounds, at or before the laſt day of* May *next, which ſhall be in the year* 1644. *And we hereby further agree that* 800 *pounds more ſhall be paid to His Majeſties uſe, to whom the Lords Juſtices ſhall appoint, at the Garriſon of* Naas, *within two moneths next enſuing, the one half by one moneths end next after the Date hereof, and the other half by the end of one moneth more next after the firſt moneth. All other payments in money, ſave the eight hundred pounds, ſhall be paid at* Dublin; *and the reſt of the Beeves, ſave the ſaid firſt two payments, to be paid within the ſeveral Provinces to His Majeſties uſe, to ſuch perſons as ſhall be appointed by His Majeſties Lords Juſtices, or other chief Governour or Governours in this Kingdom, they firſt giving notice to us, or any one or more of us, of their pleaſures therein. In witneſs whereof we have hereunto put our Hands and Seals, the ſixteenth day of* September, 1643.

Muskery. Lucas Dillon. Nic. Plunket. Rob. Talbot.
R. Barnewell. Tor. O-Neale. Geffry Brown.
Ever Mac-Gennis. Jo. Walſh.

Whereas

WHereas the Lord Marqueſs of Ormond *hath demanded the Opinions as well of the Members appointed from the Councel-board to aſsiſt his Lordſhip in the preſent Treaty, as of other Perſons of Honour and Command, that have ſince the beginning thereof repaired out of ſeveral parts of this Kingdom to his Lordſhip: they therefore ſeriouſly conſidering how much His Majeſties Army here hath already ſuffered through want of relief out of* England, *though the ſame was often preſſed and importuned by His moſt Gracious Majeſty, Who hath left nothing unattempted which might conduce to their ſupport and maintenance, and unto what common Miſery not onely the Officer and Souldier, but others alſo His Majeſties good Subjects within this Kingdom are reduced; and further conſidering how many of His Majeſties principal Forts and places of ſtrength are at this preſent in great diſtreſs, and the imminent danger the Kingdom is like to fall into; and finding no poſsibility of proſecuting this Warre without large Supplies, whereof they can apprehend no hope nor poſsibility in due time: they for theſe cauſes do conceive it neceſſary for His Majeſties Honour and Service, that the ſaid Lord Marqueſs aſſent to a Ceſſation of Arms for one whole Year, on the Articles and Conditions this day drawn up, and to be perfected by virtue of His Majeſties Commiſsion, for the preſervation of this Kingdom of* Ireland. *Witneſs our Hands, the fifteenth day of* September, 1643.

Clanrickard *and* St Albans,
Roſcomon,
Richard Dungarvan,
Edward Brabazon,
Inchequin,
Thomas Lucas,

James Ware,
Michael Ernley,
Foulk Huncks,
John Powlet,
Maurice Euſtace,
Edward Povey,
John Gifford,

Philip Percivall,
Richard Gibſon,
Henry Warren,
Alanus Cooke, *Advocatus Regis.*

By the King.

MDCXLIII. *A Proclamation for the Aſſembling the Members of both Houſes at* Oxford, *upon occaſion of the Invaſion by the* Scots.

WHereas We did by Our Proclamation, bearing date the twentieth day of *June* laſt, upon due conſideration of the Miſeries of this Kingdom, and the true Cauſe thereof, warn all Our good Subjects no longer to be miſled by Votes, Orders, or pretended Ordinances of One or Both Houſes, by reaſon the Members do not enjoy the Freedom and Liberty of Parliament, which appears by ſeveral inſtances of Force and Violence, and by the courſe of their Proceedings mentioned in Our ſaid Proclamation, and ſeveral of Our Declarations; ſince which time Our Subjects of *Scotland* have made great and Warlike preparations to enter and invade this Kingdom with an Army, and have already actually invaded the ſame, by poſſeſsing themſelves by force of Arms of Our Town of *Berwick*, upon pretence that they are invited thereunto by the deſires of the two Houſes: the which as We doubt not all Our good Subjects of this Kingdom will look upon as the moſt inſolent Act of Ingratitude and Diſloyalty, and to the apparent breach of the late Act of Pacification ſo ſolemnly made between the Kingdoms, and is indeed no other then a deſigne of Conqueſt, and to impoſe new Laws upon this Nation, they not ſo much as pretending the leaſt provocation or violation from this Kingdom; ſo We are moſt aſſured that the major part of both Houſes of Parliament do from their ſouls abhorre the leaſt thought of introducing that Forein Power, to encreaſe and make deſperate the Miſeries of their unhappy Country: And therefore that it may appear to all the world how farre the major part of both Houſes is from ſuch Actions of Treaſon and Diſloyalty, and how groſsly thoſe few Members remaining at *Weſtminſter* have and do impoſe upon Our People, We do Will and require ſuch of the Members of both Houſes, as well thoſe who have been by the Faction of the Malignant Party expelled for performing their Duty to Us, and into whoſe rooms no Perſons have been ſince choſen by their Country,

Country, as the reſt who have been driven thence, and all thoſe who being conſcious of their want of Freedom now, ſhall be willing to withdraw from that Rebellious City, to aſſemble themſelves together at Our City of *Oxford*, on Munday the twenty ſecond day of *January*, where care ſhall be taken for their ſeveral Accommodations, and fit places appointed for their meeting, and where all Our good Subjects ſhall ſee how willing We are to receive Advice for the Preſervation of the Religion, Laws and Safety of the Kingdom, and, as farre as in Us lyes, to reſtore it to its former Peace and Security, (Our chief and only end) from thoſe whom they have truſted, though We cannot receive it in the Place where We appointed. And for the better encouragement of thoſe Members of either Houſe to reſort to Us, who may be conſcious to themſelves of having juſtly incurred Our Diſpleaſure by ſubmitting to or concurring in unlawful Actions, and that all the World may ſee how willing and deſirous We are to forget the Injuries and Indignities offered to Us, and by an Union of *Engliſh* hearts, to prevent the laſting Miſeries which this Forein Invaſion muſt bring upon this Kingdom, We do offer a free and General Pardon to all the Members of either Houſe, who ſhall at or before the ſaid twenty ſecond day of *January* appear at Our City of *Oxford*, and deſire the ſame, without Exceptions: which, conſidering the manifeſt Treaſons committed againſt Us, and the Condition We are now in, improved, by God's wonderful bleſsing, to a better degree then We have enjoyed at any time ſince theſe Diſtractions, is the greateſt inſtance of Princely and Fatherly Care of Our People that can be expreſſed, and which Malice it ſelf cannot ſuggeſt to proceed from any other ground. And therefore We hope and are confident, that all ſuch who upon this Our gracious Invitation will not return to their Duty and Allegiance, ſhall be no more thought Promoters of the Religion, Laws and Liberty of the Kingdom, (which this way may be, without doubt, ſettled and ſecured) but Perſons engaged from the beginning, out of their own Pride, Malice and Ambition, to bring Confuſion and Deſolation upon their Countrey, and to that purpoſe (having long ſince contrived the Deſigne) to invite and joyn with a Forein Nation to ruine and extinguiſh their own, and ſhall accordingly be purſued as the moſt deſperate and

malicious

malicious Enemies of the Kingdom. And Our pleasure is, That this Our Proclamation be read in all Churches and Chappels within this Our Kingdom, and Dominion of *Wales*.

Given at Our Court at *Oxford*, the two and twentieth day of *December*, in the Nineteenth year of Our Reign, 1643.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

MDCXLIII. IV.

A Letter from the LORDS *at* Oxford, *and other Lords whose Names are subscribed, to the Lords of the Privy-Councel, and the Conservators of the Peace of the Kingdom of* SCOTLAND.

Our very good Lords,

IF for no other Reason, yet that Posterity may know we have done our Duties, and not sate still while our Brethren of *Scotland* were transported with a dangerous and fatal misunderstanding, that the Resolution now taken among them for an Expedition into *England* is agreeable to their obligation by the late Treaty, and to the Wishes and Desires of this Kingdom, expressed by the two Houses of Parliament; we have thought it necessary to let your Lordships know, That if we had dissented from that Act, it could never have been made a Law: And when you have examined and considered the Names of us who subscribe this Letter (who, we hope, are too well known to your Lordships, and to both Kingdomes, to be suspected to want Affection to Religion, or to the Laws and Liberties of our Country, for the Defence and maintenance of which we shall alwaies hold our Lives a cheap sacrifice,) and when you are informed that the Earls of *Arundel* and *Thanet*, and the Lords *Stafford*, *Stanhope*, *Coventry*, *Goring*, and *Craven*, are in the parts beyond the Seas, and the Earl of *Chesterfield*, *Westmorland*, and the Lord *Mountague* of *Boughton*, under restraint at *London* for their Loyalty and Duty to His Majesty and the Kingdom; your Lordships will easily conclude how very few now make up the Peers at *Westminster*, there being in truth not above five and twenty Lords present or privy to those Counsels, or, being absent, consenting or concurring with them; whereas the House of Peers consists of above one hundred, besides Minors and Recusant Lords, neither of which keep us company in this Address to your Lordships. How we and the major part of the House of Commons come to be absent from thence, is so notorious to all the World,

World, that we believe your Lordſhips cannot be ſtrangers to it; How ſeveral times during our ſitting there, Multitudes of the meaneſt ſort of People, with weapons not agreeing with their condition or cuſtome, in a manner very contrary and deſtructive to the Privilege of Parliament; fill'd up the way between both Houſes, offering Injuries both by words and actions to, and laying violent hands upon, ſeveral Members, and crying out many hours together againſt the eſtabliſhed Laws, in a moſt tumultuous and menacing way; How no remedy would be ſubmitted to for preventing thoſe Tumults: After which, and other unlawful and unparliamentary Actions, many things rejected, and ſettled, upon ſolemn debate in the Houſe of Peers, were again after many Threats and Menaces reſumed, altered and determined, contrary to the Cuſtome and Laws of Parliaments; and ſo, many of us withdrew our ſelves from thence, where we could not Sit, Speak and Vote with Honor, Freedome and Safety, and are now kept from thence for our Duty and Loyalty to our Sovereign. And we muſt therefore proteſt againſt any Invitation which hath been made to our Brethren of *Scotland* to enter this Kingdome with an Army, the ſame being as much againſt the Deſires as againſt the Duty of the Lords and Commons of *England*. And we do conjure your Lordſhips by our common Allegiance and Subjection under one gracious Sovereign, by the Amity and Affection between the two Nations, by the Treaty of Pacification, which by any ſuch Act is abſolutely diſſolved, and by all Obligations both Divine and Humane which can preſerve Peace upon earth, to uſe your utmoſt endeavours to prevent the effuſion of ſo much Chriſtian blood, and the Confuſion and Deſolation which muſt follow the unjuſt Invaſion of this Kingdome, which we and, we are confident, all true *Engliſh*-men muſt interpret as a Deſign of Conqueſt, and to impoſe new Laws upon us. And therefore your Lordſhips may be aſſured we ſhall not ſo farre forget our own Intereſts and the Honour of our Nation, as not to expoſe our Lives and Fortunes in the juſt and neceſſary defence of the Kingdome. But if your Lordſhips in truth have any doubts or apprehenſions that there now is, or hereafter may be, a purpoſe to infringe your Laws or Liberties from any Attempt of this Kingdome; we do engage our Honours to your Lordſhips, to be our ſelves moſt religious obſervers of the Act of Pacification, and if the Breach and violation do not firſt begin within that Kingdome, we are moſt confident you ſhall never have cauſe to complain of this. And having thus far expreſſed Our ſelves to your Lordſhips, we hope to receive ſuch an Anſwer from you as may be a means to preſerve a right underſtanding between the two Nations, and lay an Obligation upon us to continue

Your Lordſhips moſt affectionate humble Servants,

Ed. Littleton C. S.
L. *Cottington.*
D. *Richmond.*
M. *Hartford.*
M. *Newcaſtle.*
E. *Huntington.*
E. *Bathon.*
E. *Southampton.*
E. *Dorſet.*
E. *Northampton.*
E. *Devonſhire.*
E. *Briſtoll.*
E. *Berkſhire.*

E. *Berkſhire.*
E. *Cleveland.*
E. *Marlburgh.*
E. *Rivers.*
E. *Lindſey.*
E. *Dover.*
E. *Peterburgh.*
E. *Kingſton.*
E. *Newport.*
E. *Portland.*
E. *Carbury.*
V. *Conway.*
V. *Falconbridge.*
V. *Wilmot.*
V. *Savile.*
L. *Mowbray* and *Maltravers.*
L. *Darcy* & *Coniers.*
L. *Wentworth.*
L. *Cromwell.*
L. *Rich.*
L. *Paget.*
L. *Digby.*
L. *Howard* of *Charleton.*
L. *Deincourt.*
L. *Lovelace.*
L. *Pawlet.*
L. *Mohun.*
L. *Dunſmore.*
L. *Seymour.*
L. *Herbert.*
L. *Cobham.*
L. *Capell.*
L. *Percy.*
L. *Leigh.*
L. *Hatton.*
L. *Hopton.*
L. *Jermyn.*
L. *Loughborough.*
L. *Byron.*
L. *Widderington.*

Votes of the Commons at Oxford.

MDCXLIII. IV.

Die Veneris, 26. Januar. 1643.

I. Reſolved upon the Queſtion, *Nemine contradicente,*

THat all ſuch Subjects of *Scotland* as have conſented to the Declaration intituled the *Declaration of the Kingdome of* Scotland, and *concerning the preſent Expedition into* England, *according to the Commiſſion and Order of the Convention of Eſtates from their meeting at* Edinburgh, *Auguſt* 1643. have thereby denounced Warre againſt the Kingdome of *England,* and broke the Act of Pacification.

II. Reſolved upon the Queſtion, *Nemine contradicente,*

That all ſuch of the Subjects of *Scotland* as have in a Hoſtile manner entred into the Town of *Berwick* upon *Twede,* have thereby broke the Act of Pacification.

III. Reſolved upon the Queſtion, *Nemine contradicente,*

That all His Majeſties Subjects of the Kingdome of *England* and Dominion of *Wales* are, both by their Allegiance and the Act of Pacification, bound to reſiſt and repreſſe all ſuch of the Subjects of *Scotland* as have in a Hoſtile manner already entred, or ſhall hereafter enter into the Town of *Berwick* upon *Twede,* or any other part of His Majeſties Realme of *England* or Dominion of *Wales,* as Traitors and Enemies to the State.

IV. Reſolved upon the Queſtion, *Nemine contradicente,*

That all ſuch of His Majeſties Subjects of the Realme of *England* or Dominion of *Wales,* that ſhall be abetting, aiding and aſſiſting to the Subjects

jects of *Scotland* in their Hoſtile Invaſion of any part of His Majeſties Realm of *England* or Dominion of *Wales*, ſhall be deemed and taken as Traitors and Enemies to the State.

Reſolved upon the Queſtion, *Nemine contradicente*, IV.

That all His Majeſties Subjects of *Scotland* are bound by the Act of Pacification to reſiſt and repreſſe all of that Kingdome that already have raiſed Armes, or ſhall riſe in Armes, to invade this Kingdome of *England* or Dominion of *Wales*.

Votes of the Commons at Oxford,

March 12. 1643.

Reſolved upon the Queſtion, *Nemine contradicente*, I.

THat the Lords and Commons now remaining at *Weſtminſter*, that have given their Votes or conſent to the raiſing of Forces under the Command of the Earle of *Eſſex*, or have been abetting, aiding or aſſiſting thereunto, have levied and made Warre againſt the King, and are therein guilty of High Treaſon.

Reſolved upon the Queſtion, *Nemine contradicente*, II.

That the Lords and Commons now remaining at *Weſtminſter*, that have given their Votes and conſents for the making and uſing of a new Great Seal, have thereby counterfeited the Kings Great Seal, and therein committed High Treaſon.

Reſolved upon the Queſtion, *Nemine contradicente*, III.

That the ſaid Lords and Commons now remaining at *Weſtminſter*, that have given their conſents, or have been abetting, aiding or aſſiſting to the preſent coming in of the *Scots* into *England* in a Warlike manner, have therein committed High Treaſon.

Reſolved upon the Queſtion, *Nemine contradicente*, IV.

That the Lords and Commons now remaining at *Weſtminſter*, who have committed the Crimes mentioned in the three former Votes, have therein broken the Truſt in them repoſed by their Countrey, and ought to be proceeded againſt as Traitors to the King and Kingdome.

Reſolved upon the Queſtion, *Nemine contradicente*, V.

That all the Endeavors and Offers of Peace and Treaty made by His Majeſty, by the advice of the Lords and Commons of Parliament aſſembled at *Oxford*, have been refuſed and rejected by the Lords and Commons remaining at *Weſtminſter*.

MDCXLIII. IV. *A Declaration of the Lords and Commons of Parliament assembled at* Oxford, *Of their Proceedings touching a Treaty for Peace, and the Refusal thereof; With the several Letters and Answers that passed therein.*

IF our most earnest Desires and Endeavours could have prevailed for a Treaty, our Proceedings therein, without this Declaration, would have manifested to all the World the clearnesse of our Intentions for the restoring the Peace of this Kingdome: but seeing all the means used by Us for that purpose have been rendered fruitlesse, we hold our selves bound to let our Countries know, what in discharge of our Duty to God and to them we on our parts have done since our coming to *Oxford*, to prevent the further effusion of Christian blood, and the Desolation of this Kingdome.

His Majesty having by His Proclamation, upon occasion of the Invasion from *Scotland* and other weighty reasons, commanded our attendance at *Oxford* upon the 22. of *January* last, there to advise Him for the preservation of the Religion, Laws and Safety of the Kingdome, and to restore it to its former Peace and Security; these Motives, with the true sense of our Countries Miseries, quickned our duty to give ready obedience to those His Royall Commands, hoping (by God's blessing) to have become happy Instruments for such good Ends. And upon our coming hither, we applied our selves with all diligence to advise of such means as might most probably settle the Peace of this Kingdome, (the thing most desired by His Majesty and our selves:) and because we found many gracious offers of Treaty for Peace by His Majesty had been rejected by the Lords and Commons remaining at *Westminster*, we deemed it fit to write in our own names, and thereby make triall, whether that might produce any better effect for accomplishing our desires and our Countries Happinesse. And they having (under pain of death) prohibited the addresse of any Letters or Message to *Westminster*, but by their General, and we conceiving him a person who (by reason of their trust reposed in him) had a great influence into and Power over their Proceedings, resolved to recommend it to his Care, and to engage him in that Pious Work, with our earnest desire to him to represent it to those that trusted him, (to prevent all exceptions and delay:) and thereupon, the 27. of the same *January*, dispatched a Letter away under the hands of the Prince his Highnesse, the Duke of *York*, and of 43. Dukes, Marquesses, Earles, Viscounts and Barons of the House of Peers, and 118. Members of the House of Commons there present, (many others of us by reason of distance of place, sickenesse, and imployments in His Majesties Service, and for want of timely notice of the Proclamation of Summons, not being then come hither:) which Letter we caused to be inclosed in a Letter from the Earle of *Forth* the Kings General. A true Copy of which Letter from us to the Earle of *Essex* hereafter followeth, *viz.*

My

My Lord,

HIS *Majesty having by His Proclamation of the* 22. *of* December *(upon the occasion of the Invasion threatned, and in part begun, by some of His Subjects of* Scotland *) summon'd all the Members of both Houses of Parliament to attend Him here at* Oxford; *we, whose Names are under-written, are here met and assembled in obedience to those His Majesties Commands. His Majesty was pleased to invite us in the said Proclamation by these gracious expressions;* [That His Subjects should see how willing He was to receive Advice for the preservation of the Religion, Laws and Safety of the Kingdom, and, as farre as in Him lay, to restore it to its former Peace and Security, (His chief and only end,) from those whom they had trusted, though He could not receive it in the Place where He appointed.] *This most gracious Invitation hath not onely been made good unto us, but seconded and heightned by such unquestionable Demonstrations of the deep and Princely sense which possesses His Royal Heart of the Miseries and Calamities of His poor Subjects in this unnaturall Warre, and of His most entire and passionate Affections to redeem them from that sad and deplorable condition, by all waies possible consistent either with His Honour or with the future Safety of the Kingdome, that, as it were Impiety to question the Sincerity of them, so were it great want of Duty and Faithfulness in us, (His Majesty having vouchsafed to declare, that He did call us to be witnesses of His Actions, and privy to His Intentions,) should we not testifie and witness to all the World the assurance we have of the Piety and Sincerity of both. We being most entirely satisfied of this truth, we cannot but confess that, amidst our highest afflictions in the deep and piercing sense of the present Miseries and Desolations of our Country, and those farther Dangers threatned from* Scotland, *we are at length erected to some chearfull and comfortable thoughts, that possibly we may yet (by God's Mercy, if his Justice have not determined this Nation for its Sins to totall Ruine and Desolation) hope to be happy Instruments of our Countries Redemption from the Miseries of Warre, and restitution to the Blessings of Peace. And we being desirous to believe your Lordship (howsoever ingaged) a person likely to be sensibly touched with these considerations, have thought fit to invite you to that part in this blessed Work, which is onely capable to repair all our misfortunes, and to buoy up the Kingdom from Ruine; that is, by conjuring you by all the Obligations that have power upon Honour, Conscience or publick Piety, that laying to heart, as we do, the inwardly-bleeding condition of your Country, and the outward more menacing Destruction by a forein Nation, upon the very point of invading it, you will co-operate with us to its Preservation, by truly representing to, and faithfully and industriously promoving with those by whom you are trusted, this following most sincere and most earnest desire of ours; That they joyning with us in a right sense of the past, present, and more threatning Calamities of this deplorable Kingdome, some persons be appointed on either part, and a place agreed on, to treat of such a Peace as may yet redeem it from the brink of Desolation.*

This Addreſs we ſhould not have made, but that His Majeſties Summons by which we are met, moſt graciouſly proclaiming Pardon to all without exception, is evidence enough that His Mercy and Clemency can tranſcend all former Provocations, and that He hath not onely made us witneſſes of His Princely Intentions, but honoured us alſo with the name of being Security for them.

God Almighty direct your Lordſhip, and thoſe to whom you ſhall preſent theſe our moſt reall deſires, in ſuch a courſe as may produce that happy Peace and Settlement of the preſent Diſtractions, which is ſo heartily deſired and prayed for by us, and which may make us

From *Oxford*, the 27. of *Jan.* 1643. Your, &c.

We are not aſhamed of that earneſt, meek and Chriſtian requeſt we made in that Letter, (though it was cryed through *London* Streets in ſcorn, as the Petition of the Prince and Duke of *York* for Peace) and we thought it would have prevailed to have procured a Treaty for ſo bleſſed a thing as *Peace*, and for ſuch an end as redeeming the Kingdom from Deſolation (the only deſire of that our Letter:) but in ſtead of a compliance with us in this Chriſtian work of Treaty and Accommodation, we received a mere frivolous Anſwer, or rather a paper of Scorn, in form of a Letter, directed to the Earl of *Forth*, wherein was incloſed a Printed paper, called *A National Covenant of the Kingdoms of England and Scotland*, and two other Papers in writing, one called *A Declaration of both thoſe Kingdoms*, and the other, *A Declaration of the Kingdom of Scotland*, Pamphlets full of Treaſon, Sedition and Diſloyalty; which being publick, and needleſs here to be inſerted, the Copy of the Letter hereafter followeth.

My Lord,

I Received this day a Letter of the nine and twentieth of this inſtant from your Lordſhip, and a Parchment ſubſcribed by the Prince, Duke of York, *and divers other Lords and Gentlemen; but it neither having addreſs to the two Houſes of Parliament, nor therein there being any acknowledgement of them, I could not communicate it to them. My Lord, the maintenance of the Parliament of* England *and of the Privileges thereof is that for which we are all reſolved to ſpend our blood, as being the foundation whereupon all our Laws and Liberties are built. I ſend your Lordſhip herewith a* National Covenant, *ſolemnly entred into by both the Kingdomes of* England *and* Scotland, *and a* Declaration *paſſed by them both together, with another* Declaration *of the Kingdom of* Scotland. *I reſt,*

Eſſex-houſe, Jan. 30. 1643. Your Lordſhips humble Servant, *Eſſex.*

Whoſoever conſiders this Letter, will eaſily find it was fully underſtood to whom ours was deſired to be communicated, under the expreſſion

preſsion of [*thoſe by whom their General was truſted*:] and although it be pretended, becauſe there was no Addreſs to the two Houſes of Parliament nor acknowledgement of them, it could not be communicated to them, it is notoriouſly known, he did ſo far impart it, that a Committee of theirs adviſed the Anſwer, and it appears by the penning, they all concurred in the reſolution therein mentioned; whereby it is evident that this was but an excuſe framed to avoid a Treaty. And what could that Printed *Covenant* and two *Declarations* encloſed ſignifie, but to let us know, that before we come to any Treaty, we muſt alſo joyn in that Covenant with them for the abſolute extirpation of Church-Government here, (without, nay though againſt, the Kings Conſent,) ſubmit the Lives, Liberties and Eſtates of us, and all thoſe who according to their Allegiance have aſsiſted His Majeſty, to their Mercy, and admit and juſtifie the Invaſion from *Scotland*, according to the plain ſenſe of their Declaration? which all indifferent men will think ſtrange Preparatives to a Treaty for Peace; and after ſuch a yielding and ſubmiſsion, we know not what is left to Treat upon.

Theſe things are too apparent to every ordinary underſtanding: and yet we were not forward to apprehend the Scorn of that Letter, or take it for a Denial of a Treaty, but being ſtill ſolicitous for that happy Peace which alone could redeem this Kingdom from Ruine, we reſolved to try another way, and for avoiding Delay, or Cavil about Names or Titles, or deſcants upon words, to forbear writing; and humbly beſought His Majeſty to ſend Meſſengers with Inſtructions, to deſire a Treaty for Peace: Who was pleaſed to name Mr *Richard Fanſhaw* and Mr *Thomas Offly*, (Gentlemen of clear Repute and Integrity;) and, to avoid their danger in repairing to *Weſtminſter*, at our deſire, commanded the Earl of *Forth*, His General, to write to theirs for a ſafe Conduct for thoſe two Meſſengers, (for ſuch is our Condition at preſent, that a free-born Subject, ſent upon the Kings Meſſage, cannot but with ſuch leave repair to *London* or *Weſtminſter*, without danger of his Life.) The Letter for the ſafe Conduct was as followeth.

My Lord,

I Cannot ſo willingly write to you in any buſineſs as in that of Peace, the endeavour thereof being the principal Duty of thoſe who are truſted in places of our Commands, eſpecially when the Blood that is ſpilt is of perſons under the ſame Allegiance, of the ſame Country and Religion. His Majeſty continuing conſtant in His pious and fervent deſires of a happy end to theſe bloody Diſtractions, I do hereby deſire your Lordſhip to ſend me a ſafe Conduct to and from Weſtminſter, *for* Mr Richard Fanſhaw *and* Mr Tho. Offly, *to be ſent by His Majeſty concerning a Treaty for Peace. I reſt,*

Your Lordſhips humble Servant,
Forth.

To this was returned a Letter directed to the Earl of *Forth*, in theſe words, *viz.*

My Lord,

YOu ſhew your Nobleneſs in declaring your willingneſs to write to me in any buſineſs, as of that of Peace, and I joyn with you in the ſame opinion, that it ought to be a principal Duty of thoſe who are truſted in places of our Command; and therefore whenſoever I ſhall receive any directions to thoſe who have intruſted me, I ſhall uſe my beſt endeavours; and when you ſhall ſend for a ſafe Conduct for thoſe Gentlemen mentioned in your Letter, from His Majeſty to the Houſes of Parliament, I ſhall with all chearfulneſs ſhew my willingneſs to further any way that may produce that Happineſs that all honeſt men pray for, which is a true underſtanding between His Majeſty and His faithful and only Councel, the Parliament.

Eſſex-houſe, 19. February, 1643.

Your Lordſhips humble Servant,
Eſſex.

That this doth neither grant a ſafe Conduct, nor give any direct Anſwer to the Earl of *Forth*'s Requeſt, every ordinary eye may ſee, (and yet ſuch Requeſts amongſt Generals are rarely denied:) and we may eaſily thereby diſcern how fearful they at *Weſtminſter* are, leſt the poor diſtreſſed People of this Kingdom ſhould by the advantage of a Treaty and free debate of the preſent Difference, ſee how groſsly they had been deceived and miſled, and ſo obtain an end of their Miſeries: for otherwiſe who could have believed, that when theſe Differences aroſe and were continued for want of a free Convention in Parliament, and that a main end of the Treaty was to reſolve how we, according to Our Duty and the Truſt repoſed in us by our Countries, might with them freely debate, and adviſe His Majeſty in thoſe things that concerned the maintenance of our Religion, Parliament-Privileges, the Kings Rights, and the Subjects Liberty and Property, that this Letter ſhould tell us, that the Party we are to Treat withall is the Kings *onely Councel*, excluding all others, not only our ſelves, called by the ſame Authority to Counſel as they were, but His Privy-Councel alſo and Councel at Law? ſo that we could have no hopes of a Treaty, unleſs we ſhould firſt agree that they are the *Parliament*, and the Kings *onely Councel*, whereby they that are parties would become the only Judges of all things in queſtion; which would be a Submiſsion, and not a Treaty.

Having received theſe frivolous delayes, which we might have interpreted abſolute denials of any Treaty of Peace, we yet reſolved not to give over our endeavours for that which ſo much concerned the good of our Country, and the welfare of all Profeſſors of the true Proteſtant Religion, but by our humble and earneſt deſires to His Majeſty, prevailed with Him to write His Royal Letters, and once more deſire a Treaty for Peace, (though it had been ſo often formerly rejected;) and to avoid all colour of Exception, to direct it *To the Lords and Commons of Parliament aſſembled at* Weſtminſter: which was done, and encloſed in a Letter from the Earl of *Forth* to their General. A Copy of both which Letters hereafter follows.

My

My Lord,

I Have received your Letter of the 19th of this Moneth, which, according to my Duty, I shewed to His Majesty; Who observing in it your expressions concerning Peace, (that whensoever you shall receive any directions to those that have entrusted you, you shall use your best endeavours,) is graciously pleased to send this enclosed, which is desired may be delivered according to the directions.

Directed to the Earl of *Essex*, Subscribed by the Earl of *Forth.*

C. R.

OUt of Our most tender and pious sense of the sad and bleeding condition of this Our Kingdome, and Our unwearied desires to apply all Remedies which, by the blessing of Almighty God, may recover it from an utter Ruine, by the Advice of the Lords and Commons of Parliament assembled at Oxford, *We do propound and desire, That a convenient number of fit Persons may be appointed and authorized by you to meet with all convenient speed, at such Place as you shall nominate, with an equall number of fit Persons whom We shall appoint and authorize, to Treat of the wayes and means to settle the present Distractions of this Our Kingdome, and to procure a happy Peace: and particularly, how all the Members of both Houses may securely meet in a full and free Convention of Parliament, there to Treat, consult and agree upon such things as may conduce to the maintenance and defence of the true Reformed Protestant Religion, with due consideration to all just and reasonable ease of tender Consciences; to the settling and maintaining of Our just Rights and Privileges, of the Rights and Privileges of Parliament, the Laws of the Land, the Liberty and Property of the Subject; and all other Expedients that may conduce to that blessed end of a firm and lasting Peace both in Church and State, and a perfect understanding betwixt Us and Our People: wherein no Endeavours or Concurrence of Ours shall be wanting. And God direct your hearts in the wayes of Peace.*

Given at Our Court at Oxford, *the third day of* March 1643.

Superscribed
To the Lords and Commons of Parliament
Assembled at *Westminster.*

We now appeal to all the World, what could more have been done by His Majesty or us in order to Peace, here being so great a Condescending from a King to Subjects, all indifferent Advantages left to them, both for time and place of Treaty, and choice of persons to Treat: But what their Intentions to Peace are, will appear by their Letter enclosed in one from their General to the Earl of *Forth*, both which are as followeth.

My Lord,

I Am commanded by both Houſes of Parliament to ſend a Trumpeter with the incloſed Letter to His Majeſty, which I deſire your Lordſhip may be moſt humbly preſented to His Majeſty. I reſt,

Eſſex-houſe, March 9. 1643.

Your Lordſhips humble Servant,
Eſſex.

May it pleaſe Your MAJESTY,

WE the Lords and Commons aſſembled in the Parliament of England, *taking into our Conſideration a Letter ſent from Your Majeſty, dated the third of* March *inſtant, and directed to the Lords and Commons of Parliament aſſembled at* Weſtminſter, *(which by the Contents of a Letter from the Earl of* Forth *unto the Lord General, the Earl of* Eſſex, *we conceive was intended to our ſelves) have reſolved, with the concurrent advice and conſent of the Commiſſioners of the Kingdom of* Scotland, *to repreſent to Your Majeſty in all humility and plainneſs as followeth:*

That, as we have uſed all means for a juſt and a ſafe Peace; ſo will we never be wanting to doe our utmoſt for the procuring thereof: But when we conſider the Expreſſions in that Letter of Your Majeſties, we have more ſad and deſpairing thoughts of attaining the ſame then ever; becauſe thereby thoſe Perſons now aſſembled at Oxford, *who, contrary to their Duty, have deſerted Your Parliament, are put into an equal Condition with it; and this preſent Parliament, convened according to the known and Fundamentall Laws of the Kingdome, (the continuance whereof is eſtabliſhed by a Law conſented unto by Your Majeſty,) is in effect denied to be a Parliament: the Scope and Intention of that Letter being to make proviſion how all the Members (as is pretended) of both Houſes may ſecurely meet in a full and free Convention of Parliament: whereof no other concluſion can be made, but that this preſent Parliament is not a full nor free Convention, and that to make it a full and free Convention of Parliament, the preſence of thoſe is neceſſary who, notwithſtanding that they have deſerted that great Truſt, and do levy War againſt the Parliament, are pretended to be Members of the two Houſes of Parliament.*

And hereupon we think our ſelves bound to let Your Majeſty know, That ſeeing the Continuance of this Parliament is ſettled by a Law (which, as all other Laws of Your Kingdoms, Your Majeſty hath ſworn to maintain, as we are ſworn to our Allegiance to Your Majeſty, theſe obligations being reciprocal,) we muſt in duty, and accordingly are reſolved, with our Lives and Fortunes, to defend and preſerve the Juſt Rights and full Power of this Parliament: and do beſeech Your Majeſty to be aſſured, that Your Majeſties Royal and hearty Concurrence with us herein will be the moſt effectuall and ready means of procuring a firm and laſting Peace in all Your Majeſties Dominions, and of begetting a perfect underſtanding between Your Majeſty and Your People; without which Your Majeſties moſt earneſt Profeſſions and our moſt real Intentions concerning the ſame muſt neceſſarily be fruſtrated. And in caſe Your Majeſties

sties three Kingdoms should, by reason thereof, remain in this sad and bleeding Condition, tending, by the continuance of this unnaturall War, to their Ruine; Your Majesty cannot be the least, nor the last Sufferer. God in his goodness incline Your Royall Breast, out of pity and compassion to those deep Sufferings of Your Innocent People, to put a speedy and happy issue to these desperate Evils, by the joynt Advice of both Your Kingdoms now happily united in this Cause by their late solemn League and Covenant. Which as it will prove the surest Remedy, so is it the earnest prayer of Your Majesties Loyall Subjects, the Lords and Commons assembled in the Parliament of England.

Westminster *the 9 of* March, 1643.

Grey *of* Wark, *Speaker of the House of Peers in Parliament*, pro tempore.

William Lenthall, *Speaker of the Commons House in Parliament.*

Whosoever considers that this should be a Letter from Subjects, might well think it very unbeseeming language in them, to call His Majesties earnest endeavours for Peace but *Professions*, and their own feigned pretence *most reall Intentions*, but much more menacing language, that *His Majesty cannot be the least, or last Sufferer*; which expressions from Subjects in Arms to their Sovereign, what dangerous Construction they may admit, we are unwilling to mention.

But we need not wonder at the maner of their expresions, when we see in this Letter the Parliament it self, as farre as in them lies, destroyed, and those who here style themselves The Lords and Commons assembled in the Parliament of *England*, not to resolve upon their Answer to their King, without the concurrent advice and consent of the Commissioners, as they call them, of the Kingdom of *Scotland*.

If they had only taken the Advice of the *Scotish* Commissioners, they had broken the Fundamental Constitution of Parliament; the very Writs of Summons, the Foundation of all Power in Parliament, being in expres terms for the Lords to treat and advise with the King and the Peers of the Kingdom of *England*, and for the Commons to *doe and consent* to those things which by that Common-Councel of *England* should be ordained, thereby excluding all others.

But their *League*, it seems, is gone further; the *Scots* must *consent* as well as advise, so that they have gotten a negative voice, and they, who in the former Letter would be the Kings onely Counsel, are now become no Counsel without the *Scotish* Commissioners: the truth is, they have (besides the solemn *League* and *Covenant* with the *Scots*, which their Letter mentions, a strange and traitourous presumption, for Subjects to make a *Covenant* and *League* with Subjects of another Kingdom without their Prince,) made private bargains with the *Scots* touching our Estates, and a private agreement not to treat without their consent, as some of themselves being afraid of a Treaty openly declared to the Common-Councel of *London*; and therefore 'tis no wonder, that being touched to

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the quick with the apprehenſion that they are not, nor can be in this condition, a full and free Convention of Parliament, they charge us with deſerting our Truſt, and would have us to be no Members of the Parliament. They may remember it was our want of freedom within, and the ſeditious Tumults without, their many multiplied Treaſons there, and impoſing traitourous Oaths, which inforced our abſence: but concerning that and the want of freedom in Parliament we ſhall ſay no more here, (that being the Subject of another Declaration;) only we wiſh them to conſider by what Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom (which they have lately wreſted to ſerve all turns) they can exclude us from our Votes in Parliament, who were duely ſummoned, choſen and returned Members of Parliament, and take in thoſe of another Kingdom to their Reſolutions, who are not bound by our Laws.

But what violation ſoever they make of the Laws, they are forward to put the King in minde of His Duty; and therefore tell Him, That He is ſworn to maintain the Laws, as they are ſworn to their Allegiance to Him, theſe Obligations being reciprocal. It is true in ſome ſenſe, that the Oath of the King and Subjects is reciprocal, that is, each is bound to perform what they ſwear, the King as well as the Subjects; but he that will well weigh their Letter, and make one part have connexion with the other, and examine that part of their *Covenant*, whereby they ſwear they will defend the Kings perſon and Authority no further or otherwiſe then in preſervation of their Religion and Liberties, may eaſily find another conſtruction, *viz.* That the Subjects Allegiance is no longer due then the King performs His Duty, nay, no longer then He in their opinion obſerves His Duty, whereof they themſelves muſt be Judges; and if He fail in His Duty, they may take up Armes againſt Him: a Principle which as it is utterly deſtructive to all Government, ſo, we believe, they themſelves dare not plainly avow it, leſt as they now make uſe of it againſt the King, ſo the People finding their failer of Duty and breach of Truſt, ſhould hereafter practiſe it by taking up Arms againſt them, and ſo ſhake off that yoak of Tyranny impoſed by their fellow-Subjects which lies ſo heavy upon them. It were well, as they ſtill preſs upon the King maintainance of the Laws, they would alſo know that their obligation to obſerve the ſame is reciprocal; and while they here reſolve to defend and preſerve the full Power of this Parliament, (which in their ſenſe can be no other then the Power they have exerciſed this Parliament) they would take notice that they are therein ſo farre from obſervation of the Laws, that they deſperately reſolve an utter ſubverſion of them: for what can more tend to the deſtruction of the Laws, then to uſurp a Power to themſelves without the King, and againſt His will to raiſe Arms, to attribute to their Orders or pretended Ordinances the power of Laws and Statutes, to inforce Contributions, Loans and Taxes of all ſorts from the Subject, to impriſon without cauſe ſhewed, and then prohibit Writs of *Habeas Corpus* for their enlargement, to lay Exciſes upon all Commodities, to command and diſ-

poſe

pose of the Lives and Estates of the free-born Subjects of this Kingdome at their pleasure, to impose Tonnage and Poundage, contrary to the Law declared in the late Act for Tonnage and Poundage; and all this done and justified as by a legal civil Power founded and inherent in them? All which are manifest breaches of the Petition of Right and *Magna Charta*, the great Evidence of the Liberties of *England*; which Charter by expres words binds them and us, though assembled in Parliament, as well as the King: and though it be not now, as heretofore it hath been, taken by solemn Oath on the Peoples part as well as on the Kings, nor a Curse, as heretofore, pronounced on the Violaters; yet they having taken a Protestation to maintain the Laws, and the Liberties and Properties of the Subject, and inclusively that Charter, let them take heed, whilest they make use of this their pretended Power to the destruction of the Law, lest a Curse fall upon them and upon their posterity. God knoweth, and it is too certain a truth, that our selves and many other good Subjects in this Kingdom, even under the power of the Kings Army, have suffered exceedingly in Liberty and Estates, during this present Rebellion, by many heavy Charges; the sad consideration whereof makes our hearts bleed, because we can see no way for relief, so long as this unnaturall Rebellion continues: but as these things were first practised by them, and thereby necessitated upon the Kings Army; so it was never yet pretended that they were done by virtue of a Law, but either by Consent, or by the unhappy and unavoidable exigences of Warre, and to expire with the present Rebellion, which God in mercy hasten. For our parts, we have the inward comfort of our own Consciences witnessing with us, that we have improved all opportunities and advantages for the restoring of this Kingdom to its former Peace; and we must witness for His Majesty, His most hearty desires thereof: and though both His Majesty and our endeavours therein have been made frustrate, yet God in his great goodness hath raised up our spirits, not to desert our Religion, our King, our Laws, our Lives, the Liberties of us *English* free-born Subjects; and, by God's assistance and His Majesties concurrence, we do resolve to unite our selves as one man, and chearfully adventure our Lives and Estates for the maintenance and defence of the true Reformed Protestant Religion of the Church of *England*, (of which we profess our selves to be,) for the defence of the Kings Person and Rights of His Crown, for the regaining and maintaining the Rights and Privileges of Parliament, and the Liberty of the Subjects Person, and Property of his Estate, according to the known Laws of the Land, to repell those of the *Scotish* Nation, that have in a warlike manner entred this Realm, and to reduce the Subjects thereof now in Rebellion to the Kings Obedience. And we doubt not but the same God will enlighten the eyes of the poor deceived People of this Land, like true-hearted honest *English*-men, to joyn unanimously with us in so just and pious a work. And the God of Heaven prosper us, according to the goodness of the Cause we have in hand.

The

The Names of the Lords and Commons of Parliament assembled at *Oxford*, who did subscribe the Letter to the Earl of *Essex*, dated *January* 27. 1643.

CHARLES P.
YORK.
CUMBERLAND.
Ed. Littleton C. S.
Fra. Cottington.
D. *Richmond.*
M. *Hartford.*
E. *Lindsey.*
E. *Dorset.*
E. *Shrewsbury.*
E. *Bath.*
E. *Southampton.*
E. *Leicester.*
E. *Northampton.*
E. *Devonshire.*
E. *Carlile.*
E. *Bristoll.*
E. *Berkshire.*
E. *Cleveland.*
E. *Rivers.*
E. *Dover.*
E. *Peterburgh.*
E. *Kingston.*
E. *Newport.*
E. *Portland.*
V. *Conway.*
L. *Digby.*
L. *Mowbray* and *Maltravers.*
L. *Wentworth.*
L. *Cromwell.*
L. *Rich.*
L. *Paget.*
L. *Chandois.*
L. *Howard* of *Charlton.*
L. *Lovelace.*
L. *Savile.*
L. *Mohun.*
L. *Dunsmore.*
L. *Seymour.*
L. *Percy.*
L. *Wilmott.*
L. *Leigh.*
L. *Hatton.*
L. *Jermin.*
L. *Carrington.*

John Fettiplace, Esq;
Sir *Alex. Denton.*
Sir *John Packington.*
Sir *Tho. Smith.*
F. Gamul, Esquire.
Jo. Harris, Esquire.
Joseph Jane, Esquire.
Rich. Edgcombe, Esq.
Jonathan Rashleigh, Esq.
G. Fane, Esquire.
P. Edgcombe, Esquire.
Will. Glanvill, Esquire.
Sir *Ro. Holborne.*
Sir *Ra. Sydenham.*
Fr. Godolphin, Esquire.
Geo. Parry, D. of Law.
Amb. Manaton, Esquire.
Ri. Vivian, Esquire.
Jo. Polewheele, Esquire.
John Arundell, Esquire.
Tho. Lower, Esquire.
Sir *Edw. Hide.*
Will. Allestree, Esquire.
Sir *Geo. Stonehouse.*
Ed. Seymour, Esquire.
Peter Sainthill, Esquire.
Sir *Will. Poole.*
Roger Matthew, Esq.
Ri. Arundell, Esquire.
Ro. Walker, Esquire.
Giles Strangwaies, Esq.
Sir *John Strangwaies.*
Sir *Tho. Hele.*
Sir *Ger. Naper.*
Sam. Turner, D. in Physick.
Will. Constantine, Esq.
Hen. Killegrew, Esq.
Ric. King, Esquire.
John Dutton, Esquire.
Hen. Bret, Esquire.
Will. Chadwell, Esquire.
Sir *Theobald Gorges.*
John George, Esquire.
Sir *Tho. Fanshaw.*
Humf. Conningesby, Esq.
Ri. Seaborne, Esquire.
Arth. Lord *Ranelaugh.*
Tho. Tomkins, Esquire.
Sir *Sampson Evers.*
Sir *John Culpeper.*
Jeffrey Palmer, Esquire.
Sir *John Harrison.*
Tho. Fanshaw, Esquire.
Sir *Rog. Palmer.*
Sir *Orlando Bridgman.*
Will. Watkins, Esquire.
John Smith, Esquire.
Sir *Tho. Bludder.*
Sir *Ed. Littleton.*
Sir *Harvy Bagot.*
Sir *Ri. Leveson.*
Sir *Ri. Cave.*
Ri. Weston, Esquire.
Sir *Ri. Lee.*
Sir *Tho. Whitmore.*
Sir *Ed. Acton.*
C. Baldwin, Esquire.
R. Goodwin, Esquire.
Tho. Howard, Esquire.
Tho. Littleton, Esquire.
Sir *Ro. Howard.*

Sir

Sir *John Meux.*
Matthew Davis, Esq.
Sir *F. Cornwallis.*
Tho. Jermyn, Esquire.
John Tayler, Esquire.
William Bassett, Esq.
Sir *William Portman.*
Sir *Edw. Rodney.*
Tho. Hanham, Esquire.
Ed. Phelips, Esquire.
John Digby, Esquire.
Ed. Kirton, Esquire.
Christ. Leuknor, Esq.
Sir *Edw. Alford.*
John White, Esquire.
John Ashburnham, Esq.

Will. Smith, Esquire.
Tho. Leedes, Esquire.
Sir *Ja. Thynne.*
W. Pleydell, Esquire.
Ro. Hyde, Serjeant at Law.
Sir *Ed. Griffin.*
Sir *Walter Smith.*
Geo. Lowe, Esquire.
Ric. Harding, Esquire.
Sir *Hen. Herbert.*
End. Porter, Esquire.
Sam. Sandys, Esquire.
John Bodvill, Esquire.
Will. Morgan, Esquire.
Will. Thomas, Esquire.

Jo. Mostyn, Esquire.
Hen. Bellasis, Esquire.
Sir *Geo. Wentworth.*
Will. Mallory, Esquire.
Ri. Aldburgh, Esquire.
John Salisbury, Esquire.
Will. Herbert, Esquire.
William Price, Esquire.
Sir *John Price.*
Sir *Ri. Herbert.*
Cha. Price, Esquire.
Phil. Warwick, Esquire.
Tho. Cooke, Esquire.
Sir *Rob. Crooke.*
Herb. Price, Esquire.
John Whistler, Esquire.

These Peers following, being disabled by several accidents to appear sooner, have since attended the Service and concurred with us:

Viscount *Cambden.*
Lord *Abergavenny.*

Lord *Arundell.*
Lord *Capell.*

Lord *Newport.*

Peers imployed in His Majesties Service, or absent with leave.

Marquess of *Winchester.*
Marquess of *Worcester.*
Marq. of *New-Castle.*
Earl of *Darby.*
Earl of *Huntingdon.*
Earl of *Clare.*
Earl of *Marleborough.*

V. *Falconbridge.*
L. *Morley.*
L. *Darcy* and *Coniers.*
L. *Stourton.*
L. *Evers.*
L. *Daincourt.*
L. *Pawlet.*
L. *Brudenell.*

L. *Powys.*
L. *Herbert* of *Cherbury.*
L. *Hopton.*
L. *Loughborough.*
L. *Byron.*
L. *Vaughan.*
L. *Widderington.*

Peers absent in the parts beyond the Seas.

Earl of *Arundell.*
Earl of St *Albans.*
L. Viscount *Mountague*

L. Viscount *Stafford.*
L. *Stanhope.*
L. *Coventry.*

L. *Goring.*
L. *Craven* of *Hamsted.*
L. *Craven* of *Ryton.*

Peers in Prison for their Loyalty to His Majesty.

Earl of *Chesterfield.*
L. *Mountague* of *Boughton.*

Whoever views theſe numbers, and conſiders how many Peers are at this time under age, will quickly know who and how many are privy or conſenting to the Counſels at *Weſtminſter*.

Theſe Members of the Commons Houſe following, being diſabled by ſeveral accidents to appear ſooner, have ſince attended the Service, and concurred with us.

Peter Venables, Eſquire.
Sir *John Pawlet*.
Edward Bagſhaw, Eſq;.
Sir *John Burlaſey*.
Francis Newport, Eſq.
Anthony Hungerford, Eſ.
John Ruſſel, Eſquire.
Thomas Chichley, Eſqu.

Earl of *Cork*.
Sir *Gervaſe Clifton*.
Sir *Guy Palmes*.
Robert Sutton, Eſquire.
Gervaſe Hollis, Eſquire.
Sir *Patricius Curwen*.
Sir *Henry Bellingham*.
Sir *George Dalſton*.

Sir *Thomas Sandford*.
Sir *William Dalſton*.
Michael Wharton, Eſq.
Sir *Robert Hatton*.
James Scudamore, Eſq.
Sir *John Brooke*.
Sir *John Stepney*.

Imployed in His Majeſties Service, or abſent with leave, or by Sickneſs.

Sir *John Fenwick*.
Hugh Potter, Eſquire.
Walter Kirle, Eſquire.
William Stanhope, Eſq.
Sir *William Carnaby*.
Sir *Thomas Danby*.
John Fenwick, Eſquire.
Ralph Sneade, Eſquire.
Sir *William Ogle*.
Sir *Thomas Jermyn*.
Sir *John Stowell*.
Sir *Robert Strickland*.

Sir *Philip Muſgrave*.
John Cowcher, Eſquire.
John Coventry, Eſquire.
Sir *Henry Slingesby*.
Sir *John Mallory*.
John Bellaſis, Eſquire.
Sir *Thomas Ingram*.
Lord *Mansfield*
Thomas Heblethwayte, Eſquire.
Sir *Hugh Cholmely*.
Sir *George Wentworth*.

Sir *Walter Lloyd*.
Sir *Henry Vaughan*.
Francis Lloyd.
John Vaughan, Eſquire.
Richard Ferrers, Eſqu.
George Hartnoll, Eſqu.
Sir *William Udall*.
Robert Hunt, Eſquire.
Thomas May, Eſquire.
Sir *Thomas Bowyer*.
Sir *Tho. Roe*.

Whoever now conſiders how many have retired themſelves into ſeveral Counties, and ſo are abſent from *Weſtminſter*, and yet cannot through the danger of Travelling be preſent at *Oxford*; how many have withdrawn themſelves into the parts beyond the Seas; how many of their own principal Inſtruments are Voted out of the Houſe by themſelves, as Sir *John Hotham* & his Son, Sr *Alexander Carew*, Mr *Martin*, Mr *Fiennes*, and many others; and how many now are Impriſoned by them; how many Members from the beginning have been factiouſly kept from the Houſe upon queſtions of Election; & how many without any colour are kept in, by not ſuffering their Elections to be reported; and that there are Thirty five Members dead, into whoſe rooms no new Perſons are choſen; how many ſince are become

come Barons by descent or Creation; will easily conclude how small the number is which remains, and of those how few in truth have Right to sit there.

CHARLES R.

Our express Pleasure is, That this Declaration of the Lords and Commons of Parliament assembled at *Oxford* be read by the Parson, Vicar or Curate, in every Church and Chappel within Our Kingdom of *England* and Dominion of *Wales*.

March 19. 1643.

The Declaration of the Lords and Commons of Parliament assembled at Oxford *according to His* MAJESTIES *Proclamation, Concerning their Endeavours since they came thither for the Peace of the Kingdom, and the Reasons enforcing their Absence from* Westminster.

WE the Lords and Commons of Parliament, being upon just and important reasons absent from the City of *Westminster*, whither we were Legally called or sent by the Power and Authority of His Majesties Writ, when He summoned His Parliament, and being by His gracious Proclamation of the two and twentieth day of *December* convened at *Oxford*, with full liberty to present our humble Advice to His Majesty, for the preservation of the Religion, Laws and Safety of the Kingdome; thought it most agreeable to our Duty to God, our zeal and tenderness of His Majesties Honour and Safety, and our Affection and Compassion of the bleeding condition of our miserable Country, to use our utmost and earliest endeavours to prevent the effusion of more Christian *English* Blood, and to close those Wounds through which this Kingdome is in danger, in a short time, to languish even to Desolation. And finding the ill success which had attended all the Overtures of Treaty and Accommodation made by His Majesty; His Majesties most gracious Message from *Nottingham* being with so much contempt rejected, which being sent by Members of both Houses, those Messengers were not suffered to deliver it as Members, or to sit in the House whilst the same was debated, contrary to the Privilege of Parliament; and that to the

two laſt Meſſages ſent by Him, of the twelfth of *April*, and nineteenth of *May*, (in both which are moſt gracious expreſſions of His Princely and paſsionate inclinations to Peace, as may appear by thoſe Meſſages herewith again re-printed,) there hath not been the leaſt Anſwer returned to His Majeſty; but on the contrary His Meſſenger impriſoned, and to this day detained, and an Order that on pain of Death none ſhould preſume to come thither from His Majeſty, upon what buſineſs ſoever, without leave from the Earl of *Eſſex*; in purſuance of which Order, though the ſame paſſed onely the Commons, a ſworn Meſſenger of His Majeſties hath been barbarouſly put to death for carrying a Legall Writ to *London*: we thought any addreſs for Peace would moſt ſucceſsfully paſs through His hands, and that when * we had conſidered how unhappily he had been made an Inſtrument of ſo much Blood and Devaſtation, he would with great chearfulneſs have interpoſed in a buſineſs of Reconciliation, and at leaſt have met us half way in ſo bleſſed a Work; and therefore, with His Majeſties leave, (which He moſt readily and graciouſly gave us, and for which we doubt not He ſhall receive the Thanks and Prayers of all His good Subjects) we direct a Letter to that purpoſe to him, ſigned under our hands. Whoſoever reads that Letter (and we hope it will be read by all men) will bear us witneſs (and it will be a Witneſs againſt thoſe who have rejected it,) that we have done our parts. In ſtead of vouchſafing us any Anſwer, or propoſing us any other way towards Peace, (if that which we propoſed was not thought convenient,) he writes a ſhort Letter to the Earl of *Forth*, General of His Majeſties Army, acknowledging the receipt of ours, but ſaying, that *it neither having Addreſs to the two Houſes of Parliament, nor therein there being any acknowledgement of them, he could not communicate it to them*; whereas the Addreſs was in the way preſcribed, (preſcribed under pain of Death, no Addreſs being allowed, as aforeſaid, but by the Earl of *Eſſex*,) and he being deſired to repreſent to and promove with thoſe by whom he is truſted our moſt ſincere and earneſt deſire of a Treaty: ſo that if there had been the leaſt inclination to or enduring of an Overture of Peace, he might have as eaſily communicated it to all thoſe by whom he is intruſted as to a Committee, by whoſe Advice ('tis well known) his Anſwer was ſent, and with it, and as part of it, a Paper entituled, *The Declaration of the Kingdom of Scotland*, and, *A Declaration of the Kingdomes of England and Scotland*, and another, *A ſolemn League and Covenant*; the Declarations and Covenant being againſt the King of both Kingdoms, without the conſent of and againſt the major part of the Nobility, and we are confident the Gentry and Commonalty, of This. And if his Lordſhip would make good his own Letter, and *ſpend His Blood*, or but uſe his endeavour, for the maintenance of the Parliament of *England*, being indeed the foundation whereupon all Our Laws and Liberties are ſupported, we ſhould not Treat at this diſtance, at leaſt a Treaty would not have been rejected. We ſuffered not Our Selves

Mr *Alexander Hampden.*

Dan. Kniveton.

* he

to

to be discouraged with this refusall, but a safe Conduct was desired for two Gentlemen (against whom there neither was nor could be the least Exception) to goe to *Westminster*, to present such Propositions as might best conduce to the Peace of the Kingdom; conceiving that by such means our meaning and intentions might best appear, and all formalities and unnecessary insisting and mistakes upon words might be removed. This safe Conduct (which hath never been denied by His Majesty, or His Generals, to any person who hath desired to have admittance to Him,) was likewise absolutely refused by the Earl of *Essex*; yet with some expressions, *That if any Propositions should be sent to those by whom he was intrusted, he would use his utmost endeavours to advance the Peace*: which though it seem'd nothing agreeable to his former Answers, obtained yet so much credit with us, that we besought His Majesty once more in His own Royal Name to press and desire a Treaty, and to direct His Message under such a Title, that they who call themselves the two Houses of Parliament could not take any Exception, but should be compelled to return some Answer or other. And an Answer it hath drawn from them, but such an one as will sufficiently inform the World (if there could yet have remained any doubt of it) how much they are Enemies to Peace. Those *Answers*, *Declarations*, and that *Covenant*, are likewise publick to all men: God and the World must judge between us. In the mean time we must, without bitterness or sharpness of Language, (to which neither example or provocation shall transport us) tell these men, That most of us are too well known, even to themselves, to be suspected to incline to be either Papists or Slaves, or that we can possibly be made Instruments to advance either Popery or Tyranny. And since the defence of the Religion, Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom, seems to be (and in truth is on our part) the Argument of this bloody Contention, and that we are endeavouring all wayes to destroy one another in the behalf of that we all do or all pretend to desire; we think our selves obliged to Truth, to the present Age, and to Posterity, to let the world know, That as we are much more tender of the Religion, Laws and Liberty of the Kingdom, then of our Lives and Fortunes; so the uneasie Condition wherein we are, and the heavie Judgements and Proscriptions imposed on us by our Equals, have proceeded and been caused from that Conscience, Loyalty and Duty in which we have been born and bred, and from which we could not swerve without the manifest breach of our Allegiance, and those civil Oaths we are obliged by: as, we hope, will appear to all men by this our ensuing Declaration.

We shall pass over (only acknowledging His Majesties abundant care and favour to His People) those excellent Laws made this Parliament for the vindication and removal of those Mischiefs and Inconveniences which seemed to threaten our Rights and Liberty, to all which there are very few amongst us who concurred not fully, (however we

are now traduced with the negligence of both;) and that moſt gracious Offer of His Majeſty, to conſent to an Act for the eaſe of tender Conſciences in matters indifferent, which if it had been accepted, would have prevented many of the Miſeries have ſince befallen this poor Kingdom.

And becauſe the Name and Privilege of Parliament is pretended in defence of thoſe Actions which are done contrary to the known Laws, (by which only Right and Wrong can be meaſured and determined,) and by that venerable Name many of our Companions and Friends have been led into unwarrantable Actions; before we come to conſider the ſtate and condition of the Religion, Laws and Liberty of the Kingdom by theſe Diſtractions, we ſhall let the world know, how much the inherent and eſſential Privileges of Parliament have been violated; how we (being called by His Majeſty, and truſted by our Country with their Suffrages in that Councel) have been driven, and are now kept from the place whither we were firſt called by His Majeſty, & where ſome Members ſtill ſit; and laſtly, how farre this miſerable and (to ſay no more) this unjuſtifiable Civil Warre, and this deſperate and odious Invaſion of a Forein Power to invade this Kingdom, is from having the Countenance, Authority and Approbation of the two Houſes of Parliament.

The great Induſtry and ill Arts uſed by thoſe who have ſince been principal Inſtruments of the preſent Rebellion, to bring in Perſons of their Faction into the Houſe of Commons; the admitting and receiving ſuch who were neither lawfully choſen nor lawfully returned by their Country, and the putting and keeping out others whoſe Opinions were not liked; the reprehending, reproaching and impriſoning of Members for ſpeaking freely according to their Conſciences in matters in debate; the Poſting & ſetting up mens Names in publick places, & proſcribing them as Enemies to their Countrie, who diſſented in the Houſes in opinion in matters debated, and being complained of, no reparation granted; the ſitting at unparliamentary hours, thereby wearying and tiring many Members from attendance, and ſo in a thin Houſe altering and reverſing the reſolution taken in a full Houſe; the refuſing to receive and ſuppreſsing Petitions againſt Perſons in favour, though in point of Bribery and corruption in Judicatory, and the like of other Petitions from whole Counties for the preſervation of the Government of the Church, as from *Nottinghamſhire* and *Somerſetſhire*, whilſt others againſt it were received with great countenance and approbation, from mean, unknown people; the getting with great labour and Faction ſeveral hands to Petitions from Counties, and then framing new Petitions at *London*, and annexing the hands formerly gotten in the Country to thoſe Petitions, of which they who ſubſcribed their hands know nothing, as in the Petition of *Buckinghamſhire*, and the ſetting names in *London* to Petitions in the name of, as if they had been ſubſcribed in, remote Counties; the uſurping of Juriſdictions to ſuperſede Acts of Parliament, and to diſpenſe with the breach

As in the caſe of the late Earl of *Mancheſter*, Lord Privy-Seal.

breach of Laws in force; the suffering undutiful and disloyal language against the Sacred Person of the King, without so much as Reprehension, and the denying His Majesties Negative Voice; we insist not so much on, (though very prejudicial and scandalous to the Privileges and Honour of Parliament) as on those Acts of Force and Violence which are contrary and destructive to the Freedom and Liberty of Parliament.

Shortly after His Majesty returned from *Scotland*, there being a very long debate in the House of Commons concerning an unparliamentary *Remonstrance* to be published to the People *of the State of the Kingdome*, (which many of us then thought might prove prejudiciall to the Peace thereof) Captain *Venne*, then a Member of the House of Commons, (who had before bragged of having brought down the People upon the two Houses, and so drawn Resolutions from them,) sent Notes in writing under his hand into the City, that the People should come down to *Westminster*, for that *the better part of the House was like to be over-powered by the worser part*: whereupon, both at that time and some dayes after, Multitudes of the meanest sort of people, with weapons not agreeing with their condition or custome, in a manner very contrary and destructive to the Privilege of Parliament, filled up the way between both Houses, offering Injuries both by words and actions to, and laying violent hands upon, several Members, proclaiming the Names of several of the Peers, as *evil and rotten-hearted Lords*, crying out many hours together against the established Laws in a most tumultuous and menacing way. This action of Captain *Venne's* was complained of to the House of Commons, and Witnesses offered to prove it; a Fellow who had assaulted and reproached a Member of the House of Commons in those Tumults was complained of, and shewed to the House, in the number of those who brought a Petition to the Barre: and yet in neither of these cases Justice, or so much as an Examination, could be obtained. Upon a suggestion and pretence of Danger, and suit made to His Majesty, a Guard was allowed and appointed by Him for the Security of both Houses: shortly after this Guard was refused and discharged by themselves, and a new Guard appointed by them without His Majesties Consent, thereby to awe all those who concurred not with them. A legall Writ issuing out by the direction of the House of Peers under the Great Seal of *England*, to prevent those Tumults which daily infested both Houses, the Justices of the Peace, for executing that Writ according to their Oaths, were imprisoned by the House of Commons. A Commission under the Great Seal of *England*, for enquiry after Riots committed in *Southwark*, was likewise superseded by an Order of the House of Commons: and when the Lords desired by several Messages, that the House of Commons would joyn with them in a Declaration against Tumults, they refused, or neglected to joyn with them, it being said by Mr *Pym* in the House of Commons, *God forbid we should dishearten our friends who came to assist us.* And al-

beit ſome of the Lords profeſſed, that if the People were again drawn down in that tumultuous manner, they would no more come to the Houſe; and albeit an Order was made, that in ſuch a caſe the Houſe ſhould be preſently adjourned; yet thoſe Tumults again appearing, that Order, though urged by ſeveral Lords, was not ſuffered to be executed.

The Houſe of Commons having deſired the Houſe of Peers to joyn with them in deſiring His Majeſty that the *Militia* of this Kingdom might be put into ſuch hands as both Houſes did confide in, and this deſire having been put to the Queſtion, and carried negatively by much the major part of the Lords; it being again reſumed at another time (contrary to the courſe of Parliament) the debate was begun with a Declaration made by ſeveral of thoſe Lords againſt whom that Queſtion was twice carried by Votes, (and that by much the major part) that *whoſoever refuſed in this particular to joyn with the Houſe of Commons, were in their opinions enemies to the State*; words deſtructive from the Liberty and Freedom of debate.

During the time that this buſineſs of the *Militia* was in debate, (that is, before it had the approbation and conſent of the Houſe of Peers) a Petition in a tumultuous manner was delivered to the Houſe of Lords, in the name of the *Knights, Gentlemen, Free-holders, and others the Inhabitants of the County of Hartford*, reckoning up the cauſes of the preſent Fears, Troubles and Diſtractions, and amongſt them the want of Compliance in that Honourable Houſe with the Houſe of Commons, in entertaining thoſe many good motions and paſsing thoſe neceſſary Bills preſented to them from that Houſe for the publick good, and deſiring liberty to proteſt againſt all thoſe as Enemies to the publick who refuſed to joyn with the Honourable Lords whoſe endeavours were for the publick good, and with the Houſe of Commons, for the putting the Kingdom into a poſture of Safety under the Command of ſuch perſons as the Parliament ſhould appoint. Several Petitions of the ſame nature, particularly one under the Title of *the Knights, Gentlemen, Free-holders, and other Inhabitants of the County of Surrey*, directed to the Houſe of Peers, concluded with this cloſe, *That they ſhould be in duty obliged to maintain their Lordſhips ſo farre as they ſhould be united with the Houſe of Commons in their juſt and pious proceedings*; ſufficiently intimating that if they joyned not with the Houſe of Commons, they then meant as much as others had plainly profeſſed. About the ſame time, a Citizen ſaying at the Barre of the Houſe of Commons, *That they heard there were Lords who refuſed to conſent and concurre with them, and that they would gladly know their names*, or words to that effect: a Petition in the name of many thouſand poor People, in and about the City of *London*, was directed to the Houſe of Commons, taking notice of *a malignant Faction that made abortive all their good motions which tended to the Peace and Tranquillity of this Kingdome*, deſiring that *thoſe noble Worthies of the Houſe of Peers who concurred with them in their happy Votes, might be earneſtly deſired to joyn with*

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that Honourable House, and to sit and Vote together as one entire body; and professing that *unless some speedy remedy were taken for the removing all such Obstructions as hindred the happy progress of their great Endeavours, their Petitioners should not rest in quietness, but should be forced to lay hold on the next Remedy which was at hand, to remove the disturbers of the Peace, and* (Want and Necessity breaking the bounds of Modesty) *not to leave any means unassayed for their relief;* lastly, adding, *that the cry of the Poor and needy was, that such Persons who were the obstacles of their Peace, and the hinderers of the happy proceedings of this Parliament, might be forthwith publickly declared, whose removal they conceived would put a period to those Distractions.* And this Petition was brought up to the House of Lords by the House of Commons at a Conference: And after, the same day, Master *Hollis*, a Member of the House of Commons, in a Message from that House, pressed the Lords at their Barre to joyn with the House of Commons in their desire about the *Militia;* and farther, with many other expressions of like nature, desired in words to this effect, *That if that desire of the House of Commons were not assented unto, those Lords who were willing to concurre would finde some means to make themselves known, that it might be known who were against them, and they might make it known to those that sent them.* After which Petition so strangely framed, countenanced and seconded, many Lords thereupon withdrawing themselves, the Vote in order to the *Militia*, twice before rejected, was then passed.

After these and other unparliamentary Actions, many things rejected, and settled, upon solemn debate, were again, after many Threats and Menaces, resumed, altered and determined, contrary to the Custome and Laws of Parliament. And so many of us withdrew our selves from thence, where we could not Sit, Speak and Vote, with Honour, Freedom and Safety, and are now kept from thence for our Duty and Loyalty to our Sovereign. And though some of us Sate and continued there long after this, hoping that we might have been able to have prevented the growth and progress of farther Mischief; yet since the Privilege of Parliament is so substantial and entire a Right, that as the invasion of the Liberties of either House is an injury to the other and the whole Kingdom, so the violence and Assaults upon any of our fellow-Members, for expressing their opinions in matters of debate, were instances to us what we were to look for when we should be known to dissent from what was expected; and under that consideration every one of our just Liberties suffered violation:

Many of us for these and other reasons, after His Majesty Himself was by many Indignities and Force driven from *Westminster*, have been, contrary to the Right and Freedom of Parliament, Voted out of the House, without committing any Crime, and some of us without hearing, or so much as being summoned to be heard; and so our Countries, for which we were and are trusted, have been without any Proxies or Persons trusted on their behalf. An Army hath been raised without and against

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His Majeſties Conſent; and a Proteſtation enjoyned to live and dye
Mr Gurnal. with the Earl of *Eſſex*, their General of that Army; and a Member now amongſt us, refuſing to take that Proteſtation, was told, That if *he left not the Town ſpeedily, he ſhould be committed to the Tower, or knocked on the head by the Souldiers.* All Perſons, even the Members of both Houſes, have been and now are forced or enjoyned to contribute for the maintenance and ſupport of that Army. A traitourous *Covenant* is ſince taken by the Members who remain, and impoſed upon the Kingdome, *That they will to their power aſsiſt the Forces raiſed and continued by both Houſes of Parliament, againſt the Forces raiſed by the King*, with many other Clauſes directly contrary to their Allegiance; and another for the alteration of the *Government of the Church* eſtabliſhed by Law: and ſuch Members as have refuſed, according to their Duty and Conſcience, to take thoſe Covenants, have been impriſoned or expelled; ſo as they have ſuffered none to reſide with them, but thoſe who are engaged with them in their deſperate courſes.

The whole Power and Authority of both Houſes is delegated, againſt the Law and nature of Parliament, to a cloſe Committee, which aſſumes and uſurps the Power of King, Lords and Commons, diſpoſes of the Perſons, Liberties and Eſtates of us and our fellow-Subjects, without ſo much as communicating their Reſolutions to thoſe that ſit in the Houſes. And when an Order hath been reported, to be confirmed by them, it hath been only put to the Queſtion, no debates being ſuffered, it having been ſaid in the Houſe where the Commons ſit to thoſe who have excepted againſt ſuch an Order when preſented, *That they were onely to Vote, not to diſpute;* and thereupon all Argument and contradiction hath been taken away. And to ſhew how impoſſible
* bound it is to contain themſelves within any * bond of civility and humanity, when they have forfeited their Allegiance, after the attempt in a moſt barbarous manner to murther the Queens Majeſty at Her landing at *Burlington*, by making many great ſhot at the houſe where She lodged for Her repoſe after a long Voiage by Sea, where by God's bleſſing it was diſappointed, they impeached Her of High Treaſon, for aſsiſting the King Her Husband and the Kingdom in their greateſt neceſsities. All Petitions and Addreſſes for Peace have been with great Art and vehemence diſcountenanced and ſuppreſſed; whilſt others for Sedition and Diſcord have with no leſs induſtry and paſsion been promoted. And when the Members of the Houſe of Commons, in *Auguſt* laſt, had agreed, upon a long and ſolemn debate, to joyn with the Lords in ſending Propoſitions of Peace to His Majeſty, the next day printed Papers were ſcattered in the Streets, and fixt upon the publick places both in the City and Suburbs, requiring *all Perſons well-affected to riſe as one man, and to come to the Houſe of Commons next morning, for that* 20000 Iriſh *Rebels were landed*; which direction and information was likewiſe that day given in Pulpits by their Seditious Preachers: and in ſome of thoſe Papers were ſubſcribed, *That the Malignant Party*

Party had over-voted the good, and if not prevented there would be Peace, (the Propositions for Peace being the day before carried by nine and twenty Voices.) A Common-councel was called late at night, though Sunday, and a Petition there framed against Peace, which was the next morning brought to the House, countenanc'd by Alderman *Pennington* (a known Promoter and Governour of those Tumults,) and attended with a great multitude of mean Persons, who used Threats, Menaces and Reproaches to the Members of both Houses. Their Petition took notice of *Propositions passed by the Lords for Peace, which if allowed, would be destructive to Religion, Laws and Liberties*; and therefore desired an Ordinance according to the Tenor of an Act of their Common-councel the night before. Thanks was given them by the Commons, whilst the Lords complained of the Tumults, and desired a concurrence to suppress them, and to prevent the like; many of the People telling the Members of both Houses, *That if they had not a good Answer, they would be there the next day with double the number.* By these Threats and Violence the Propositions formerly received were rejected, and all thoughts of Peace laid aside. Shortly after, great numbers of Women resort to the House where the Commons sate, with a Petition for Peace. Troops of Horse were hereupon sent for, who wound and kill several of the Women, and disperse the rest. Then special notice was taken of those Members who seemed most importunate and desirous of Peace; and thereupon the late Covenant eagerly and severely pressed upon them. By reason whereof and the other miscarriages, whereby their freedome was absolutely taken from them, divers of both Houses withdrew themselves.

And we must now appeal to all our fellow-Subjects of this Kingdom who have taken the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, who have any knowledge of the Rights, Customs and Privileges of Parliament, or of the frame and Constitution of this Realm, whether we or they have failed in our Duty to our King or Countrey; and whether we have not in discharge of a good Conscience undergone the evils we have born. And then we doubt not, we shall not be thought less Members of Parliament, though we are not at *Westminster*, then if that City were in the possession of a Forein Enemy. Yet we confess the Place to be so material, that if there were that Liberty and Freedome which is due to the Members, and indeed is the life of Parliament, the Act of those in the House (being a lawful Act) is the Act of the House, though there were a greater number absent, all who were of another opinion: but in our case, when we are by force driven away, and by force kept away, and when nothing can be said to justifie the Actions which are done, but the Reputation and Number of the Actors, we relie so much upon the understanding and honesty of our Country-men, that they will believe, when they see our concurrence and unanimity in Resolutions and Counsel for their Peace, welfare and security, (as we are confident the number of those who concurre in this Declaration is greater then hath concurred in most, if not in any of those things of which we complain,) that it will be better for

them

them to be adviſed by us at *Oxford* then by thoſe at *Weſtminſter*; from whence we are abſent onely by reaſon of thoſe Outrages and Violence offered to our Perſons or our Conſciences, which takes away all Freedom, and conſequently all Authority, from thoſe Councels, and where indeed theſe men ought not to undertake to act any thing, till that Freedom and Liberty be reſtored to us, who as long as this Parliament ſhall continue (notwithſtanding all the Votes of thoſe who are guilty of Treaſon and Rebellion) muſt account our ſelves, and ſhall be accounted by our Countrey, the true and lawful Members of Parliament.

Having ſaid thus much to undeceive our Brethren, and that our fellow-Subjects may be no longer ſeduced to unlawful actions by colour and pretence of Parliament, we ſhall briefly preſent to their view and conſideration the danger and condition of His Majeſties Perſon, His Honour and Rights, the Religion and Liberty of the Kingdome, the defence and maintenance of which thoſe Perſons with whom we cannot agree ſeem and pretend to undertake. For their Care of the Honour and Safety of His Majeſties Perſon, (to the which we are ſo abſolutely obliged and ſo ſolemnly ſworn) we ſhall need onely to mention (which we mention with great ſadneſs of heart and horrour) the taking by force His Majeſties Forts, Towns, Navy, the aſſuming a power over the *Militia* of the Kingdom, the denying His Majeſties Negative Voice, the uncomely, inſolent and diſloyal mentioning of His Majeſties Perſon, the neglect, contempt and violation of Leagues made by His Majeſty with Forein Princes, in the Injuries and Affronts done to their publick Miniſters and otherwiſe, the tranſcendent preſumption of ſending Agents to Forein Princes, and in the name of the States of *England*, the traitourous diſtinction between the Perſon of the King and His Office, and declaring that an attempt upon His Life is not High Treaſon; (which Doctrine is ſo much countenanced, that Perſons who have threatned to Kill the King, having been complained of, have been left unpuniſhed, and the Witneſſes and Proſecutors threatned or diſcountenanced) the raiſing an Army againſt Him, and therewith giving Battel to His Perſon: All which are known to be very unagreeable with the Affection, Duty and Loyalty of Subjects, and *Engliſh*-men.

Concerning Religion, we cannot but with bleeding hearts and trembling ſouls conſider the unheard-of Impieties and Prophanations exerciſed in Churches and Conſecrated places; the Countenance and licence given to ſcandalous, deboſh, ignorant Lay-perſons to Preach and exerciſe the Office of the Miniſtry; the ſuppreſſing and cruel uſing and impriſoning in Gaols and on Ship-board Godly, Learned, Orthodox Divines, famous and exemplar in their Lives and Doctrine, the moſt eminent Aſſertors of the Proteſtant Religion againſt Popery and Innovations; the ſcurrilous and ſcandalous reviling, ſcoffing & ſuppreſſing the Book of Common-Prayer, compiled by glorious Martyrs for the Proteſtant Religion, eſtabliſhed by Law, and ſo long and ſo publickly uſed and acknowledged as an excellent and unparallel'd form of Devotion and

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Divine Service; the suspending the execution of the Act of Parliament made in the first year of Queen *Elizabeth* of famous memory, for Uniformity of Common-Prayer, by an Order under the hand of a private Member of the House of Commons, and that during the recess of both Houses; the stirring up and inciting the People to Rebellion in Pulpits; and (which is the greatest Scandal and Reproach to the Protestant Religion that can be imagined) the making Religion it self the ground and cause of Rebellion; lastly, after having lived so many years in the most glorious and most unblemished Church of Christendom, the total defacing and pulling down the whole Fabrick of it, censuring and reproaching the Doctrine, and destroying the Discipline, and (as if we were cast ashoar in some uninhabited Climate where the Elements of Christianity were not known) the calling (without the least shadow or colour of Law or Lawful Authority, against His Majesties express Consent, manifestly against the Statute of 25th year of King *Henry* the Eighth) *an Assembly of Divines*, composed of some Noblemen, Gentlemen, and Ministers, (all under the style of Godly and Learned Divines) most of which are not otherwise known then by their Schism and Separation from that Church in which they were born, and to which they have subscribed; and these men now must newmake and mould the Religion by which we must all be saved. God in his good time we hope will vindicate his own Cause, and repair the breaches which have been lately made. Mr *Pym*.

For the Laws of the Land and the Liberty of the Subject, so speciously urged and pretended to be the end of those who have disturbed our Peace, we need say little; every place and every person is an ample evidence and testimony of the bold and avowed violation of either. The Charter of our Liberties, *Magna Charta*, so industriously and Religiously preserved by our Ancestors, and above Thirty several times confirmed in Parliament, that Rampire and Bulwark of all the precious Privileges and Immunities which the Subjects of this Kingdom could boast of, and which distinguishes them from all the Subjects of Christendome, is levelled and trampled under foot, scorned, despised and superseded by Votes and Orders; men of all sorts, Clergy and Laity, imprisoned without the least charge that by the Law is called a Crime, and their Estates are sequestred by persons of whom the Law can take no notice; Committees made by Committees, Rob, Banish, and Imprison the Lords and Commons of *England*; men committed by persons of no Authority, for no cause, to Prison, have by *Habeas Corpus* (the good old Remedy and Security for our Liberty) been brought to the Kings Bench, and by command of those who first committed them remanded, and Commands given to the Judges that they should grant no *Habeas Corpus* (which they were sworn to grant) to any Persons committed by them, or by those to whom they grant Authority to commit, which themselves have not power to doe. Neither can we pass over the motion made by Mr *Rigby*, a Member of the House of Commons, to transport those Lords

and Gentlemen who were Priſoners, and by them accounted Malignants, to be ſold as Slaves to *Argiers*, or ſent to the new Plantation in the Weſt-*Indies*; urged the ſecond time with much earneſtneſs, becauſe the Propoſer had contracted with two Merchants to that purpoſe: the which though it took no effect at that time, may awaken thoſe who have obſerved ſo many things to paſs and be ordered long after they have been once or twice denied and rejected. And who ſees the new and inhumane way of impriſoning Perſons of Quality under Decks on Shipboard, by which cruel uſage many of our Countrymen have been murthered, may have reaſon to fear they may be hereafter carried a longer voiage then is yet avowed. The twentieth part of our Eſtates is at once taken, and if we are not willing to obey that Order, the other Nineteen are taken from us as Malignants; a term unknown and undefined, and yet crime enough to forfeit our Lives and all that we have. Our fellow-Subjects have been executed in cold blood, for doing that which by the Laws of God and Man they were bound to doe; and after their Murther, their Eſtates ſeized, and their Wives and Children expoſed to Miſery and Famine. Laws made, and Penalties impoſed by Laws this Parliament are ſuſpended, diſpenſed withall, and thoſe things done by Order againſt which thoſe Laws were made. And that there may be no face of Juſtice over the Land, the Judges are prohibited to ride their Circuits, for the adminiſtration of that Juſtice which the King owes His People, and they are bound to execute. And after all this, and after the mercileſs ſhedding ſo much *Engliſh* blood, after the expending ſo much money, (much of which was given for relief of our poor Proteſtant Brethren of *Ireland*, and diverted for the improving the Diſtractions at home,) after the tranſportation of ſuch vaſt ſummes of money and great Treaſure into Forein parts, to the unſpeakable impoveriſhing this poor Kingdom; to make our Miſery laſting and our Confuſion compleat, a Forein Enemy is invited and brought into the Bowels of this Kingdom, to drink our blood, to divide our Poſſeſſion, to give us new Laws, and to Rule over us. And the better to make way to thoſe horrid Impoſitions, by confounding and making void all civil Rights and Proprieties, and the better preparing the Kingdom to be ſhared by Strangers, a New Great Seal (the ſpecial enſign of Monarchy, and the onely way by which Juſtice is derived and diſtributed to the People) is counterfeited and uſed, albeit it be by the expreſs letter of the Statute of the 25. year of King *Edward* the Third declared to be High Treaſon.

M. *Tcomans* & M. *Bourchier* of *Briſtol*. M. *Tompkins*, M. *Chaloner*, at *London*, and divers others.

Having now made this clear, plain Narration to the Kingdom, (the truth and particulars whereof are known to moſt men) that when Poſterity ſhall finde our names in the Records of theſe times, as Members truſted by our Countrey in that great Councel by whoſe Authority and Power the preſent Alteration and Diſtraction ſeems to be wrought, it may likewiſe ſee how far we have been and are from conſenting to theſe deſperate and fatal Innovations; we cannot reſt ſatisfied without Declaring

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and publishing to all our fellow-Subjects and to the whole World, That all our Intentions and Actions have been, are, and shall be directed to the defence of His Majesties Person and just Rights, the preservation of the true Protestant Religion, and Liberties of the Kingdom established by Law: That as we do with all humility to God Almighty, and as a great Blessing from him, acknowledge His Majesties happy and Religious Reign and Government over this Kingdom, and especially the excellent Laws and Statutes made in His time, and particularly those in this Parliament; so we do with all duty and submission Declare, That His Majesty is the onely Supreme Governour of this Realm in all Causes, Ecclesiastical and Temporal; That His Natural Person is not to be divided from His Kingly Office, but that our natural Allegiance, and the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, do bind us and all His other Subjects to Loyalty and Allegiance to His Natural Person; That His Majesties Negative Voice (without which Monarchy is dissolved) is an inherent Right of His Crown, and that no Orders of one or both Houses of Parliament, without His Majesties expres Consent, can make a Law to bind the Subjects either in their Property or Liberty; That we do from our Souls abhorre the present Rebellion raised in this Kingdom against His Majesty, and that all His Majesties Subjects are bound by their natural Allegiance, and the Oaths lawfully taken by them, to the utmost of their power to resist and repress the same, and particularly the Army now under the Command of the Earl of *Essex*, and all other Armies raised or to be raised without His Majesties Consent, under pretence of the two Houses of Parliament. And we do disclaim all Votes, Orders and Declarations in countenance or maintenance of the said Armies; and Declare, That no Oath or Covenant voluntarily taken, or inforced, doth or can bind or dispense with the breach of those other Oaths formerly and lawfully taken to His Majesty; and that all those who aid, assist or abett this horrid and odious Rebellion, are and ought to be accounted and pursued as Traitours, by the known Laws of the Land; That we utterly detest and disclaim the Invitation which hath been made to His Majesties Subjects of *Scotland* to enter this Kingdom with an Army, the same being as much against the Desires as against the Duty of the Lords and Commons of *England*, and all true-hearted *English*-men. And we do Declare and publish to the World, That as any such Invasion or Hostile entry into the Kingdom by the Rebellious Subjects of *Scotland* is a direct and peremptory breach of the late *Act of Pacification* between the two Kingdoms; so that we and all the Subjects of this Kingdom are bound by our Allegiance, and by that very Act, to resist and repress such Invasion: and whosoever is or shall be abetting, aiding or assisting to those of *Scotland* in their Hostile Invasion of this Kingdom, ought to be looked upon as betraiers of their Country, and are guilty of High Treason by the known Laws of the Kingdom.

And that our weak, misled and seduced Countrymen may no longer pay an implicite regard and reverence to the abused name of

Parliament, (which theſe guilty Perſons uſurp to themſelves) and ſo ſubmit to thoſe Actions and Commands which two Houſes of Parliament (never ſo legally and regularly conſtituted) have not Authority to require or enjoyn; and ſince theſe men will not ſuffer their poor Countrey to be reſtored by a Treaty to the benefit of a Parliament, which would with God's bleſsing eaſily remove theſe Miſeries, and prevent the like for the time to come; we muſt and do declare to the whole Kingdome, That as at no time either or both Houſes of Parliament can by any Orders or Ordinances impoſe upon the People without the Kings Conſent; ſo by reaſon of the want of Freedom and Security for all the Members of Parliament to meet at *Weſtminſter*, and there to Sit, Speak and Vote with Freedom and Safety, all the Actions, Votes, Orders, Declarations, and pretended Ordinances, made by thoſe Members who remain ſtill at *Weſtminſter*, are void and of none effect; and that as many of the Lords and Commons aſſembled at *Weſtminſter* as have at any time conſented to the raiſing of Forces under the Command of the Earl of *Eſſex*, or to the making & uſing of the new Great Seal, or to the preſent coming of the *Scots* into *England* in a warlike manner, have therein broken the Truſt repoſed in them by their Country, and are to be proceeded againſt as Traitours. And yet we are farre from diſſolving or attempting the diſſolution of this Parliament, or the violation of any Act made and confirmed by His Majeſties Royal Aſſent this Parliament, which we ſhall alwaies maintain and defend: Acts of Parliament are only in danger to be deſtroyed by thoſe who undervalue and deſpiſe the Authority and Power of Acts of Parliament, who therefore deny the Kings Negative Voice and neglect His Concurrence, that their own Reſolutions may be reputed as Acts of Parliament, to the Ruine and Confuſion of all Laws and Intereſt. It is our grief in the behalf of the whole Kingdom, that ſince the Parliament is not diſſolved, the Power thereof ſhould, by the Treaſon and Violence of theſe men, be ſo farre ſuſpended, that the Kingdom ſhould be without the fruit and benefit of a Parliament, which cannot be reduced to any Action or Authority, till the Freedom and Liberty due to the Members be reſtored and admitted; and they who oppoſe this, muſt be only looked upon as the Enemies to Parliament: in the mean time we neither have nor ſhall attempt any thing for the Adjourning, Diſſolving or Proroguing thereof, otherwiſe then as it may ſtand with the Act in that caſe provided.

Laſtly, we declare, That our endeavours, actions and reſolutions tend and are directed, and ſhall alwaies be directed, to the maintenance of God's true Religion eſtabliſhed by Law within this Kingdom, to the defence of His Majeſties Sacred Perſon, His Honour and juſt Rights, to the preſervation of the Liberty and Property of the Subject, ſettled and evident by the Laws, Statutes and Cuſtomes of the Realm, and the juſt Freedom, Liberty and Privilege of Parliament; and that what we ſhall doe for the defence and maintenance of all theſe, proceeds

from

from the conscience of our Duty to God, our King and Country; without any private and sinister ends of our own, and out of our sincere love to Truth and Peace, the which as we have, so we shall alwaies labour to procure, as the onely blessed End of all our Labours. And we do therefore conjure all our Countrymen and fellow-Subjects, by all those precious obligations of Religion to God Almighty, of Loyalty towards their Sovereign, of Affection towards one another, and of Charity and Compassion towards their bleeding Countrey, to assist and joyn with us in the suppressing those Enemies to Peace, who are so much delighted with the Ruine and Confusion they have made, that they will not so much as vouchsafe to Treat with us, that all specious Pretences might be taken away, and the grounds of this bloody Contention clearly stated to the World. If these men, with a true sense and remorse of the ill they have done, shall yet return to their Duty and Loyalty, they shall (God willing) finde us of another temper towards them then they have been towards us: and if the conscience of their Duty shall not draw all our fellow-Subjects and Countrymen to joyn with us in assisting His Majesty, we hope that the prudent consideration, That 'tis impossible to Reason for our miserable Country ever to be restored to Peace and Happiness, but by restoring all just and legally-due Power and Authority into His Majesties hands again, will direct them what is fit to be done by them. And if any yet shall be so unskilful, and, to say no worse, vulgar-spirited, to hope by a Neutrality and odious Indifferency to rest secure in this Storm, though we shall not follow the examples of other men, in telling them, that their Estates shall be forfeited and taken from them, as pernicious and publick Enemies, (God be thanked, the Law is not so suppresst, but that it proceeds in Attainders and Forfeitures, and all men know an Estate escheated to His Majesty by High Treason is as much, as legally His Majesties, or his to whom His Majesty grants it, as ever it was the unhappy Persons who hath so forfeited it;) yet we must let them know, that their Condition is like to be very dangerous; and that as they (for resistance of whom His Majesties Armies are raised) have declared to them what they are to expect at their hands, that is, to be dealt with as pernicious and publick Enemies, so they have reason to believe, that His Majesty cannot look upon them as persons who have performed that Duty they are obliged by their natural Allegiance and their Oathes enjoyned by Law, which is, *to defend the King to the utmost of their Power against all Conspiracies and Attempts whatsoever which shall be made against His Majesties Person, His Crown and Dignity, and to doe their best endeavours to disclose and make known to Him all Treasons and Conspiracies which shall be against Him, to their power to assist all Jurisdictions, Privileges, Preeminencies and Authorities belonging to Him, or united to the Imperial Crown of this Realme.* The just and pious consideration and weighing of which Oath and obligation must stirre up all men of Loyalty and Conscience, to be industrious and active on

His Majeſties behalf againſt this horrid and odious Rebellion, and againſt the Authors and Fomenters of the ſame. And we are confident it will not a little encreaſe the Indignation of all good true *Engliſh*-men, to finde theſe Diſturbers of their Peace, who have ſo ſpeciouſly pretended the defence of the Rights and Privileges of Parliament, unite themſelves with and govern their Actions by the concurrent Advice and Conſent of Commiſſioners of another Kingdom, whoſe buſineſs is to alter our Laws, and confound our Government. And if all the other particulars ſo plainly ſet down in this Declaration, and ſo publickly known to moſt men, were wanting, there could not be a greater inſtance of deſerting the Dignity and Right, and, as much as in them lies, cancelling all the Liberties and Privileges of Parliament, then for theſe men to break the Truſt repoſed in them by their Country, and to ſubmit themſelves to the Advice, and oblige themſelves to the Conſent of Agents of another Kingdom, who have caſt off their Allegiance, and united themſelves together againſt their natural and native King, and againſt the Laws of both Kingdomes, and have given an ample teſtimony to all thoſe they have miſled, how farre they are from ſubmitting or intending to be governed by Parliament, or by thoſe who would yet be thought the two Houſes of Parliament, by joyning four *Scotch*-men (Agents for that Rebellious Army which hath invaded this Kingdom) in equal power and authority with ſeven Lords and fourteen Commons, by whoſe ſole and uncontrolled managery and conſent all buſineſs of Peace and Warre, which doth or may concern this languiſhing Kingdom, muſt be governed. And yet theſe men take it very hainouſly that His Majeſty ſhould move them, in order to Peace, to agree that all the Members of both Houſes may ſecurely meet in a full and free Convention of Parliament; becauſe (they ſay) *from thence no other Concluſion can be made, but that this preſent Parliament is not a full nor free Convention, and that to make it ſuch the preſence of us is neceſſary.* We muſt appeal to all the World, whether in truth that Concluſion be not very apparent from the truth of their Proceedings, and even to the Conſciences of theſe men themſelves; whether whilſt we were amongſt them, we enjoyed that Liberty and Freedom which was due to us; and whether (if there were no danger or breach of Duty in being willingly and conſtantly preſent where Actions of Treaſon are plotted and concluded) we could now be with them without engaging our ſelves in that *Covenant*, which as it takes away all freedome and liberty of Counſel, ſo cannot be taken without the violation of our Duty and Allegiance. For the deſerting the great Truſt repoſed in us we cannot with the leaſt colour be accuſed; we wiſh it had not been or were not now broken on their parts: on ours we are ſure it is not; except obſervation of our Oaths lawfully taken and enjoyned, and ſubmiſsion to the known eſtabliſhed Laws of the Land; the preſervation of which is our greateſt Truſt, be to deſert the Truſt repoſed in us. What they have done, who have broken through all theſe, and will not at laſt conſent to the binding up the wounds

wounds they have made, we must leave to the world to judge. In the mean time, since 'tis apparent they use their utmost endeavours to make Peace impossible, and (having enriched themselves by these publick Calamities, and impoverished their Countrey by the transportation of the Wealth thereof into Forein parts) have left themselves no other means to repay those vast Summes they have extorted from the People upon that they call *Publick Faith*, but out of the Estates of those who have preserved their Duty and Loyalty entire, and at the price of their Religion and Laws intend to establish a Government and Empire to themselves; all good men who desire Peace will joyn with us in the suppressing these Enemies of Peace, and by a resolute and unanimous Declaration of themselves, rise as One Man in the assistance of His Majesty with their Persons and their Fortunes, which is the onely means, with God's blessing, to restore and preserve the Religion, Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom, and the very Being of Parliaments: the which if these men have any minde to doe (it being not so easily to be done any other way) they will at last be willing that all the Members of both Houses may meet in a full and free Convention of Parliament, which we have alwayes desired, and shall be alwayes ready to doe.

His MAJESTIES *Message to both Houses, April* 12. 1643. *Concerning Disbanding of both Armies, and His* MAJESTIES *Return to both Houses of* Parliament.

TO shew to the whole World how earnestly His Majesty longs for Peace, and that no success shall make Him desire the continuance of His Army to any other end, or for any longer time then That, and untill things may be so settled, as that the Law may have a full, free, and uninterrupted course, for the defence and preservation of the Rights of His Majesty, both Houses, and His good Subjects;

1. *As soon as His Majesty is satisfied in His First Proposition, concerning His own Revenue, Magazines, Ships and Forts, in which He desires nothing but that the Just, Known, Legall Rights of His Majesty (devolved to Him from His Progenitors) and of the Persons trusted by Him, which have violently been taken from both, be restored unto Him and unto them, unless any Just and Legal Exceptions against any of the Persons trusted by Him (which are yet unknown to His Majesty) can be made appear to Him:*

2. *As soon as all the Members of both Houses shall be restored to the same capacity of Sitting and Voting in Parliament as they had upon the first of* January 1641. *the same of right belonging unto them by their Birth-rights and the free Election of those that sent them, and having been Voted from them for adhering to His Majesty in these Distractions; His Majesty not intending that this should ex-*

tend either to the Bishops, whose Votes have been taken away by Bill, or to such in whose places upon new Writs new Elections have been made:

3. *As soon as His Majesty and both Houses may be secured from such tumultuous Assemblies as, to the great breach of the Privileges and the high Dishonour of Parliaments, have formerly assembled about both Houses, and awed the Members of the same, and occasioned two several complaints from the Lords House, and two severall desires of that House to the House of Commons, to joyn in a Declaration against them, the complying with which desire might have prevented all these miserable Distractions which have ensued; which Security His Majesty conceives can be only settled by Adjourning the Parliament to some other place, at the least twenty miles from* London, *the choice of which His Majesty leaves to both Houses:*

His Majesty will most chearfully and readily consent that both Armies be immediately disbanded, and give a present meeting to both His Houses of Parliament at the time and place at and to which the Parliament shall be agreed to be Adjourned.

His Majesty being most confident that the Law will then recover the due credit and estimation, and that upon a free debate in a full and peaceable Convention of Parliament, such provisions will be made against Seditious Preaching and Printing against His Majesty and the established Laws, which hath been one of the chief causes of the present Distractions, and such care will be taken concerning the Legal and known Rights of His Majesty, and the Property and Liberty of His Subjects, that whatsoever hath been published or done in or by colour of any illegall Declaration, Ordinance, or Order of one or both Houses, or any Committee of either of them, and particularly the power to raise Arms without His Majesties Consent, will be in such manner recalled, disclaimed and provided against, that no seed will remain for the like to spring out of for the future, to disturb the Peace of the Kingdom, and to endanger the very Being of it.

And in such a Convention His Majesty is resolved, by His readiness to consent to whatsoever shall be proposed to Him by Bill for the Reall good of His Subjects, (and particularly for the better discovery and speedier conviction of Recusants, for the Education of the Children of Papists by Protestants in the Protestant Religion, for the prevention of practices of Papists against the State, and the due execution of the Laws, and true levying of the Penalties against them) to make known to all the World, how causeless those Fears and Jealousies have been which have been raised against Him, and by that so distracted this miserable Kingdom.

And if this Offer of His Majesty be not consented to, (in which He asks nothing for which there is not apparent Justice on His side, and in which He deferres many things highly concerning both Himself and People, till a full and peaceable Convention of Parliament, which in Justice He might now require) His Majesty is confident that it will then appear to all the World, not only who is most desirous of Peace, and whose fault it is that both Armies are not now disbanded, but who have been the true and first cause that this Peace was ever interrupted or these Armies raised; and the beginning or continuance of the War, and the Destruction and Desolation of this poor Kingdom (which is too likely to ensue) will not by the most interessed, passionate or prejudicate person, be imputed to His Majesty.

His

His MAJESTIES *Message to both Houses* May 19. *in pursuance of the foregoing Message.*

SInce His Majesties Message of the twelfth of April *(in which He conceived He had made such an Overture for the immediate Disbanding of all Armies and Composure of these present miserable Distractions, by a full and free Convention in Parliament, that a perfect and settled Peace would have ensued) hath in all this time (above a full Moneth) procured no Answer from both Houses, His Majesty might well believe Himself absolved before God and Man, from the least possible Charge of not having used His utmost endeavour for Peace: yet when He considers that the Scene of all this Calamity is in the Bowels of His own Kingdome, that all the Blood which is spilt is of His own Subjects, and that what Victory soever it shall please God to give Him, must be over those who ought not to have lifted up their hands against Him; when He considers that these desperate civill Dissentions may encourage and invite a Forein Enemy to make a Prey of the whole Nation; that* Ireland *is in present danger to be totally lost; that the heavy Judgements of God, Plague, Pestilence and Famine, will be the inevitable Attendants of this unnaturall Contention; and that in a short time there will be so generall a habit of Uncharitableness and Cruelty contracted throughout the Kingdom, that even Peace it self will not restore His People to their old Temper and Security; His Majesty cannot but again call for an Answer to that His Message, which gives so fair a Rise to end these unnaturall Distractions. And His Majesty doth this with the more earnestness, because He doubts not the condition of His Armies in severall parts, His strength of Horse, Foot and Artillery, His plenty of Ammunition (which some men lately might conceive He wanted) is so well known and understood, that it must be confessed, that nothing but the Tenderness and Love to His People, and those Christian Impressions which always have and He hopes always shall dwell in His Heart, could move Him once more to hazard a Refusall. And He requires them, as they will answer to God, to Himself and all the World, That they will no longer suffer their fellow-Subjects to welter in each others Blood; that they will remember by whose Authority and to what end they met in that Councell, and send such an Answer to His Majesty as may open a door to let in a firm Peace and Security to the whole Kingdom.*

If His Majesty shall again be disappointed of His Intentions herein, the Blood, Rapine and Distraction which must follow in England *and* Ireland, *will be cast upon the Accompt of those who are deaf to the motion of Peace and Accommodation.*

CHARLES R.

Our express Pleasure is, That this Declaration of the Lords and Commons of Parliament assembled at *Oxford* be read by the Parson, Vicar or Curate, in every Church and Chappel within Our Kingdom of *England* and Dominion of *Wales*.

May 19. 1643. He

MDCXLIV. *April* 15.

The Petition of the Lords and Commons of Parliament assembled at Oxford, *Presented to His* MAJESTY *the day before the Recess:*

And His MAJESTIES *Gracious Answer to the same.*

To the Kings most Excellent MAJESTY,

The humble Petition of the Lords and Commons of Parliament assembled at Oxford *according to Your* MAJESTIES *Proclamation.*

WE most humbly acknowledge Your Princely Goodness in calling us to receive our Advices for preservation of the Religion, Laws and Safety of the Kingdome, and to restore it to its former Peace and Security. How earnestly we have sought a Peace with Your Majesties most gracious Concurrence, doth appear by the printed Declaration of our Proceedings touching a Treaty for Peace, wherein we aimed at a free and full Convention of Parliament, as the most hopeful way to unite these unhappy Divisions. And since that hath been refused, we have applied our Advices for supporting Your Armies, the visible means now left for maintaining our Religion, restoring the Laws, and procuring the Safety of the Kingdom; being assured from Your Majesty, You do and will employ Your Armies to no other end.

And although our selves are most fully satisfied of Your Majesties pious and just Resolutions herein; yet because Fears and Jealousies have been and are maliciously scattered amongst Your Subjects, to poison their Affections, and corrupt their Loyalty to Your Majesty: therefore, to the end we may be enabled by Your gracious Answer to satisfie all the World, or to leave them unexcusable who will not be satisfied, we do in all humility present to Your Majesty these Petitions.

That Your Majesty will give direction for the re-printing Your Protestation made in the head of Your Army, and Your other Declarations, wherein Your constant Resolution is declared, to maintain and defend the true Reformed Protestant Religion, and that the same may be with more diligence published amongst the People; that so Your Princely Christian zeal and affection to that Religion, and to maintain the same against all Popery, Schisme and Profaneness, may be manifested; and which we beseech Your Majesty upon this our Petition to declare again to all the World, to the discountenance and suppression of those Scandals laid upon Your Majesty by those who disturb our Peace.

That when there may be a full and free Convention of Parliament, a National

National Synod may be lawfully called, to advise of some fit means for the establishing the Government and Peace of our Church; to whom may be recommended a care for the ease of the tender Consciences of Your Protestant Subjects.

Touching our Laws, we cannot ask more of Your Majesty then to declare and continue Your former Resolutions, to hold and keep them inviolable and unalterable, but by Act of Parliament.

And for avoiding the Scandall maliciously infused into many of Your Subjects, that if Your Majesty prevail against this Rebellion, You intend not to use the frequent Counsel of Parliaments; we humbly pray and advise Your Majesty to declare the sincerity of Your Royall Heart therein, to satisfie Your seduced Subjects against such false and malicious Aspersions.

And in respect the present Contributions, Loans, Taxes, and other Impositions for maintenance of Your Armies, have been submitted unto as Exigences of Warre and Necessity, because of this unexampled Rebellion and Invasion; we humbly beseech Your Majesty to Declare, That they shall not be drawn into example, nor continue longer then the present Exigence and Necessity, nor be at any time mentioned as Precedents: and that for the farther security of Your People, Your Majesty will vouchsafe to promise Your Royal Assent to a Law to be made and declared to that purpose in a full and free Convention of Parliament.

And that for the present ease and encouragement of those under Contributions by Contract with Your Majesty, You will be pleased that those Contracts may be so observed, that Your Subjects may not have just cause of complaint against the Commanders, Governors, Officers or Souldiers of Your Army, or of or in any Your Garrisons, Castles or Forts, for taking any Money, Horses or other Cattel, Provisions or other Goods, or any Timber or Woods of any Your Subjects, or Free-Billet, or Free-Quarter, in any place where the Contributions and Taxes agreed on are paid; humbly beseeching Your Majesties gracious Care herein, and that the Offenders may receive exemplary punishment.

Lastly, That Your Majesty will retain Your pious endeavours to procure the Peace of this languishing Kingdom, not to be removed or altered by any advantages or prosperous success.

His MAJESTIES *Gracious Answer to the aforesaid Petition.*

AS We shall alwaies acknowledge the great Comfort and Assistance We have received by your Counsels since your Meeting here according to Our Proclamation; so We must give you very particular Thanks for the Expressions you have made in this

this Petition of your Confidence in Us, and for the Care you have therein taken, that all Our good Subjects may receive ample satisfaction in those things upon which the good and Welfare of their Condition so much depends.

We have long observed (though not without wonder) the sly, subtile, and groundless Insinuation infused and dispersed amongst Our People by the disturbers of the Publick Peace, of Our favouring and countenancing of Popery: And therefore as in Our constant, visible practice We have, to the utmost of Our Power, (and, We hope, sufficiently) manifested the gross falshood of those Imputations and Scandals, so We have omitted no opportunity of publishing to all the World the clear Intentions and Resolutions of the Soul in that point. We wish from Our heart that the true Reformed Protestant Religion may not receive greater Blemish by the Actions and Practices of these men, then it doth or shall by any Connivence of Ours. We will take the best care We can (and We desire your assistance in it) to publish to all Our good Subjects that Our *Protestation*, and those *Declarations* you mention: And We do assure you, there is not an Expression in either of them, for the maintenance and advancement of Our Religion, with which Our Heart doth not fully concurre; and in which We shall be so constant, that if it shall not please God to enable Us by Force to defend it, We shall shew Our Affection and Love to it by dying for it. We may without vanity say, It hath pleased God to enlighten Our Understanding to discern the clear Truth of the *Protestant* Religion, in which We have been born and bred, from the Mists and Clouds of *Popery*, the which (if it hath made any growth or progress of late within the Kingdome, as We hope it hath not) is more beholding to the unchristian Rage and Fury of these men then to any Connivence or Favour of Ours.

For a National Synod, We have often promised it, and when God shall give so much Peace and Quiet to this Kingdome, that regular and lawful Conventions may be esteemed, shall gladly perform that Promise, as the best means to re-establish Our Religion, and make up those Breaches which are made: And We shall then willingly recommend unto them a special care of the ease of tender Consciences of Our Protestant Subjects, as We have often expressed.

For

For the Laws of the Land, We can say no more then We have said in that Protestation you mention, and We thank you for being satisfied with it; in which God knows Our Resolution to be so firm and stedfast, that We will give any Security under Heaven for the observation of it. And as Our greatest desire at this present is to meet in a full and free Convention of Parliament, which We are confident would quickly put an end to all these Troubles: so, when it shall please God to restore that Blessing to Us, We shall value and esteem that Councell, and frequently consult with it, and be advis'd by it, as the best means to make both King and People truly happy; and We shall then by an Act given wipe out the footsteps of these extraordinary Supplies, which nothing but this real visible Necessity which oppresses us all could have compelled Us to make use of, and which shall never be mentioned or remembred by Us to the least Prejudice of your Rights and Liberties. And in the mean time, We shall leave nothing undone for the observation of particular Contracts, and prevention of the disorder and licence of the Souldier, which is in Our Power to doe, no particular person enduring half that sadness of heart for those Breaches and Pressures which We Our Self do: For the prevention and suppression whereof We shall proceed with all Rigour and Severity.

Lastly, As the Support and maintenance of the Religion, Laws and Privileges of Parliament is (as you well know) the onely Argument of Our defensive Arms; so those being secured, We shall with all imaginable Joy lay down those Arms: and as you have been Our Witnesses and Our Assistants in Our earnest desires of Peace, so We promise you, We shall not onely with the same earnestness alwaies embrace it, if it shall be offered, but pursue and press it upon the least likelihood of Opportunity. And this Our Resolution, by God's Blessing, shall never be altered by any Advantages or prosperous Success.

His MAJESTIES *Proteſtation.*

I Do promiſe in the preſence of Almighty God, and as I hope for his Bleſsing and Protection, That I will, to the utmoſt of My Power, defend and maintain the true Reformed Proteſtant Religion eſtabliſhed in the Church of *England*, and by the grace of God in the ſame will live and die.

I deſire to govern by the known Laws of the Land, and that the Liberty and Property of the Subject may be by them preſerved with the ſame care as My own juſt Rights: And if it pleaſe God by His bleſsing upon this Army raiſed for My neceſſary defence, to preſerve Me from this Rebellion, I do ſolemnly and faithfully promiſe, in the ſight of God, to maintain the juſt Privileges and Freedome of Parliament, and to govern by the known Laws of the Land, to My utmoſt Power; and particularly to obſerve inviolably the Laws conſented to by Me this Parliament. In the mean while, if this time of Warre, and the great neceſsity and ſtreights I am now driven to, beget any violation of thoſe, I hope it ſhall be imputed by God and Man to the Authors of this Warre, and not to Me, Who have ſo earneſtly laboured for the preſervation of the Peace of this Kingdome.

When I willingly fail in theſe particulars, I will expect no Aid or Relief from any man, or Protection from Heaven: But in this Reſolution I hope for the chearful Aſsiſtance of all good men, and am confident of God's Bleſsing.

[*The Declaration of the moſt Excellent and Potent Prince,* CHARLES *King of Great* Britain, *ſent to the Proteſtant Churches beyond the Seas.*] MDCXLIV.

[Publiſhed in *Latine, Engliſh,* and *French.*]

CHARLES by the Providence of Almighty God King of *England, Scotland, France* and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, To all thoſe who profeſs the true Reformed Proteſtant Religion, of what Nation, degree and condition ſoever they be, to whom this preſent Declaration ſhall come, Greeting.

Whereas We are given to underſtand, that many falſe Rumours and Scandalous Letters are ſpred up and down amongſt the Reformed Churches in forein parts by the politick, or rather the pernicious, induſtry of ſome ill-affected perſons, that We have an inclination to recede from that Orthodox Religion which We were born, baptized and bred in, and which We have firmly profeſſed and practiſed throughout the whole courſe of Our Life to this moment, and that We intend to give way to the introduction and publick Exerciſe of Popery again in Our Dominions; which Conjecture, or rather moſt deteſtable Calumny, being grounded upon no imaginable foundation, hath raiſed theſe horrid Tumults and more then barbarous Wars throughout this flouriſhing Iſland, under pretext of a kind of Reformation, which would not onely prove incongruous, but incompatible with the Fundamental Laws and Government of this Kingdom: We deſire that the whole Chriſtian World ſhould take notice and reſt aſſured, that We never entertained in Our Imagination the leaſt thought to attempt ſuch a thing, or to depart a jot from that holy Religion, which when We received the Crown and Sceptre of this Kingdom, We took a moſt ſolemn and Sacramental Oath to profeſs and protect. Nor doth Our moſt conſtant practice and quotidian viſible preſence in the exerciſe of this ſole Religion, with ſo many Aſſeverations in the head of Our Armies, and the publick Atteſtation of Our Barons, with the circumſpection uſed in the Education of Our Royal Off-ſpring, beſides divers other undeniable Arguments, onely demonſtrate this; but alſo that happy Alliance of Marriage We contracted betwixt Our Eldeſt Daughter and the Illuſtrious

Prince of *Orange*, moſt clearly confirms the reality of Our Intentions herein: by which Nuptial Engagement it appears further, that Our endeavours are not onely to make a bare Profeſsion thereof in Our Own Dominions, but to inlarge and corroborate it abroad as much as lieth in Our Power. This moſt holy Religion of the *Anglicane* Church, ordain'd by ſo many Convocations of Learned Divines, confirm'd by ſo many Acts of National Parliaments, and ſtrengthned by ſo many Royal Proclamations, together with the Eccleſiaſtick Diſcipline and Liturgie thereunto appertaining, (which Liturgie and Diſcipline the moſt eminent of Proteſtant Authors, as well *Germanes* as *French*, as well *Danes* as *Swedes* and *Switzers*, as well *Belgians* as *Bohemians*, do with many Elogies, and not without a kind of envy, approve and applaud in their publick Writings; particularly in the Tranſactions of the Synod of *Dort*, wherein, beſides other of Our Divines who afterwards were Prelates, one of Our Biſhops aſsiſted, to whoſe Dignity all due reſpects and precedency was given;) this Religion, We ſay, which Our Royal Father of bleſſed Memory doth publickly aſſert in that His famous Confeſsion addreſt (as We alſo do this Our Proteſtation) to all Chriſtian Princes, this, this moſt holy Religion, with the Hierarchy and Liturgie thereof, We ſolemnly proteſt that, by the help of Almighty God, We will endeavour, to Our utmoſt Power and laſt period of Our Life, to keep entire and inviolable, and will be careful, according to Our duty to Heaven, and the tenor of the foreſaid moſt ſacred Oath at Our Coronation, that all Our Eccleſiaſticks in their ſeveral degrees and incumbences ſhall preach and practiſe the ſame.

Wherefore We enjoyn and command all Our Miniſters of State beyond the Seas, as well Ambaſſadors, as Reſidents, Agents and Meſſengers, and We deſire all the reſt of Our loving Subjects that ſojourn either for curioſity or commerce in any forein parts, to communicate, uphold, and aſſert this Our ſolemn and ſincere Proteſtation, when opportunity of time and place ſhall be offered.

Given in Our Univerſity and City of *Oxford*, the fourteenth day of *May*, 1644.

PAPERS

PAPERS
AND PASSAGES
CONCERNING THE TREATY
OF PEACE
AT UXBRIDGE,

MDCXLIV. XLV.

By the KING.

A Proclamation declaring His MAJESTIES *Reſolution for ſettling a ſpeedy Peace by a good Accommodation, and an Invitation to all His Loyal Subjects to joyn together for His Aſſiſtance therein.*

AMongſt the many Troubles wherewith (for more then two years laſt paſt) We have been involved, nothing hath more afflicted Us then the real ſenſe of Our Subjects Sufferings, occaſioned by this moſt unnatural Warre; and the chief of Our Care hath been (and by God's aſsiſtance ſhall ſtill be) to ſettle them in a happy Peace, with that freedom of enjoying the exerciſe of their Religion, Rights and Liberties, according to the Laws of this Kingdom, as they or any of their Anceſtors enjoyed the ſame in the beſt times of the late Queen *Elizabeth*, or Our Royal Father. And as We have alwaies profeſt in the ſincerity of Our heart, That no Succeſs ſhould ever make Us averſe unto Peace; ſo have We alwaies, when God hath bleſſed Us with any eminent Victory, ſolicited the Members of both Houſes of Parliament remaining at *Weſtminſter*, by frequent Meſſages, for a Treaty conducing thereunto: and in particular upon Our late Victory over the Earl of *Eſſex* his Army in *Cornwal* (which We wholly attribute to the immediate hand of God) We preſently diſpatcht a Meſſage to them to deſire a Treaty for Peace and Accommodation; of which, as likewiſe of that former Meſſage for Peace which We ſent them from *Eveſholm* the fourth of *July* laſt, We have yet received no Anſwer; and therefore have reſolved with Our Army to draw preſently towards *London* and Our Southern and Eaſtern Counties, not looking upon thoſe parts as Enemies to Us, and ſo to ſuffer by the approach of our Army or the diſorders thereof, (which We will uſe all poſſible means to prevent) but as Our poor Subjects oppreſſed by Power, (of which We reſt aſſured the greater part remain Loyal to Us) and ſo deſerving Our Protection. And We hope that at a nearer diſtance of place there may be begot ſo right an underſtanding between Us and Our People, that at length We may obtain a

Treaty for Peace, and a full, free and peaceable Convention in Parliament, and therein make an end of theſe unhappy Differences by a good Accommodation. In which We hereby aſſure all Our People upon Our Roial Word, and the Faith of a Chriſtian, (which is the greateſt Security We can give them) that We will inſiſt onely upon the ſettling and continuance of the true Reformed Proteſtant Religion, Our own undoubted known Rights, the Privileges of Parliament, and Our Subjects Liberty and Property, according to the Laws of the Land, and to have all theſe ſettled in a full and free Parliament, whereby the Armies on both ſides may be preſently disbanded, this Kingdom may be ſecured from the danger of a Conqueſt by Forein Forces, all Strangers now in Arms may return to their own Countries, and Our poor Subjects be freed of thoſe grievous burthens which by reaſon of the late Diſtractions have (much againſt Our Will) too much preſſed them. And to the end Our Subjects may no longer be miſled by falſe pretences, We do deſire all of them, as well in Our own Quarters as where the Rebels have uſurped a Power, to take into ſerious conſideration the Duty and Loyalty which by the Law of God and their Oath of Allegiance they owe unto Us, and more particularly that part thereof which concerns the Defence of Our Perſon, and Aſsiſtance of Us againſt Rebels and ſuch as riſe in Arms againſt Us; which they may find plainly ſet down in the Statute of the 11. year of King *Henry* the Seventh, *Cap.* 1. And We do hereby require Our Subjects within Our own Quarters through or near which We ſhall paſs, by that Duty they owe to Us and their Country, that they forthwith prepare themſelves, with the beſt Arms they can get, to be ready, and joyn, and goe along with Us in this preſent Expedition, (We reſolving to take ſpecial care to place them under the Command of Gentlemen of Quality of their own Countries, to their good content and ſatisfaction.) And We likewiſe require and authorize all Our good Subjects, as well the Trained Bands as others, of Our City of *London* and Our Southern and Eaſtern Counties, to chuſe their own Commanders and Leaders amongſt thoſe Gentlemen and Citizens that are of approved Loyalty to Us, and lovers of the Peace of their Country, and upon Our approach towards thoſe parts to put themſelves into Arms,

and

and march in warlike manner to aſsiſt Us in this good Work, and free themſelves from the Tyranny of their fellow-Subjects under which they groan; commanding and authorizing them to ſeize ſuch places of Strength in thoſe Southern and Eaſtern Counties as the Rebels have poſſeſſed themſelves of, to oppoſe with force of Arms ſuch perſons as ſhall reſiſt them in obeying theſe Our Commands, and to apprehend and ſecure the perſons of all ſuch as ſhall endeavour to continue this Rebellion, and to hinder the ſettling of the Peace of this Kingdom in a full and free Convention of Parliament, (the only viſible means left, by the bleſſing of God, to redeem this Nation from utter Ruine;) wherein We will afford Our utmoſt Protection and Safety unto all Our Subjects that ſhall give Obedience to theſe Our Commands. And as We doubt not but that all Our good Subjects will come chearfully to Our aſsiſtance for ſo good an end (beyond which We do not require it;) ſo We truſt that God, who hath hitherto wonderfully preſerved Us, will crown this Action with happy Succeſs, for his Glory, and the welfare of this poor Nation.

Given at Our Court at *Chard*, the thirtieth day of *September*, 1644.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

By the KING.

A Proclamation for a Solemn Faſt on Wedneſday *the Fifth of* February *next, upon occaſion of the preſent Treaty for Peace.*

WHereas Almighty God in his Juſtice, to puniſh the Common and Crying Sinnes of the Land, hath ſent a Civil Sword throughout all Our Dominions, which hath miſerably waſted, and threatens a ſpeedy and utter Deſolation to the ſame; and now in the height of theſe Calamities, a Treaty is aſſented to, to begin at *Uxbridge* on *Thurſday* the Thirtieth day of this

this inſtant *January*, touching the compoſing and ending of thoſe unhappy Differences & Diſtractions, about which ſo much blood hath been already ſpilt, which Treaty may, by the bleſſing of God (who is the diſpoſer of all mens hearts and of all events) be a means to produce a Peace: and whereas it is the duty, and hath been the practice, of Chriſtians under Affliction, to ſet apart ſome time for publick and ſolemn Humiliation and Prayer, for removing of God's Judgments, and particularly for a Bleſſing and good ſucceſs to the means conducing to their Deliverance: We do therefore by this Our Proclamation appoint and ſtreightly charge and command, that on Wedneſday being the 5. of *February* next enſuing, a ſolemn Faſt be kept in all places within Our Dominions whither the notice of this Our Proclamation ſhall or may come before that time, that both Prince & People may then joyn together in a true Humiliation, and Devout and earneſt Prayers to God, that He would be pleaſed ſo to bleſs and proſper this intended Treaty, that it may produce a happy Peace in all Our Dominions, ſuch as may be for his Honour, and the good of His Church, and of Us and all Our Subjects. And We do hereby charge and require all Our Subjects, of what degree or condition ſoever they be, which ſhall have notice of this Our Proclamation, That they do religiouſly prepare and apply themſelves to a due obſervation of the ſame, by Faſting, Humiliation, and Prayer on that day, and in hearing of God's Word, as they will anſwer to God their neglect of this Chriſtian Duty, and as they will anſwer to Us their neglect of this Our juſt and neceſſary Command. And for the better and more orderly obſervation of this Faſt, We do hereby appoint, that the Form of Prayer and Service of God ſet forth in the Book heretofore publiſhed for the Monthly Faſt, with ſuch Alterations and Additions as ſhall be prepared and fitted for this preſent purpoſe, and publiſhed in Print before the ſaid day, ſhall be uſed in all Churches and Chappels where this Faſt ſhall be kept.

Given at Our Court at *Oxford*, this 27. day of *January*, in the Twentieth year of Our Reign, 1644.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

A Full Relation of the Passages concerning the late Treaty for a Peace, begun at Uxbridge, Jan. 30. 1644.

Printed by His MAJESTIES *Command.*

A *Table* or *Index* shewing briefly the Method and Order of this *Narrative*, and directing to the places where each Subject Matter therein contained is to be found.

1. ARE *set down the* Messages *and* Propositions *sent by His Majesty, and brought to Him, which preceded the Treaty, and were inducements to it, beginning Page* 420. *and ending page* 431.
2. *The Passages in the beginning of the Treaty preparatory thereunto: wherein,*
   1. *Of the several* Commissions *and Passages thereupon, beginning pag.* 431. *ending pag.* 437.
   2. *The Papers concerning the* Manner *and* Order *of the Treaty, pag.* 437. *ending pag.* 438.
   3. *The Papers concerning a* Scandalous Sermon *Preached at* Uxbridge *against the Treaty the first day of the Treaty, and before it began, pag.* 438. *ending pag.* 439.
3. *The Papers concerning* Religion, *during the whole Treaty, collected together, pag.* 439. *ending pag.* 457.
4. *The Papers concerning the* Militia, *during the whole Treaty, collected together, pag.* 457. *ending pag.* 479.
5. *The Papers concerning* Ireland, *during the whole Treaty, collected together, pag.* 479. *ending pag.* 508.
6. *The Papers concerning* His Majesties Propositions, *and particularly for* a Cessation of Arms, *and touching* His Majesties Return to *Westminster* after disbanding of Armies, and further time for continuing or renewing the Treaty, *are collected together, pag.* 508. *ending pag.* 518.
7. *And lastly, an* Appendix *is added, wherein are contained such things as are mentioned in the* Narrative, *or were delivered in writing during the Treaty, and were not Printed before, or being heretofore Printed, are now out of Print, or not easily to be had: the particulars whereof are as followeth.*
   1. *His Majesties Message from* Evesham *of the* 4. *of* July, 1644. *pag.* 519.
   2. *His Majesties Message from* Tavestock *of the* 8. *of* Septemb. 1644. *pag.* 520.
   3. *The Bill for Abolishing of* Episcopacy, *&c. pag.* 521.
   4. *The Articles of the late Treaty of the date* Edenburgh *the* 29. *of* Novemb. 1643. *pag.* 526.
   5. *The Ordinance for calling the Assembly of Divines, pag.* 528.
   6. *The Votes and Orders delivered with it, pag.* 531.
   7. *The Articles of the* 6. *of* August, 1642. *concerning* Ireland, *pag.* 532.
   8. *The Ordinances of the* 9. *of* March *and the* 11. *of* April, *touching the Forces in* Ireland, *pag.* 535.
   9. 10. *The Letters and Advices from the Lords Justices and Councel of* Ireland, *pag.* 536.

Hereunto is added His Majesties Answers to certain Papers delivered upon the close of the Treaty, one concerning the Militia, *and two concerning* Ireland, *beginning pag.* 541.

His

HIS Majeſty having received an Account from His Commiſſioners of their proceedings in the late Treaty at *Uxbridge*, to the end that all His People may be fully ſatisfied of His earneſt and conſtant endeavours to procure the publick Peace, whereby to put an end to theſe preſent Miſeries, hath commanded this full and plain Narrative of all the Paſſages concerning that Treaty to be made and publiſhed.

See theſe Meſſages in the *Appendix*, n. 1. & 2.

AFter His Majeſties Meſſage from Eveſham *of the* 4. *of* July *laſt, deſiring and propounding a Treaty for Peace, and His ſecond Meſſage from* Taveſtock *of the* 8. *of* September *laſt, renewing that deſire; at length, on the* 23. *day of* November *laſt paſt, the Earl of* Denbigh *and others repaired to His Majeſty at* Oxford *with Propoſitions, in theſe words following.*

I. WE Your Majeſties Loyal Subjects aſſembled in the Parliaments of both Your Kingdoms, from the ſenſe of that Duty we owe unto Your Majeſty, and of the deep Sufferings and many Miſeries under which Your People of all Your Kingdoms lye bleeding in this unnatural Warre, after long and ſerious conſultation about the beſt wayes and means of their Preſervation, and for ſettling Your Majeſties Throne, and Your Subjects in Peace and Security, have with common conſent reſolved upon theſe Propoſitions, which we do humbly tender unto Your Majeſty.

The humble Deſires and Propoſitions for a ſafe and well-grounded Peace, agreed upon by the mutuall Advice and Conſent of the Parliaments of both Kingdoms, united by ſolemn League and Covenant, to be preſented to His Majeſty.

I. That by Act of Parliament in each Kingdom reſpectively, all Oaths, Declarations and Proclamations againſt both or either of the Houſes of the Parliament of *England*, and the late Convention of Eſtates in *Scotland*, or Committees flowing from the Parliament, or Convention in *Scotland*, or their Ordinances and Proceedings, or againſt any for adhering unto them, and all Indictments, Outlawries and Attainders againſt any for the ſaid Cauſes, be declared Null, ſuppreſſed and forbidden; and that this be publickly intimated in all Pariſh-Churches within His Majeſties Dominions, and all other places needful.

II. That His Majeſty, according to the laudable example of His Royal Father of happy memory, may be pleaſed to ſwear and ſigne the late ſolemn League and Covenant; and that an Act of Parliament be paſſed in both Kingdoms reſpectively, for enjoyning the taking thereof by all the Subjects of the three Kingdoms, and the Ordinances concerning the manner of taking the ſame in both Kingdoms be confirmed by Acts of Parliaments reſpectively, with ſuch Penalties as by mutual Advice of both Kingdoms ſhall be agreed upon.

III. That the Bill be paſſed for the utter aboliſhing and taking away of all Archbiſhops, Biſhops, their Chancellours and Commiſſaries, Deans and Sub-deans, Deans and Chapters, Arch-deacons, Canons and Prebendaries, and all Chaunters, Chancellours, Treaſurers, Sub-treaſurers, Succentors and Sacriſts, and all Vicars Choral and Choriſters, old Vicars and new Vicars, of any Cathedral or Collegiate

giate Church, and all other their under-Officers, out of the Church of *England* and Dominion of *Wales*, and out of the Church of *Ireland*, with such Alterations concerning the Estates of Prelates as shall agree with the Articles of the late Treaty, of the Date at *Edenborough 29.* of *Novemb.* 1643. and joynt Declaration of both Kingdoms. [In the *Appendix.*]

IV. That the Ordinance concerning the Calling and sitting of the Assembly of Divines be confirmed by Act of Parliament.

V. That Reformation of Religion according to the Covenant be settled by Act of Parliament, in such manner as both Houses shall agree upon after consultation had with the Assembly of Divines. And for as much as both Kingdoms are mutually obliged by the same Covenant to endeavour the neareſt Conjunction and Uniformity in matters of Religion, that such Unity and Uniformity in Religion according to the Covenant as, after Consultation had with the Divines of both Kingdoms now assembled, shall be joyntly agreed upon by both Houses of the Parliament of *England*, and by the Church and Kingdom of *Scotland*, be confirmed by Acts of Parliament of both Kingdoms respectively.

VI. That for the more effectual disabling Jesuits, Priests, Papists and Popish Recusants from disturbing the State and deluding the Laws, and for the better discovering and speedy conviction of Recusants, an Oath be established by Act of Parliament to be administred to them, wherein they shall abjure and renounce the Popes Supremacy, the Doctrine of Transubstantiation, Purgatory, worshipping of the consecrated Hoast, Crucifixes and Images, and all other Popish Superstitions and Errors; and refusing the said Oath being tendred in such manner as shall be appointed by the said Act, to be sufficient conviction in Law of Recusancie.

VII. An Act of Parliament for Education of the Children of Papists by Protestants in the Protestant Religion.

VIII. An Act for the true levying of the Penalties against them, which Penalties to be levied and disposed in such manner as both Houses shall agree on, wherein to be provided that His Majesty shall have no loss.

IX. That an Act be passed in Parliament, whereby the practices of Papists against the State may be prevented, and the Laws against them duely executed, and a stricter course taken to prevent the saying or hearing of Mass in the Court, or any other part of this Kingdom.

X. The like for the Kingdom of *Scotland*, concerning the four last preceding Propositions, in such manner as the Estates of Parliament there shall think fit.

XI. That the King do give His Royal Assent

To an Act for the due Observation of the Lords day;

And to the Bill for the suppression of Innovations in Churches and Chappels in and about the Worship of God; and for the better advancement of the Preaching of God's holy Word in all parts of this Kingdom;

And to the Bill against the enjoying of Pluralities of Benefices by Spiritual Persons, and non-Residencie;

And to an Act to be framed and agreed upon by both Houses of Parliament, for the reforming and regulating of both Universities, of the Colleges of *Westminster*, *Winchester*, and *Eaton*;

And to an Act in like manner to be agreed upon for the suppression of Interludes and Stage-playes; this Act to be perpetual;

And to an Act for the taking the Accompts of the Kingdom;

And to an Act to be made for relief of sick and maimed Souldiers, and of poor Widows and Children of Souldiers;

And to such Act or Acts for raising of Moneys for the payment and satisfying of the publick Debts and Damages of the Kingdom, and other publick uses, as shall hereafter be agreed on by both Houses of Parliament;

And to an Act or Acts of Parliament for taking away the Court of Wards and Liveries, and all Wardships, Liveries, Primer seisins, and Ouster le maines,

and all other charges incident or arising for or by reason of Wardship, Livery, Primer seisin, or Ouster le main;

And for the taking away of all Tenures by Homage, and all Fines, Licences, Seisures, and Pardons for Alienation, and all other charges incident thereunto, and for turning of all Tenures by Knights service, either of His Majesty or others, or by Knights service or soccage *in Capite* of His Majesty, into free and common Soccage; and that His Majesty will please to accept in recompence hereof one hundred thousand pounds *per annum*:

And give assurance of His consenting in the Parliament of *Scotland* to an Act ratifying the Acts of Convention of the Estates of *Scotland* called by the Councel and Conservatory of Peace, and the Commissioners for the common Burthens, and assembled the 22 day of *June* 1643. and several times continued since, in such manner, and with such additions and other Acts, as the Estates convened in this present Parliament shall think convenient.

XII. That an Act be passed in the Parliament of both Kingdoms respectively for confirmation of the Treaties passed betwixt the two Kingdoms, (*viz.*) the large Treaties, the late Treaty for the coming of the *Scots* Army into *England*, and the settling of the Garrison of *Berwick* of the 29. of *November* 1643. and the Treaty concerning *Ireland* of the 6. of *August* 1642. with all other Ordinances and Proceedings passed betwixt the two Kingdoms in pursuance of the said Treaties.

[In the *Appendix.*]

XIII. That an Act of Parliament be passed to make void the Cessation of *Ireland*, and all Treaties with the Rebels without consent of both Houses of Parliament, and to settle the prosecution of the Warre of *Ireland* in both Houses of Parliament, to be managed by the joynt advice of both Kingdoms; and the King to assist, and to doe no Act to discountenance or molest them therein.

XIV. That an Act be passed in the Parliament of both Kingdoms respectively, for establishing the joynt Declaration of both Kingdoms, bearing date the 30. of *January* 1643. in *England*, and 1644. in *Scotland*, with the Qualifications ensuing.

1. That the Persons who shall expect no Pardon be only these following, Rupert and Maurice, Count Palatines of the *Rhene*, *James* Earl of *Derby*, *John* Earl of *Bristol*, *William* Earl of *Newcastle*, *Francis* Lord *Cottington*, *John* Lord *Pawlet*, *George* Lord *Digby*, *Edward* Lord *Littleton*, *William Laud* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, *Matthew Wren* Bishop of *Ely*, Sir *Robert Heath* Knight, Doctor *Bramhall* Bishop of *Derry*, Sir *John Biron* Knight, *William Widdrington*, Colonel *George Goring*, *Henry Jermin* Esquire, Sir *Ralph Hopton*, Sir *Francis Doddington*, M. *Endymion Porter*, Sir *George Ratcliffe*, Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, Sir *John Hotham*, Captain *John Hotham* his Son, Sir *Henry Vaughan*, Sir *Francis Windebanke*, Sir *Richard Greenvile*, Master *Edward Hyde*, Sir *John Marley*, Sir *Nicholas Cole*, Sir *Thomas Riddel* Junior, Colonel . . . . . *Ware*, Sir *John Strangwaies*, Sir *John Culpeper*, Sir *Richard Floyd*, *John Bodvile* Esquire, Master *David Jenkins*, Sir *George Strode*, Sir *Alexander Carew*, Marquis of *Huntley*, Earl of *Montross*, Earl of *Niddisdale*, Earl of *Traquaire*, Earl of *Carnewath*, Viscount of *Aubayne*, Lord *Ogilby*, Lord *Rae*, Lord *Harris*, *Lodwick Lindsey* sometime Earl of *Crawford*, *Patrick Ruthen* sometime Earl of *Forth*, *James King* sometime Lord *Ethyn*, *Irving* younger of *Drunim*, *Gordon* younger of *Gight*, *Lesley* of *Auchintoule*, Sir *Robert Spotswood* of *Dumipace*, Colonel *John Cockram*, Master *John Maxwel* sometime pretended Bishop of *Ross*, Master *Walter Balcanquall*, and all such others as being processed by the Estates for Treason, shall be condemned before the Act of Oblivion be passed.

2. All Papists and Popish Recusants who have been, now are, or shall be actually in Arms, or voluntarily assisting against the Parliaments or Estates of either Kingdom.

3. All persons who have had any hand in the plotting, designing or assisting the Rebellion in *Ireland*.

4. That *Humphry Bennet* Esquire, Sir *Edward Ford*, Sir *John Penruddock*, Sir

Sir *George Vaughan*, Sir *John Weld*, Sir *Robert Lee*, Sir *John Pate*, *John Ackland*, *Edmund Windham*, Esquires, Sir *John Fitz-herbert*, Sir *Edward Laurence*, Sir *Ralph Dutton*, *Henry Lingen* Esquire, Sir *William Russel* of *Worcestershire*, *Thomas Lee* of *Adlington* Esquire, Sir *John Girlington*, Sir *Paul Neale*, Sir *William Thorold*, Sir *Edward Hussey*, Sir *Thomas Lyddel* Senior, Sir *Philip Musgrave*, Sir *John Digby* of *Nottingh.* Sir *Hen. Fletcher*, Sir *Richard Minshall*, *Laurence Halsteed*, *John Denham*, Esquires, Sir *Edmund Fortescue*, *Peter St Hill* Esquire, Sir *Tho. Tildesley*, Sir *Hen. Griffith*, *Michael Wharton* Esquire, Sir *Hen. Spiller*, Sir *George Benion*, Sir *Edward Nicholas*, Sir *Edward Walgrove*, Sir *Edward Bishop*, Sir *Robert Owsley*, Sir *John Maney*, Lord *Cholmely*, Sir *Thomas Aston*, Sir *Lewis Dives*, Sir *Peter Osborne*, *Samuel Thorneton* Esquire, Sir *John Lucas*, *John Blomey* Esquire, Sir *Thomas Chedle*, Sir *Nicholas Kemish*, and *Hugh Lloyd* Esquire, and all such of the *Scotish* Nation as have concurred in the Votes at *Oxford* against the Kingdom of *Scotland* and their Proceedings, or have sworn or subscribed the Declaration against the Convention and Covenant; and all such as have assisted the Rebellion in the North, or the Invasion in the South of the said Kingdom of *Scotland*, or the late Invasion made there by the *Irish* and their Adherents; and that the Members of either House of Parliament who have not only deserted the Parliament, but have also Voted both Kingdoms Traitors, may be removed from His Majesties Councels, and be restrained from coming within the verge of the Court, and that they may not without the advice and consent of both Kingdoms bear any Office, or have any employment concerning the State or Commonwealth: And also that the Members of either House of Parliament who have deserted the Parliament, and adhered to the Enemies thereof, and not rendred themselves before the last of *October* 1644. may be removed from His Majesties Councels, and be restrained from coming within the verge of the Court, and that they may not, without the advice and consent of both Houses of Parliament, bear any Office, or have any employment concerning the State or Commonwealth: And in case any of them shall offend therein, to be guilty of high Treason, and incapable of any Pardon by His Majesty, and their Estates to be disposed as both Houses of Parliament in *England*, or the Estates of the Parliament in *Scotland* respectively, shall think fit.

5. That by Act of Parliament all Judges and Officers towards the Law, Common or Civil, who have deserted the Parliament, and adhered to the Enemies thereof, be made incapable of any place of Judicature or Office towards the Law, Common or Civil; and that all Serjeants, Councellors and Attourneys, Doctors, Advocates and Proctors of the Law, Common or Civil, who have deserted the Parliament, and adhered to the Enemies thereof, be made incapable of any practice in the Law, Common or Civil, either in publick or in private: And that they, and likewise all Bishops, Clergy-men, and other Ecclesiastical persons, who have deserted the Parliament, and adhered to the Enemies thereof, shall not be capable of any preferment or imployment either in Church or Commonwealth, without the advice and consent of both Houses of Parliament.

6. The persons of all others to be free of all personal censure, notwithstanding any Act or thing done in or concerning this War, they taking the Covenant.

7. The Estates of those persons excepted in the first three preceding qualifications, to pay publick Debts and Damages.

8. A third part in full value of the Estates of the persons made incapable of any imployment, as aforesaid, to be imployed for the payment of the publick Debts and Damages, according to the Declaration.

9. And likewise a tenth part of the Estates of all other Delinquents within the joynt Declarations. And in case the Estates and proportions aforementioned shall not suffice for the payment of the publick engagements, whereunto they are onely to be employed, that then a new proportion may be appointed by the joynt advice of both Kingdoms, providing it exceed not the one moiety of the Estates of

the perſons made incapable, as aforeſaid, and that it exceed not a ſixth part of the Eſtate of the other Delinquents.

10. That the Perſons and Eſtates of all common Souldiers and others of the Kingdom of *England*, who in Lands or Goods be not worth 200l. ſterling, and the Perſons and Eſtates of all common Souldiers and others of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, who in Lands or Goods be not worth 100l. ſterling, be at liberty and diſcharged.

11. That an Act be paſſed whereby the Debts of the Kingdom, and the Perſons of Delinquents, and the value of their Eſtates may be known; and which Act ſhall appoint in what manner the Confiſcations and proportions before mentioned may be levied, and applied to the diſcharge of the ſaid engagements.

XV. That by Act of Parliament the Subjects of the Kingdom of *England* may be appointed to be Armed, Trained and Diſciplined in ſuch manner as both Houſes ſhall think fit: the like for the Kingdom of *Scotland*, in ſuch manner as the Eſtates of Parliament there ſhall think fit.

XVI. That an Act of Parliament be paſſed for the ſettling of the Admiralty and Forces at Sea, and for the raiſing of ſuch Moneys for maintenance of the ſaid Forces and of the Navy as both Houſes of Parliament ſhall think fit: the like for the Kingdom of *Scotland*, in ſuch manner as the Eſtates of Parliament there ſhall think fit.

XVII. An Act for the ſettling of all Forces both by Sea and Land in Commiſſioners to be nominated by both Houſes of Parliament, of perſons of known Integrity, and ſuch as both Kingdoms may confide in, for their faithfulneſs to Religion and the Peace of the Kingdoms, of the Houſe of Peers, and of the Houſe of Commons, who ſhall be removed or altered from time to time as both Houſes ſhall think fit; and when any ſhall dy, others to be nominated in their places by the ſaid Houſes. Which Commiſſioners ſhall have power,

1. To ſuppreſs any Forces raiſed without Authority of both Houſes of Parliament, or in the Intervals of Parliaments without conſent of the ſaid Commiſſioners, to the diſturbance of the publick Peace of the Kingdoms, and to ſuppreſs any Forein Forces that ſhall invade this Kingdom: and that it ſhall be high Treaſon in any who ſhall levy any Force without ſuch Authority or conſent, to the diſturbance of the publick Peace of the Kingdoms, any Commiſſion under the great Seal or Warrant to the contrary notwithſtanding; and they to be incapable of any Pardon from His Majeſty, and their Eſtates to be diſpoſed of as both Houſes of Parliament ſhall think fit.

2. To preſerve the Peace now to be ſettled, and to prevent all diſturbance of the publick Peace that may riſe by occaſion of the late Troubles: ſo for the Kingdom of *Scotland*.

3. To have power to ſend part of themſelves, ſo as they exceed not a third part, or be not under the number of to reſide in the Kingdom of *Scotland*, to aſſiſt and Vote as ſingle perſons with the Commiſſioners of *Scotland*, in thoſe matters wherein the Kingdom of *Scotland* is onely concerned: ſo for the Kingdom of *Scotland*.

4. That the Commiſſioners of both Kingdoms may meet as a joynt Committee, as they ſhall ſee cauſe, or ſend part of themſelves, as aforeſaid, to doe as followeth.

1. To preſerve the Peace betwixt the Kingdoms, and the King, and every one of them.

2. To prevent the violation of the Articles of Peace, as aforeſaid, or any troubles ariſing in the Kingdoms by breach of the ſaid Articles, and to hear and determine all differences that may occaſion the ſame, according to the Treaty, and to doe further accordingly as they ſhall reſpectively receive Inſtructions from both Houſes of Parliament in *England*, or the Eſtates of the Parliament in *Scotland*, and in the Intervals of Parliaments from the Commiſſioners for the preſervation of the publick Peace.

3. To

3. To raiſe and joyn the Forces of both Kingdoms to reſiſt all Forein Invaſion, and to ſuppreſs any Forces raiſed within any of the Kingdoms, to the diſturbance of the publick Peace of the Kingdoms, by any authority under the great Seal or other Warrant whatſoever, without conſent of both Houſes of Parliament in *England* and the Eſtates of the Parliament in *Scotland*, or the ſaid Commiſſioners of that Kingdom whereof they are Subjects; and that in thoſe caſes of joint concernment to both Kingdoms, the Commiſſioners to be directed to be there all, or ſuch part as aforeſaid, to act and direct as joint Commiſſioners of both Kingdoms.

4. To order the Warre of *Ireland* according to the Ordinance of the 11. of *April*, and to order the *Militia*, and conſerve the peace of the Kingdom of *Ireland*.

XVIII. That His Majeſty give His aſſent to what the two Kingdoms ſhall agree upon in proſecution of the Articles of the large Treaty, which are not yet finiſhed.

XIX. That by Act of Parliament all Peers made ſince the day that *Edward* Lord *Littleton*, then Lord Keeper of the great Seal, deſerted the Parliament, and that the ſaid great Seal was ſurreptitiouſly conveyed away from the Parliament, being the 21. day of *May* 1642. and who ſhall be hereafter made, ſhall not ſit or Vote in the Parliament of *England*, without conſent of both Houſes of Parliament; and that all Honour and Title conferred on any, without conſent of both Houſes of Parliament, ſince the 20. day of *May* 1642. being the day that both Houſes declared, That the King, ſeduced by evil Counſel, intended to raiſe Warre againſt the Parliament, be declared null and void. The like for the Kingdom of *Scotland*, thoſe being excepted whoſe Patents were paſſed the great Seal before the 4 of *June* 1644.

XX. That by Act of Parliament the Deputy or chief Governour, or other Governours of *Ireland*, be nominated by both Houſes of Parliament, or in the Intervals of Parliament by the Commiſſioners, to continue during the pleaſure of the ſaid Houſes, or in the Intervals of Parliament during the pleaſure of the aforementioned Commiſſioners, to be approved or diſallowed by both Houſes at their next ſitting: And that the Chancellor or Lord Keeper, Lord Treaſurer, Commiſſioners of the great Seal or Treaſury, Lord Warden of the Cinque-Ports, Chancellors of the Exchequer and Dutchy, Secretaries of State, Judges of both Benches and of the Exchequer of the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, be nominated by both Houſes of Parliament, to continue *quamdiu ſe bene geſſerint*, and in the Intervals of Parliament by the aforementioned Commiſſioners, to be approved or diſallowed by both Houſes at their next ſitting. The like for the Kingdom of *Scotland*, adding the Juſtice General, and in ſuch manner as the Eſtates in Parliament there ſhall think fit.

XXI. That by Act of Parliament the Education of Your Majeſties Children, and the Children of Your Heirs and Succeſſors, be in the true Proteſtant Religion, and that their Tutors and Governors be of known Integrity, and be choſen by the Parliaments of both Kingdoms, or in the Intervals of Parliaments by the aforenamed Commiſſioners, to be approved or diſallowed by both Parliaments at their next ſitting: and that if they be Male, they be married to ſuch onely as are of the true Proteſtant Religion; if they be Female, they may not be married but with the advice and conſent of both Parliaments, or in the Intervals of Parliament by their Commiſſioners.

XXII. That Your Majeſty will give Your Royal Aſſent to ſuch wayes and means as the Parliaments of both Kingdoms ſhall think fitting for the uniting of the Proteſtant Princes, and for the entire Reſtitution and Re-eſtabliſhment of *Charles Lodwick* Prince Elector Palatine, His Heirs and Succeſſors, to His Electoral Dignity, Rights and Dominions: Provided that this extend not to Prince *Rupert* or Prince *Maurice*, or the Children of either of them, who have been the Inſtruments of ſo much bloodſhed and miſchief againſt both Kingdoms.

XXIII. That by Act of Parliament the concluding of Peace or Warre with Forein Princes and States be with advice and consent of both Parliaments, or in the Intervals of Parliaments by their Commissioners.

XXIV. That an Act of Oblivion be passed in the Parliaments of both Kingdoms respectively, relative to the Qualifications in the Propositions aforesaid, concerning the joint Declaration of both Kingdoms, with the exception of all Murderers, Thieves, and other Offendors not having relation to the Warre.

XXV. That the Members of both Houses of Parliament, or others, who have during this Parliament been put out of any Place or Office, Pension or Benefit, for adhering to the Parliament, may either be restored thereunto, or otherwise have Recompence for the same, upon the humble desire of both Houses of Parliament. The like for the Kingdom of *Scotland*.

XXVI. That the Armies may be Disbanded at such time and in such manner as shall be agreed upon by the Parliaments of both Kingdoms, or such as shall be authorised by them to that effect.

XXVII. That an Act be passed for the granting and confirming of the Charters, Customs, Liberties and Franchises of the City of *London*, notwithstanding any Non-user, Mis-user, or Abuser.

That the *Militia* of the City of *London* may be in the ordering and government of the Lord Maior, Aldermen and Commons in Common-Councel assembled, or such as they shall from time to time appoint, whereof the Lord Maior and Sheriffs for the time being to be three: And that the *Militia* of the Parishes without *London*, and the Liberties within the weekly Bills of Mortality, may be under Command of the Lord Maior, Aldermen and Commons in Common-Councel of the said City, to be ordered in such manner as shall be agreed on and appointed by both Houses of Parliament.

That the Tower of *London* may be in the Government of the City of *London*, and the chief Officer and Governour thereof from time to time be nominated and removable by the Common-Councel.

That the Citizens or Forces of *London* shall not be drawn out of the City into any other parts of the Kingdom without their own consent, and that the drawing of their Forces into other parts of the Kingdom in these distracted times may not be drawn into example for the future.

And for prevention of Inconveniences which may happen by the long intermission of Common-Councels, it is desired that there be an Act, that all By-Laws and Ordinances already made or hereafter to be made by the Lord Maior, Aldermen and Commons in Common-Council assembled, touching the calling, continuing, directing and regulating of the same, shall be as effectual in Law to all intents and purposes, as if the same were particularly enacted by the Authority of Parliament; and that the Lord Maior, Aldermen and Commons in Common-Council may adde to, or repeal, the said Ordinances from time to time, as they shall see cause.

That such other Propositions as shall be made for the City for their farther Safety, Welfare and Government, and shall be approved of by both Houses of Parliament, may be granted and confirmed by Act of Parliament.

Upon Consideration of which Propositions His Majesty sent the Duke of Richmond *and the Earl of* Southampton *with this Message of the* 13. *of* December.

II. HIs Majesty hath seriously considered your Propositions, and finds it very difficult, in respect they import so great an Alteration in Government both in Church and State, to return a particular and positive Answer before a full debate, wherein those Propositions, and all the necessary Explanations and Reasons for assen-

aſſenting, diſſenting, or qualifying, and all inconveniences and miſchiefs which may enſue, and cannot otherwiſe be ſo well foreſeen, may be diſcuſſed and weighed. His Majeſty therefore propoſeth and deſireth, as the beſt Expedient for Peace, That you will appoint ſuch a number of Perſons as you ſhall think fit, to Treat with the like number of Perſons to be appointed by His Majeſty upon the ſaid Propoſitions, and ſuch other things as ſhall be propoſed by His Majeſty, for the preſervation and defence of the Proteſtant Religion (with due regard to the eaſe of tender Conſciences, as His Majeſty hath often offered) the Rights of the Crown, the Liberty and Property of the Subject, and the Privileges of Parliament; and upon the whole matter to conclude a happy and bleſſed Peace.

Unto which Meſſage this Anſwer of the 27. *of* December *was returned to His Majeſty.*

May it pleaſe Your moſt Excellent Majeſty,

III. WE Your Majeſties humble and Loyal Subjects of both Kingdoms have conſidered of Your Majeſties Meſſage of the 13. of *December* 1644. ſent by the Duke of *Richmond* and the Earl of *Southampton*, directed to the Lords and Commons aſſembled in the Parliament of *England* at *Weſtminſter*, and to the Commiſſioners of the Parliament of *Scotland* now at *London*, and do in all humbleneſs return this Anſwer:

That we do conſent there be a Treaty for a ſafe and well-grounded Peace; but finde that it will require ſome time to reſolve concerning the Inſtructions and manner of that Treaty; and therefore, that Your Majeſty might not be held in ſuſpence touching our readineſs to make uſe of any opportunity for attaining ſuch a bleſſed and happy Peace in all Your Majeſties Dominions, we would not ſtay Your Majeſties Meſſengers till we did reſolve upon all thoſe particulars, which we will take into our ſerious conſideration, and preſent our humble deſires to Your Majeſty with all convenient ſpeed.

Weſtminſter the 20. of *Decemb.* 1644.

Gray of *Wark*, Speaker of the Houſe of Peers *pro tempore*.

Signed in the name and by warrand of the Commiſſioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*, *Lowdon*.

William Lenthal, Speaker of the Commons Houſe aſſembled in Parliament.

And afterwards, upon the 18. *of* January *following*, *Sir* Peter Killegrew *brought this farther Anſwer to His Majeſty.*

May it pleaſe Your moſt Excellent Majeſty,

IV. WE Your Majeſties humble and Loyal Subjects, the Lords and Commons aſſembled in the Parliament of *England* at *Weſtminſter*, and the Commiſſioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*, do make our further Anſwer to Your Majeſties Meſſage of the 13. of *December* laſt 1644. concerning a Treaty for Peace, as followeth.

We do consent that there be a Treaty for a safe and well-grounded Peace between Your Majesty and Your humble and Loyal Subjects assembled in the Parliaments of both Kingdoms; and for the present have appointed *Algernon* Earle of *Northumberland*, *Philip* Earle of *Pembrook* and *Montgomery*, *William* Earle of *Salisbury*, *Basil* Earle of *Denbigh*, *Thomas* Lord Viscount *Wenman*, *Denzill Hollis*, *William Pierrepont*, Sir *Henry Vane* junior, *Oliver* St *John*, *Bulstrode Whitelock*, *John Crew*, *Edmund Prideaux*, for the Lords and Commons assembled in the Parliament of *England* at *Westminster*; and *John* Earl of *Lowdon*, Lord Chancellor of *Scotland*, *Archibald* Marquess of *Argyle*, *John* Lord *Maitland*, *John* Lord *Balmerino*, Sir *Archibald Johnston*, Sir *Charles Erskin*, *George Dundas*, Sir *John Smith*, Master *Hugh Kennedy*, and Master *Robert Barclay*, for the Estates of the Parliament of *Scotland*, together with Master *Alexander Henderson*, upon the Propositions concerning Religion: who, or any Ten of them (there being alwayes some of the Parliaments of both Kingdomes) are appointed and authorized to meet at *Uxbridge*, on what day Your Majesty shall be pleased to set down before the last day of this present *January*, with such Persons as Your Majesty shall appoint under Your Signe Manual for that purpose; and the number of the persons to Treat not to exceed Seventeen on either part, unless the persons named for the Estates of the Parliament of *Scotland* now not here, or any of them, shall come, and then Your Majesty may have the like number if You please; there to Treat upon the Matters contained in the Propositions we lately sent unto Your Majesty, according to such Instructions as shall be given unto them; and the Propositions for *Religion*, the *Militia*, and for *Ireland*, to be first Treated on and agreed, and the time for the Treaty upon the said Propositions for *Religion*, the *Militia*, and for *Ireland*, not to exceed Twenty dayes. And for the things mentioned in Your Message to be propounded by Your Majesty, when the Persons sent by Your Majesty shall communicate the same to the Committees appointed by us as aforesaid, we have directed them to send the same to us, that they may receive our Instructions what to doe therein. And to the end that the Persons that are to be sent from Your Majesty and from us with their Retinue, not exceeding the number of one hundred and eight on either part, may repair to *Uxbridge*, stay there, and return at their pleasure without interruption, that mutuall safe Conducts be granted to the said Persons according to the several Lists of their Names.

Signed by Order of the Lords and Commons assembled in the Parliament of *England* at *Westminster*,

Grey *of* Wark, *Speaker of the House of Peers* pro tempore.

Signed in the name and by warrant of the Commissioners of the Kingdom of *Scotland*,

Lowdon.

William Lenthall, *Speaker of the Commons House in the Parliament of* England.

Whereunto His Majesty returned an Answer inclosed in a Letter from Prince Rupert *to the Earl of* Essex, *dated the* 21 *of* January; *which Letter and Answer were as followeth.*

The Letter.

My Lord,

V. Together with this inclosed in a Letter from Prince *Rupert* to the Earl of *Essex*, His Majesty sent a safe Conduct for their Commissioners & their Retinue.

I Am commanded by His Majesty to return this His Answer to the Message lately sent Him from the Lords and Commons assembled in the Parliament of *England* at *Westminster*, and the Commissioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*, by Sir *Peter Killegrew*. I have likewise sent your Lordship His Majesties safe Conduct for the persons desired, and also a List of the names of those His Majesty hath appointed to Treat, for whom, together with their Retinue, His Majesty hath desired a safe Conduct.

The

The Anſwer incloſed.

HIS Majeſty having received a Meſſage by Sir *Peter Killegrew* VI. from the Lords and Commons aſſembled in the Parliament of *England* at *Weſtminſter*, and the Commiſsioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*, concerning a Treaty, returns this Anſwer; That His Majeſty doth very willingly conſent that there be a Treaty upon the Matters contained in the Propoſitions lately ſent unto Him in ſuch manner as is propoſed, and at the place appointed in the ſaid Meſſage: and to that purpoſe His Majeſty will ſend the Duke of *Richmond*, the Marqueſs of *Hartford*, the Earl of *Southampton*, the Earl of *Kingſton*, the Earl of *Chicheſter*, the Lord *Capell*, the Lord *Seymour*, the Lord *Hatton*, the Lord *Culpeper*, Secretary *Nicholas*, Maſter Chancellour of the Exchequer, the Lord Chief Baron *Lane*, Sir *Orlando Bridgeman*, Sir *Thomas Gardiner*, M. *John Aſhburnham*, M. *Jeffrey Palmer*, (together with Doctor *Steward*, Clerk of His Majeſties Cloſet, upon the Propoſitions concerning Religion,) to meet with the perſons mentioned in the ſaid Meſſage at *Uxbridge* on Wedneſday night the 29th of this inſtant *January*, the Treaty to begin the next day: which perſons, or any Ten of them, ſhall be ſufficiently authorized by His Majeſty to Treat and conclude on His Majeſties part. And to the end that the perſons aforeſaid and their Retinue may repair to *Uxbridge*, ſtay there, and return at their pleaſure without interruption, or goe or ſend, during their abode there, to His Majeſty, as often as occaſion ſhall require, His Majeſty deſires that a ſafe Conduct may accordingly be ſent for the ſaid perſons and their Retinue, according to a Liſt of their names herewith ſent.

And then alſo incloſed in a Letter from Prince Rupert *to the Earl of* Eſſex, *His Majeſty ſent Propoſitions to be Treated upon on His Majeſties part; which Letter and Propoſitions follow.*

My Lord,

I Am commanded by His Majeſty to ſend theſe incloſed Propoſitions VII. to your Lordſhip, to be preſented to the Lords and Commons aſſembled in the Parliament of *England* at *Weſtminſter*, and the Commiſsioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*, to the end that there may be as little loſs of time as is poſsible; but that the ſame may be treated on as ſoon as may be thought convenient, after the entry upon the Treaty. Prince *Rupert's* Letter.

His

His MAJESTIES *Propoſitions to the Lords and Commons aſſembled in the Parliament of* England *at* Weſtminſter, *and the Commiſſioners of the Parliament of* Scotland, *for a ſafe and well-grounded Peace.*

VIII. His Majeſties Propoſitions.

I. THat His Majeſties own Revenue, Magazines, Towns, Forts and Ships, which have been taken or kept from Him by force, be forthwith reſtored unto Him.

II. That whatſoever hath been done or publiſhed contrary to the known Laws of the Land, or derogatory to His Majeſties Legal and known Power and Rights, be renounced and recalled; that no ſeed may remain for the like to ſpring out of for the future.

III. That whatſoever illegal Power hath been claimed or exerciſed by or over His Subjects, as Impriſoning or putting to Death their Perſons without Law, ſtopping their *Habeas Corpus*'s, and impoſing upon their Eſtates without Act of Parliament, &c. either by both or either Houſe, or any Committee of both or either, or by any perſons appointed by any of them, be diſclaimed, and all ſuch perſons ſo committed forthwith diſcharged.

IV. That as His Majeſty hath alwayes profeſſed His readineſs to that purpoſe, ſo He will moſt chearfully conſent to any good Acts to be made for the ſuppreſsion of Popery, and for the firmer ſettling of the Proteſtant Religion eſtabliſhed by Law; as alſo that a good Bill may be framed for the better preſerving of the Book of Common-Prayer from ſcorn and violence; and that another Bill may be framed for the eaſe of tender Conſciences, in ſuch particulars as ſhall be agreed upon. For all which His Majeſty conceives the beſt Expedient to be, that a National Synod be legally called with all convenient ſpeed.

V. That all ſuch perſons as upon the Treaty ſhall be excepted, and agreed upon on either ſide, out of the General Pardon, ſhall be tried *per Pares*, according to the uſual courſe and known Law of the Land, and that it be left to that either to acquit or condemn them.

VI. And to the intent this Treaty may not ſuffer interruption by any

any intervening Accidents, that a Ceſſation of Arms, and free Trade for all His Majeſties Subjects, may be agreed upon with all poſsible ſpeed.

Given at the Court at *Oxford*, the 21th day of *Jan.* 1644.

The Earl of Eſſex *upon receipt hereof returned to Prince* Rupert, *together with a ſafe Conduct, this Letter of the* 25. *of* January.

Sir,

IX. I Am commanded by both Houſes of the Parliament of *England*, and deſired by the Commiſſioners of the Kingdome of *Scotland*, to deſire Your Highneſs to let His Majeſty know, That they do agree, that their Committees do begin the Treaty at *Uxbridge* on Thurſday the 30th of this *January*, with the Perſons appointed by His Majeſty, on the matters contained in the Propoſitions lately ſent unto His Majeſty, in ſuch manner as was propoſed. And their Committees ſhall have Inſtructions concerning the Propoſitions ſent from His Majeſty in your Highneſs Letter. And you will herewith receive a ſafe Conduct from the Lords and Commons aſſembled in the Parliament of *England*, for the Perſons that are appointed by His Majeſty to come to *Uxbridge*, to Treat on the Propoſitions for a ſafe and well-grounded Peace, with their Retinue, in a Liſt hereunto annexed. Sir, I am

Weſtminſter, 25. *Jan.* 1644.

Your Highneſs humble Servant, Eſſex.

Thurſday the 30. *of* January, *all the Commiſsioners named by His Majeſty, and Commiſsioners named by the two Houſes of Parliament in* England, *and the Eſtates of the Parliament in* Scotland, *did meet at* Uxbridge, *where their Commiſsions were mutually delivered in and read, and are as followeth.*

His MAJESTIES *Commiſsion.*

CHARLES R.

X. WHereas after ſeveral Meſſages ſent by Us to the Lords and Commons of Parliament aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*, expreſſing Our deſires of Peace, certain Propoſitions were ſent from them, and brought unto Us at *Oxford*, in *November* laſt, by the Earl of *Denbigh* and others, and upon Our Anſwers, Meſſages, and Propoſitions to them, and their Returns to Us, it is now agreed, That there ſhall be a Treaty for a ſafe and well-grounded Peace, to begin at *Uxbridge* on Thurſday the 30th of this inſtant *January*, as by the ſaid Propoſitions, Anſwers, Meſſages and Returns in writing may more fully appear: We do therefore hereby appoint, aſsigne and conſtitute *James* Duke of *Richmond* and *Lenox*, *William* Marqueſs of *Hartford*, *Thomas* Earl of *Southampton*, *Henry* Earl of *Kingſton*, *Francis* Earl of *Chicheſter*,

Chicheſter, *Francis* Lord *Seymour*, *Arthur* Lord *Capell*, *Chriſtopher* Lord *Hatton*, *John* Lord *Culpeper*, Sir *Edward Nicholas* Knight, one of Our principal Secretaries of State, Sir *Edward Hyde* Knight, Chancellour and Under-Treaſurer of Our Exchequer, Sir *Richard Lane*, chief Baron of Our ſaid Exchequer, Sir *Thomas Gardiner*, Sir *Orlando Bridgeman*, M. *John Aſhburnham*, and M. *Jeffrey Palmer*, (together with Doctor *Richard Steward*, upon theſe Propoſitions concerning Religion) to be Our Commiſsioners touching the premiſſes; and do hereby give unto them, and to any Ten or more of them, full power and authority to meet, and on Our part to Treat with *Algernon* Earl of *Northumberland*, *Philip* Earl of *Pembroke* and *Montgomery*, *William* Earl of *Saliſbury*, *Baſil* Earl of *Denbigh*, *Thomas* Lord Viſcount *Wenman*, *Denzill Hollis*, *William Pierrepont*, Eſquires, Sir *Henry Vane* the younger, Knight, *Oliver St John*, *Bulſtrode Whitelock*, *John Crew*, and *Edmund Prideaux*, Eſquires, for the Lords and Commons aſſembled in the Parliament of *England* at *Weſtminſter*; and *John* Earl of *Lowdon*, Lord Chancellour of *Scotland*, *Archibald* Marqueſs of *Argyle*, *John* Lord *Maitland*, *John* Lord *Balmerino*, Sir *Archibald Johnſton*, Sir *Charles Erskin*, *George Dundas*, Sir *John Smith*, M. *Hugh Kennedy*, and M. *Robert Barclay*, for the Eſtates of the Parliament of *Scotland*, (together with Maſter *Alexander Henderſon*, upon the Propoſitions concerning Religion) or with any Ten or more of them, upon and touching the matters contained in the ſaid Propoſitions, Anſwers and Meſſages, or any other, according to the manner and agreement therein ſpecified, or otherwiſe, as they, or any Ten or more of them, ſhall think fit, and to take all the premiſſes into their ſerious conſiderations, and to compoſe, conclude and end all differences ariſing thereupon, or otherwiſe, as they, or any Ten or more of them, in their wiſdoms ſhall think fit, and upon the whole matter to conclude a ſafe and well-grounded Peace, if they can. And whatſoever they, or any Ten or more of them, ſhall doe in the premiſſes, We do by theſe preſents ratifie and confirm the ſame.

Given at Our Court at *Oxford*, the eight and twentieth day of *January*, in the Twentieth year of Our Reign, 1644.

Their

Their Commiſſion to the Engliſh Commiſſioners.

Die Martis, 28. *January*, 1644.

BE it Ordained by the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament, that *Algernon* Earl of *Northumberland*, *Philip* Earl of *Pembroke* and *Montgomery*, *William* Earl of *Salisbury*, *Baſil* Earl of *Denbigh*, *Thomas* Lord Viſcount *Wenman*, *Denzil Hollis*, *William Pierrepont*, Sir *Henry Vane* junior, *Oliver* St *John*, *Bulſtrode Whitelock*, *John Crew*, and *Edmund Prideaux*, ſhall have power and authority, and are hereby authorized, to joyn with the Commiſſioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*, together with *Alexander Henderſon* upon the Propoſitions concerning Religion only, to Treat with the Lord Duke of *Richmond*, the Marqueſs of *Hartford*, the Earl of *Southampton*, the Earl of *Kingſton*, the Lord *Dunſmore*, Lord *Capel*, Lord *Seymour*, Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton*, Sir *John Culpeper*, Sir *Edward Nicholas*, Sir *Edward Hyde*, Sir *Richard Lane*, Sir *Orlando Bridgeman*, Sir *Thomas Gardiner*, Maſter *John Aſhburnham*, and Maſter *Jeffrey Palmer*, or any Ten of them, upon the Propoſitions formerly ſent to His Majeſty (for a ſafe and well-grounded Peace,) from His Majeſties humble and Loyal Subjects aſſembled in the Parliaments of both Kingdoms, together with Doctor *Steward* upon the Propoſitions concerning Religion only, and upon His Majeſties Propoſitions, according to ſuch Inſtructions as have been given to them, or as they from time to time ſhall receive from both Houſes of Parliament. XI.

Jo. Browne Cler. Parliam.

Their Commiſſion to the Scots *Commiſſioners.*

AT *Edinburgh* the ſaxteint day of *Julii*, the zeir of God M. Vj^c fourty four zeires. The Eſtaites of Parliament preſentlie conveined be vertew of the laſt act of the laſt Parliament, haldin by His Majeſty and thrie Eſtaites in *Ann^o* 1641. conſiddering that this Kingdome, efter all uther meanes of ſupplicationnes, Remonſtrances, and ſending of Commiſſionaris to His Majeſty, have bein uſed without ſucceſſe, did enter into a ſolemne League and Covenant with the Kingdom and Parliament of *England*, for Reformationne and defence of Religionne, the Honor and Happines of the King, the Peace and Safety of the thrie Kingdoms, of *Scotland*, *England*, and *Ireland*, and ane Treattie aggried upon, and ane Armie and Forces raiſed and ſent out of yis Kingdom for theſe endis: Quhairupone the Conventionne of Eſtaites of this Kingdome, the nynt of *Jannuary* laſt, being deſirous to uſe all good and lawfull meanes, that Treuth and Peace might be eſtabliſhed in all His Majeſties Dominions, with ſuch a bleſſed Pacificationne betwixt His Majeſty and His Subjectis as might ſerve moſt for His Majeſties trew Honor, and the Safety and Happines of His People, granted Commiſſione to *Johne* Erle of *Lowdonne* heigh Chancellor of *Scotland*, *Johne* Lord *Maitland*, than and zit in *England*, Sir *Archibald Johneſtounne* of *Warieſtounne*, ane of the Lordis of Seſſionne, & Maiſter *Robert Barclay* now in *England*, to repaire to *England*, with powar to thame, or any twa of yame, to endeavoure the effectuating of ye foirſaides endis, conforme to the Commiſſione and Inſtructiones than givin to thame, as the Commiſſione of the dait foirſaid proportis. Lyke as the ſaides *Johne* Lord of *Maitland*, Sir *Archibald Johneſtounne*, and Maiſter *Robert Barclay* have evir ſince attendit in *England*, in the diſcharge of the foirſaid Commiſſione; qunhil lately that Sir *Archibald Johneſtounne* returned with ſome Propoſitiones, prepaired by the Committie of both Kingdomes, to be preſented to the Eſtaites of *Scotland*, and to both Howſs of the Parliament of *England*, and by thame to be reviſed, and conſidderit, and than by mutual advyſe of both Kingdomes to be preſented for ane ſafe and weill-grounded Peace. Qwhilkies Propoſitiones ar reviſed, and conſidderit, and XII.

advyſed be the Eſtaites of Parliament now conveined, and their ſenſe and reſultis drawin up yrupone. Whiche Commiſſione is to endure while the comming of the Commiſſionaris underwrittin. And heirewith alſo conſidderin, that the endis for the whilk the ſamen was granted ar not zit effectuate, and that the Propoſitiones with ye Eſtaites thair reſultis yrupone ar to be returned to ye Parliament of *England*; thairfore the Eſtaites of Parliament be thir preſentis gives full powar and Commiſſione to the ſaid *Johne* Erle of *Lowdonne*, Lord heigh Chancellor of yis Kingdome, *Archibald* Marqueis of *Argyle*, and *Johne* Lord *Balmerino*, for the Nobility, Sir *Archibald Johneſtounne* of *Warieſtonne*, Sir *Charles Erskyne* of *Cambuskenneth*, and Maiſter *George Dundas* of *Maner*, for the Barrones, Sir *Johne Smyth* of *Grottell* Proveiſt of *Edenburgh*, *Hew Kennedy* Burges of *Air*, and Maſter *Robert Barclay*, for the Burrowes, (the thrie Eſtates of yis Kingdom) and to *Johne* Lord *Maitland* ſupernumerarie in this Commiſſione, or to any thrie or mae of the haill number, thair being ane of ilk Eſtate, as Commiſſionaris from the Eſtaites of Parliament of this Kingdome, to repaire to the Kingdome of *England* (ſick of them as ar not thair already) and with powar to thame or any thrie or mae of the whole number, thair being ane of ilk Eſtaite, to endeavour the effectuating of ye foirſaides endis, the concluding of the Propoſitions, with the Eſtaites thaire reſults thairupon, and all ſuch uyr materis concerning the good of bothe Kingdomes as ar or ſall be from time to time committed unto thame be the Eſtaites of yis Kingdome or Committies thairof, according to the Inſtructiones givin, or to be givin, to the Commiſſionaris abovenameit, or their quuorums. And for this effect, the Eſtaites Ordeanes, *Johne* Erle of *Lowdonne* Chancellor, *Johne* Lord *Balmerino*, Sir *Archibald Johneſtounne* of *Warieſtounne*, Sir *Chales Erſkyne* of *Cambuskenneth*, and *Hew Kennedy*, repaire with all dilligence to the Kingdome of *England*, to the effect before rehearſit, conforme to this Commiſſione and Inſtructiones. As alſo the Eſtaites Ordeanes ye ſaides *Archibald* Marqueis of *Argyle*, Maiſter *George Dundas* of *Maner*, and Sir *Johne Smyth* Proveiſt of *Edenburgh*, to repaire to ye Kingdome of *England*, with all ſick conveniencie as the occaſione of ye buſineſſe ſhall require, or as they ſall be commandit, ather be the Committie from the Parliament heir, they being in *Scotland*, or be the Committie with the Army, they being in *England*. And Ordeanes thame to joyne with the remanent Commiſſionaris to the effect above mentionat, conforme to the Commiſſione and Inſtructiones givin, or to be givin, to the Commiſſionaris or thair quuorums thairanent, be the Eſtaites of this Kingdom or Committies yrof. And the Eſtaites of Parliament be thir preſentis haldis and ſall halde firme and ſtable all and what ſumme evir thinges the Commiſſionaris abovenamit, or any thrie or mae of thame, ſall do conforme to this Commiſſionne, and to the Inſtructionnes given, or to be given to thame. Exſtractit furthe of the buikes of Parliament, be me Sir *Alexander Gibſone* of *Dunrie*, Knyt, Clerk of His Majeſties Regiſters and Rollis, under my ſigne and ſubſcriptionne Mannual.

Alexander Gibſonne Cler. Regiſt.

After the Commiſſions read, their Commiſſioners delivered to His Majeſties Commiſſioners this Paper.

January the 30.

XIII. WE are directed by our Inſtructions, to Treat with your Lordſhips upon the Propoſitions concerning *Religion*, the *Militia*, and *Ireland*, three daies apiece, (*alternis vicibus*) during the ſpace of twenty daies, from the 30 of *January*, beginning firſt with the Propoſitions of Religion; and accordingly we ſhall deliver unto your Lordſhips a Paper to morrow morning upon thoſe Propoſitions.

Accordingly the Treaty did proceed upon thoſe Subjects three daies apiece (alternis vicibus,) *beginning with that of Religion upon Friday the laſt of* January, *and ſo continuing Saturday the firſt, and Monday the third of* February; *which*

which was after resumed, Tuesday the 11, *Wednesday the* 12, *and Thursday the* 13 *of* February, *and again the two last days of the* 20. *And the like course was held touching the* Militia *and* Ireland.

But because the Passages concerning each Subject severally will be more clearly understood being collected and disposed together under their several heads, therefore all those which concern Religion, *the* Militia, *and* Ireland, *are put together. And in like manner the Passages preparatory to the Treaty, concerning the Commissions, the Manner of the Treaty, and a Seditious Sermon made the first day appointed for the Treaty, and such as hapned in the Treaty touching His Majesties Propositions, the demands of farther time to Treat, and other emergent Passages which have no relation to those of* Religion, *the* Militia, *and* Ireland, *are in like manner digested under their several heads, with their particular dates.*

And first those which concern the Commissions.

Friday the last of January *His Majesties Commissioners delivered unto their Commissioners this Paper;*

Ult. January.

WE having perused the Power granted to your Lordships, in the Paper delivered by the Earl of *Northumberland*, and finding the same to relate to Instructions, we desire to see those Instructions, that thereby we may know what Power is granted to you: and we ask this the rather, because by the Powers we have seen, we do not finde that your Lordships, in the absence of any one of your number, have power to Treat. XIV.

All their Commissioners were not then come to *Uxbridge*.

Their Answer.

31. *Jan.*

BY our Instructions we or any Ten of us, whereof some of either House of the Parliament of *England*, and some of the Commissioners of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, to be present, have power to Treat with your Lordships. XV.

Their farther Answer.

Ult. Jan.

WHereas your Lordships have expressed unto us a desire of seeing our Instructions, to know what Power is granted us; and this the rather, because you say you find not by what you have seen, that in the absence of any one of our number we have power to Treat: to this we return in Answer, That since the Paper already delivered in by us, declaring that by our Instructions any Ten of us, whereof some of either House of Parliament of *England*, and some of the Commissioners of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, to be present, had power to Treat with your Lordships, hath not given you satisfaction in the particular of the Quorum, we shall send unto the two Houses of Parliament, to have the Quorum inserted in the Commission, and do expect the return of it so amended within two or three daies, when we shall present it unto your Lordships. But as for your desire in general to see our Instructions, it is that for which we have no Warrant, nor is it, as we conceive, at all necessary, ro proper for us so to doe, for that the Propositions upon which we now Treat have been already presented from the Parliaments of both Kingdoms unto His Majesty, and whatsoever is propounded by us in order unto them, is sufficiently warranted by what both Parliaments have done in the passing and sending of those Propositions, and by the Commissions authorizing us to Treat upon them already shewn unto your Lordships; so as there can be no need to shew any other Power. XVI.

Accordingly on Saturday the first of February *they did deliver their Commission for the* English *Commissioners renewed as followeth.*

Die Sabbati, primo Febr.

XVII. BE it Ordained by the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, that *Algernon* Earl of *Northumberland*, *Philip* Earl of *Pembroke* and *Montgomery*, *William* Earl of *Salisbury*, *Basil* Earl of *Denbigh*, *Thomas* Lord Viscount *Wenman*, *Denzil Hollis*, *William Pierrepont*, Sir *Henry Vane* junior, *Oliver St. John*, *Bulstrode Whitelock*, *John Crew*, and *Edmund Prideaux*, shall have power and authority, and are hereby authorized, to joyn with the Commissioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*, together with *Alexander Henderson* upon the Propositions concerning Religion only, or any Ten of them, whereof some of either House of the Parliament of *England*, and some of the Commissioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*, are to be present, to Treat with the Lord Duke of *Richmond*, the Marquess of *Hartford*, the Earl of *Southampton*, the Earl of *Kingston*, the Lord *Dunsmore*, Lord *Capel*, Lord *Seymour*, Sir *Christopher Hatton*, Sir *John Culpeper*, Sir *Edward Nicholas*, Sir *Edward Hyde*, Sir *Richard Lane*, Sir *Orlando Bridgeman*, Sir *Thomas Gardiner*, Master *John Ashburnham*, and Master *Jeffrey Palmer*, or any Ten of them, upon the Propositions formerly sent to His Majesty (for a safe and well-grounded Peace,) from His Majesties humble and Loyal Subjects assembled in the Parliaments of both Kingdoms, together with Doctor *Steward* upon the Propositions concerning Religion only, and upon His Majesties Propositions, according to such Instructions as have been given to them, or as they from time to time shall receive from both Houses of Parliament.

Jo. Browne Cler. Parliam.

The same last of January *their Commissioners delivered to His Majesties Commissioners this Paper.*

January 31.

XVIII. HAving considered your Commission and Power from His Majesty given in last night by your Lordships, we finde that you are authorized to Treat only upon certain Propositions sent to His Majesty from the Lords and Commons of Parliament assembled at *Westminster*, and upon His Majesties Answers, Messages and Propositions to them, and their Returns to His Majesty: wherein we observe, that the Propositions sent to His Majesty from His Majesties Loyal Subjects assembled in the Parliaments of both His Kingdoms, are mentioned to be sent to His Majesty from the Lords and Commons of Parliament assembled at *Westminster*; and upon His Majesties Answers, Messages and Propositions to them, and their Returns to His Majesty, that a Treaty is to begin: and wherein we also observe, you have no Power thereby to Treat upon the Propositions sent to His Majesty from His humble and Loyal Subjects assembled in the Parliaments of both Kingdoms, and the Answers, Messages, and Propositions sent from His Majesty to the Lords and Commons assembled in the Parliament of *England* at *Westminster*, and the Commissioners of the Parliament of *Scotland* then at *London*, and their Returns to His Majesty. We desire those defects may be cleared and speedily amended.

The King's Commissioners Answer.

31. *January.*

XIX. WE conceive our Power being to Treat upon the Propositions brought by the Earl of *Denbigh* and others, and those Propositions being sent from the Parliaments of both Kingdoms, there need no mention of the Parliaments of both Kingdoms in that place, but that our Power is ample to Treat with your Lordships upon the whole, both by expres words, and by other general words in the Commission, which give power to Treat upon those Propositions or any other; which general

general words are not obſerved by your Lordſhips in your Paper; and our Power is to Treat with the Lords and others authorized for the Eſtates of the Parliament of *Scotland* by name: yet ſince you inſiſt upon it, it ſhall be altered by Tueſday next. And in the mean time (if your Lordſhips pleaſe) we deſire * the Papers promiſed yeſterday, in the Paper delivered by the Earl of *Northumberland*, may be delivered unto us, that there may be as little loſs of time as may be.

* The Papers intended are the Propoſitions concerning Religion, which were not then delivered.

Their Reply,

31. *Jan.*

IN Anſwer to your Lordſhips Paper concerning your Power to Treat, we are content to proceed in the Treaty with your Lordſhips, in expectation that the Defects mentioned by us in our Paper ſhall be ſupplied by Tueſday next. XX.

On Monday the third of February *the Kings Commiſſioners did deliver their Commiſſion renewed, as followeth.*

CHARLES R.

WHereas certain Propoſitions were ſent unto Us from the Lords and Commons aſſembled in the Parliament of *England* at *Weſtminſter*, and from the Commiſsioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*, which were brought unto Us at *Oxford* in *November* laſt by the Earl of *Denbigh* and others, and upon Our Anſwers, &c. [*as followeth* verbatim *in His Majeſties former Commiſsion.*] XXI.

Touching the Manner of the Treaty.

The King's Commiſsioners Paper.

31. *January.*

WE deſire, to the end there may be a greater freedom in debate (which we conceive will much conduce to the happy concluſion of this Treaty) that nothing may be underſtood to be concluded on either ſide but what is delivered in writing, according as your Lordſhips have begun. And we declare, That what ſhall be delivered in writing upon any Propoſition or upon any part of a Propoſition, is not to be binding or prejudicial to either Party, if the Treaty break off upon any other Propoſition, or part of any other Propoſition. XXII.

Their Anſwer,

31. *Jan.*

WE ſhall deliver our Demands and Anſwers in writing, and deſire your Lordſhips to doe the like. XXIII.

The King's Commissioners Reply,

1. *February.*

XXIV. WE desire a full Answer of our Paper, that nothing shall be taken as agreed upon but what is put in writing, and your Concurrence in declaring, that what shall be delivered in writing upon any Proposition or upon any part of a Proposition, shall not be binding or prejudicial to either Party if the Treaty break off.

Their further Answer,

1. *February.*

XXV. ACcording to our former Paper, we shall deliver our Demands and Answers in writing, and we desire your Lordships to doe the like, and nothing shall be taken as agreed upon but what is put in writing. And we shall acquaint the Houses of Parliament, that you have declared, what shall be delivered in writing upon any Proposition or upon any part of a Proposition, is not to be binding or prejudicial to either Party if the Treaty break off.

3. *February.*

XXVI. IN Answer to your Lordships Paper formerly delivered, we do declare, that what shall be delivered in writing upon any Proposition or upon any part of a Proposition, is not to be binding or prejudicial to either Party, if the Treaty break off upon any other Propositions or part of any Proposition.

Touching the Seditious Sermon.

The King's Commissioners Paper.

31. *January.*

XXVII. It was on Thursday being Market-day, and the first day of the Meeting.

WE have certain Information from divers Persons present in *Uxbridge* Church yesterday, that there was then a Sermon preached by one Mr *Love*, in which were many passages very Scandalous to His Majesties Person and derogatory to His Honour, stirring up the People against this Treaty, and incensing them against us, telling them, *That we come with hearts full of Blood, and that there is as great distance between this Treaty and Peace as between Heaven and Hell*, or words to that effect; with divers other Seditious passages both against His Majesty and this Treaty. We know His Majesties hearty desire of a happy and well-grounded Peace, such as may be for God's Honour, and the good of all His Subjects, as well as Himself; and we that are entrusted by His Commission come with clear Intentions to serve Him in it, according to our Consciences and the best of our Judgements. And this being preached in your Quarters, where we are now under safe Conduct, we desire your Lordships to consider how much this may reflect upon our Safety, how much it may prejudice and blast the blessed hopes of this Treaty, and how just offence and distrust it may beget in His Majesty: and therefore we desire Justice against the Man, that he may have exemplary Punishment.

Their

Their Answer,

31. *Jan.*

XXVIII. TO the Paper delivered in by your Lordships this day, concerning the Information received of several Scandalous passages preached in a Sermon in *Uxbridge* Church by one Master *Love*, we do return this Answer, That the said Master *Love* is none of our Retinue, nor came hither by any privity of ours; That we conceive it most reasonable and agreeable to the business we are now upon, that all just occasions of Offence on either part be avoided; and as it hath been our desire, so it shall be our endeavour, to take the best care we can, to prevent all prejudices upon the present Treaty which may blast the blessed hopes thereof, or may beget any just offence and distrust in His Majesty, and shall be as tender of the Safety of your Lordships persons, according to the safe Conduct, as of our own. We shall represent your Lordships Paper concerning this business (if your Lordships so desire) unto the Lords and Commons assembled in the Parliament of *England*, who will proceed therein according to Justice.

The King's Commissioners Reply,

1. *February.*

XXIX. WE insist upon our former desire concerning the Sermon preached by Mr *Love*, and must referre the way of doing Justice to your Lordships; and if your Lordships are not satisfied that such Words as we have charged him with were spoken by him, we are ready to produce the Proof thereof to your Lordships.

Their further Answer,

1. *February.*

XXX. WE will represent both your Lordships Papers concerning Master *Love* unto the Lords and Commons assembled in the Parliament of *England* at *Westminster*, who will proceed therein according to Justice.

In the next place, according to the order before mentioned, do follow the passages and Papers concerning *Religion.*

Their Paper,

31. *Jan.*

XXXI. ACcording to the * Paper delivered by us to your Lordships yesternight, we do now offer these Propositions following, which concern *Religion.*

That the Bill be passed for Abolishing and taking away of all Arch-Bishops, Bishops, &c. according to the Third Proposition.

That the Ordinances concerning the Calling and sitting of the Assembly of Divines be confirmed by Act of Parliament.

That the Directory for Publick Worship, already passed both Houses of the Parliament of *England*, and the Propositions concerning Church-Government, hereunto annexed and passed both Houses, be enacted as a part of Reformation of Religion and Uniformity, according to the Fifth Proposition.

That His Majesty take the Solemn League and Covenant, and that the Covenant be enjoyned to be taken, according to the Second Proposition.

* The Paper intended, is that before of 30. *Jan.* num. 13. The Propositions here intended are those before mentioned on their part, sent by the Earl of *Denbigh* and others to *Oxford*. And the Bill for abolishing *Episcopacy* is in the *Appendix*, n. 3.

To this was annexed the following Paper of the 31. *January.*

That the ordinary way of dividing Christians into distinct Congregations, and most expedient for Edification, is by the respective bounds of their Dwellings.

That the Minister and other Church-Officers in each particular Congregation shall joyn in the Government of the Church, in such manner as shall be established by Parliament.

That many particular Congregations shall be under one Presbyterial Government.

That the Church be governed by Congregational, Classical and Synodical Assemblies, in such manner as shall be established by Parliament.

That Synodical Assemblies shall consist both of Provincial and National Assemblies.

The King's Commissioners Paper,

1. *February.*

XXXII. HAving considered your Lordships Paper, containing the Propositions concerning *Religion*, with the Paper annexed, and finding the same to contain absolute Alterations in the Government both of the Ecclesiastical and Civil State; we desire to know whether your Lordships have power to Treat and debate upon the said Propositions, and upon debate to recede from or consent to any Alterations in the said Propositions, if we shall make it appear to be reasonable so to doe, or whether your Lordships are bound up by your Instructions to insist upon the Propositions without any Alteration.

Their Answer,

1. *Feb.*

XXXIII. OUr Paper given in to your Lordships concerning *Religion*, doth contain no Alterations but such as are usual in a time of Reformation, and by the wisdom of the Parliaments of both Kingdoms are judged necessary at this time for settling Religion and Peace. And as by our Commissions and Papers formerly shewed your Lordships we have made known our Power to Treat upon them; so are we ready by Debate to shew how reasonable they are, and that there will be no reason to expect that we should alter or recede from them. But as for your demand of our shewing what farther Power we have by our Instructions, it is that we have no warrant to doe, as we have already signified to your Lordships by a former Paper.

The King's Commissioners Paper,

Feb. 1.

XXXIV. YOur Lordships first Proposition in the Paper concerning *Religion*, referring to the Third Proposition sent to His Majesty, we find that referres to the Articles of the late Treaty of the date at *Edenburgh*, 29. *Nov.* 1643. and to the joynt Declaration of both Kingdoms: we desire your Lordships we may see those Articles and Declarations, and your Lordships second Proposition in that Paper, referring to the Ordinances concerning the Calling and sitting of the Assembly of Divines; we desire to see those Ordinances.

Their

Their Answer,

1. *Feb.*

XXXV.

ACcording to your Lordships desire in the * third Paper, we now deliver in the Articles of the late Treaty of the date at *Edenburgh* 29. of *November* 1643. and the * joynt Declaration of both Kingdoms; and we shall speedily deliver to your Lordships the Ordinances concerning the Calling and sitting of the Assembly of Divines.

* Meaning the next present Paper.

* This joynt Declaration is already printed. But the Articles being not Printed are in the *Appendix*, n. 4.

The King's Commissioners Paper.

1. *Feb.*

XXXVI.

WE desire to know whether the Propositions which we have received from your Lordships touching *Religion*, be all we are to expect from you upon that Subject.

Their Answer,

1. *Feb.*

XXXVII.

THere are other things touching Religion to be propounded by us unto your Lordships, upon the Propositions formerly sent unto His Majesty from the Parliaments of both Kingdoms, which we shall in due time give in unto your Lordships: But we do first desire your Answer to the Paper touching Religion given in yesterday, that some good progress may be made therein before the three daies assigned to treat upon Religion in the first place do expire.

The King's Commissioners Paper.

1. *Feb.*

XXXVIII.

WE desired to know whether the Propositions we formerly received from your Lordships concerning *Religion*, were all that would be offered concerning that Subject, because we thought it very necessary (since so great Alterations are proposed by you) to have a full view of the whole Alterations that are desired, since in an Argument of the greatest weight and highest importance, we cannot possibly give a present Judgement of any Part till we have a prospect of the Whole: But since your Lordships do not yet think it time to let us have a sight of the rest, but first desire our Answer to the * Paper delivered yesterday, which contains many particulars of which we never heard before, we shall apply our selves to understand the things proposed by you, in such manner as we may return your Lordships a speedy Answer; and to that purpose must desire your Lordships information in some particulars which are comprized in your Lordships Paper. And when your Lordships consider that the * Directory for Worship (being so long) was delivered to us but yesterday, that the Covenant, the Articles of the Treaty of *Edenburgh*, the Declaration of both Kingdoms (which are comprehended within the First Proposition) were delivered to us but this day, and therefore we could return no Answer concerning the Bill for abolishing Arch-bishops and Bishops, (which is proposed to be passed) according to the Third Proposition, in which the said Articles and Declarations are comprehended, and that the Ordinances for the Sitting of the

* See before num. 31.

* The Directory which was delivered in is of great length, & the Covenant delivered with it, both now Printed & obvious, are therefore forborn to be inserted here or in the *Appendix*.

the Assembly are not yet delivered unto us; we are confident your Lordships will not think us negligent in making as good a progress in the Treaty upon Religion as is in our power, which we shall endeavour to advance with all diligence and the best of our understanding.

* See them in the *Appendix*, num. 5, & 6.

Afterwards, the same first of February, *the* * *Ordinances for the Assembly of Divines were delivered in.*

After some debate touching the nature of the Church-Government intended by the Paper annexed to the first Paper upon the Subject of Religion, which are here before set down, the Kings Commissioners delivered in this following Paper.

1. *Feb.*

XXXIX. THe Information we desire from your Lordships for the present is, Whether by the words in the first of those Propositions in your Lordships Paper annexed [*the respective bounds of their Dwellings*] you intend the several bounds of their dwelling-Houses, or the bounds of Parishes; or whether you intend an alteration of the bounds of Parishes.

In the second Proposition, What other Church-Officers your Lordships intend shall joyn with the Ministers in the Government of the Church, and what Jurisdiction they shall exercise in order to that Government, and from whom they shall derive it, and in what degree be subordinate to the power from whom they derive it; and what you intend by *Presbyteriall Government*, in your third Proposition.

In the fourth Proposition, What your Lordships intend by *Congregationall, Classicall and Synodicall Assemblies.*

How Synodicall Assemblies, Provinciall and Nationall shall be constituted as to Persons and Causes, and what shall be the bounds and limits of their Jurisdiction; and from whom the several Jurisdictions above mentioned shall be derived.

To these particulars we would be glad (if your Lordships think it fit) to receive satisfaction by Debate, where Questions may be asked and Replies made before any Answer be returned in writing, which may ask much time, and be less satisfactory: but we referre the way to your Lordships.

Their Answer.

1. *Feb.*

XL. WE cannot but be sensible of the great loss of time occasioned by your Lordships Questions for Information in your last Paper, and shall have small hopes of good success in this Treaty, having these two daies made so little progress, unless you Lordships be pleased to give us full Answers to our Demands concerning Religion: Yet to give all satisfaction with as little expence of time as may be, we are ready by present Conference to clear the Questions in your Paper.

The

The King's Commissioners Reply in two several Papers next following.

2. *Feb.*

WE conceive there was no cause your Lordships should apprehend any loss of time occasioned by our Questions, for that your Propositions concerning *Religion* were not delivered to us till Friday last, and the Directory then delivered with them so long, that the reading of it spent the residue of that day, and divers other Papers to which the Propositions referred, and without which we could not consider them, were not delivered us before yesterday, and some of them not till after the Paper which imputes a delay to us; and your Lordships having propounded onely general heads of a *Presbyteriall* Government, without any particular Modell of it, which in several Reformed Churches (as we are informed) is various both in Names and Powers, it was necessary to understand the particular expressions in your Paper, the Alteration desired being so great, and being proposed to be enacted, which will require His Majesties Consent, whom we ought to satisfie, having so great a Trust reposed in us. And we desire your Lordships to consider how impossible it hath been for us to give your Lordships, in less then two daies, a full Answer (which in your last Paper you require) to what you propose, which is in effect to consent to the utter abolishing of that Government, Discipline and publick Form of the Worship of God, which hath been practised and established by Law here ever since the Reformation; and which we well understand, and the Alteration of which in the manner proposed, takes away many things in the Civil Government, and provides no remedy for the Inconveniences which may happen thereby: And to consent to the Alienation of the Lands of the Church, by which (for ought appears) besides infinite other Considerations, so many Persons may be put to beg their bread, to oblige His Majesty and all His Subjects to the taking a new Oath or Covenant, and to receive and consent to a new Government, we do not, nor without information cannot, understand; and which (in truth) appears to us, by your Lordships Propositions, not to be yet agreed upon in the particulars, and your Lordships having declared to us, that you have other things to propose to us concerning Religion, which you do not yet think it fit time to acquaint us withall. Notwithstanding all which Difficulties, we shall proceed with all possible expedition, and desire your Lordships will not object Delayes to us, till we give you just occasion. XLI.

February 2.

THat we may make a right use of the Information your Lordships were pleased yesterday to afford us in debate upon the Questions proposed by us concerning the Propositions in your Lordships Paper annexed, for the future Government of the Church, and so have some understanding of that Government intended by your Lordships in place of XLII.

of that you propoſe to be aboliſhed, we deſire to receive your Lordſhips Anſwer in writing, whether theſe ſhort Collections upon the Debate yeſterday be the Summe of your Lordſhips Reſolutions, or Informations upon the Queſtions formerly propoſed by us.

We conceive that the Information given to us in debate by your Lordſhips to the Queſtions we propoſed to you in writing was,

1. That the Congregational Aſſemblies conſiſt of the Miniſters and Ruling Elders.

2. That the Claſsical Aſſemblies conſiſt of many Congregational Aſſemblies.

3. That the Provincial Aſſemblies are conſtituted of the ſeveral Claſſical Aſſemblies.

4. That all theſe Congregational, Claſsical and Provincial Aſſemblies together, conſtitute a National Aſſembly.

5. That the Authority and Juriſdiction of the ſeveral Aſſemblies ſhall be ſettled by Parliament.

And if your Lordſhips have any thing elſe to inform us concerning this Government, we deſire to receive the ſame from your Lordſhips.

The King's Commiſsioners Paper,

3. *February.*

XLIII. WE are ready by preſent Conference to enter upon conſideration of your Lordſhips Firſt Propoſition, concerning *Religion*, and ſhall deſire to receive or give ſatisfaction, whereby we may be of one minde in that Argument. And for the better entering into this Debate, we deſire to know whether in reſpect of Alteration mentioned in the Third Propoſition to be made in the Bill for aboliſhing *Epiſcopacy*, you would have this individual Bill paſs or not.

Their Anſwer,

3. *Feb.*

XLIV. WE deſire the Bill for the utter aboliſhing of *Epiſcopacy*, which now remains with His Majeſty, may be paſſed without prejudice to us to inſiſt upon the * Alterations mentioned in the Third Propoſition; and we are ready to give your Lordſhips a preſent Conference upon the Firſt Propoſition, concerning *Religion*, according to your deſire.

* The Alterations intended here and in the third Propoſition, are according to the Articles of the Treaty at *Edenburgh*, (which ſee in the *Appendix*, n. 4.) and the joynt Declaration of both Kingdoms, which are; *That whereas by the Bill the Biſhops Lands are mentioned to be given to the King, and other Church-Lands for other uſes, by thoſe Articles and Declarations they may be taken away, and imployed to payment and recompence of the Scots, and for paying the publick Debts, and repairing of particular Loſſes.*

After a Conference, wherein much time was ſpent in debate concerning that individuall Bill which was preſented for aboliſhing Epiſcopacy, *their Commiſsioners delivered this Paper.*

3. *Feb.*

XLV. WE deſire your Lordſhips Anſwer to our Demands upon the Propoſitions for *Religion*, and in the firſt place to the Bill for aboliſhing of *Epiſcopacy*, which hath been ſo much debated, that upon the expiring of the firſt three dayes appointed to

to Treat concerning *Religion*, we may be able to return such an account to the Parliaments of both Kingdoms as may give them hopes of a happy progress in this Treaty.

The King's Commissioners Answer.

3. *Feb.*

XLVI. WE conceive we have offered so weighty Doubts and Considerations to your Lordships in this dayes Debate concerning several parts in the Bill for abolishing of *Episcopacy*, (your Lordships having confined and limited our Debate to that individual Bill as it is now penn'd, not to the consideration of abolishing *Episcopacy* in general) that your Lordships cannot expect a positive Answer from us now (being after eleven a clock at night) touching that Bill: but we shall be ready by the next day assigned for the Treaty upon this Argument, to deliver our Opinions to your Lordships; the which we shall be then the better able to doe, when we have found by the progress in our other Debates how farre a blessed and a happy Peace is like to be advanced by our endeavouring to give your Lordships satisfaction in this particular.

This being the last of the three first dayes assigned for the Treaty upon Religion, *that Subject was again taken up the* 11. *of* Feb. *being the first of the second three dayes appointed for* Religion:

And their Commissioners delivered this Paper.

11. *Feb.*

XLVII. HAving received no satisfaction in the first three dayes appointed to Treat upon the Propositions for *Religion*, we do now desire your Lordships clear and full Answer to our former Demand on this Subject, that no farther time may be lost in a matter which doth so much concern the Glory of God, the Honour of the King, and the Peace and Happiness of His Kingdoms.

The King's Commissioners Answer.

11. *Feb.*

XLVIII. WE gave your Lordships as much satisfaction in the first three dayes appointed to Treat upon the Propositions for *Religion* as in so short a time, and upon so little information from your Lordships, could reasonably be expected in a matter of so great and high importance: and as we have given your Lordships already * many Reasons concerning the Injustice and Inconveniency which would follow upon passing the Bill for abolishing *Episcopacy*, according to your first Proposition; so we are now ready by Conference to satisfie your Lordships, why we conceive that the said Bill is not for the Glory of God, or the Honour of the King, and consequently cannot be for the Peace and Happiness of His Kingdoms: and if your Lordships Reasons shall convince us in those particulars, we shall willingly consent to what you desire; if otherwise, we shall offer to your Lordships our Consent to such other Alterations as we conceive may better contribute to the Reformation intended, and such as may stand with the Glory of God, and, in truth,

* That was by Conference.

be for the Honour of the King, and the Peace and Happineſs of His Kingdoms.

Their Reply.

11. *Feb.*

XLIX. WE have received no ſatisfaction from your Lordſhips concerning the Propoſitions delivered in by us for *Religion* in the name of the Parliaments of both Kingdomes, nor have you made appear unto us any Injuſtice or Inconveniency in the paſſing of the Bill for aboliſhing of *Epiſcopacy*. And as it cannot be denied but the ſettling of *Religion* is a matter which doth highly concern the Glory of God, the Honour of the King, and the Peace and Happineſs of his Kingdomes; ſo do we deſire your Lordſhips will grant thoſe Demands which have been made unto you by us to that end; and we are ready by preſent Conference to receive what your Lordſhips will offer upon any of thoſe Propoſitions, and to return that which may give your Lordſhips juſt ſatisfaction.

The King's Commiſſioners Anſwer.

11. *February.*

L. YOur Lordſhips having expreſſed in your Paper of the firſt of *February*, that there are other things touching *Religion* to be propounded by your Lordſhips to us, we preſume that by this time you may be enabled by your Inſtructions to propoſe the ſame; and therefore we deſire to receive them from your Lordſhips: which we hope your Lordſhips will think very reaſonable, when you conſider how incongruous a thing it will appear to moſt men, to conſent to real and ſubſtantial Alterations in the matter of *Religion*, without having a view of the whole Alterations intended, when at the ſame time there is mention of other Alterations.

Their Anſwer thereunto.

11. *February.*

LI. WE ſhall deliver in very ſpeedily that which remaines with us touching *Religion* to be propounded unto your Lordſhips: But we do deſire (as before) your Lordſhips Anſwers unto our Demands in the ſame order that we have propoſed them, not conceiving it reaſonable there ſhould be any time ſpent in Debates or Anſwers upon what we ſhall hereafter offer, till we have received ſatisfaction in our former Propoſitions; which we deſire may be ſpeedily done, leſt otherwiſe the Treaty be retarded, and the Expectation of both Kingdomes altogether fruſtrated.

Notwithſtanding this, they delivered in this further Anſwer.

11. *February.*

LII. IN Anſwer to your Lordſhips Paper this day delivered to us, we deſire that His Ma-
See num. 59. jeſty do give His Royal Aſſent to an Act of Parliament for the due Obſervation of the Lords Day, and to the Bill for ſuppreſſing of Innovations in Churches and Chappels in and about the Worſhip of God, &c. and for the better advancement of the Preaching of God's Holy Word in all parts of this Kingdom, and to the Bill againſt enjoying of Pluralities of Benefices by Spiritual perſons, and non-Reſidency. And we ſhall in due time give in to your Lordſhips our Demands concerning Papiſts, contained in the ſixth, ſeventh, eighth, ninth and tenth Propoſitions; and for His Majeſties Aſſenting to an Act to be framed and agreed upon in both Houſes of Parliament, for the regulating and reforming of both Univerſities, of the Colleges

leges of *Weſtminſter*, *Wincheſter* and *Eaton*, and for the Education and Marriage of His Majeſties Children, and the Children of His Heirs and Succeſſors, in the true Proteſtant Religion, as is in the 21. Propoſition.

Some part of the 11, *and the moſt part of the* 12. *of* February, *was ſpent in Argument by Divines touching* Epiſcopacy *and the* Presbyterial *Government. Afterwards their Commiſſioners gave in this Paper.*

12. *February.*

THere having now been ſeveral dayes ſpent in debate upon the Propoſitions for *Religion*, and all Objections alleged to the contrary either from Conſcience, Law or Reaſon, being fully anſwered, and the time allotted for that ſo important a part of the Treaty almoſt elapſed, we ſhould be wanting to the Truſt repoſed in us, if we ſhould not preſs and expect (as we now do) a clear and poſitive Anſwer to thoſe Demands concerning Religion which we have offered unto your Lordſhips from the Parliaments of both Kingdoms, as moſt neceſſary for the ſettling of a ſafe and well-grounded Peace in all His Majeſties Dominions. LIII.

The King's Commiſſioners Anſwer.

12. *Feb.*

WE deny that the Objections alleged by us againſt the paſsing the Bill for aboliſhing *Epiſcopacy* from Conſcience, Law or Reaſon, have been fully anſwered by your Lordſhips; or that indeed we have received any ſatisfaction from your Lordſhips in theſe particulars. We have received no Information from your Lordſhips to ſatisfie us that *Epiſcopacy* is, or hath been, an impediment to a perfect Reformation, to the * growth of Religion, or that it is prejudicial to the Civil State; which we have often deſired from your Lordſhips, without effect, and which are the Grounds upon which your Lordſhips propoſe the aboliſhing *Epiſcopacy*: and we ſhall be very willing, and are deſirous to receive your Lordſhips Reaſons in theſe particulars. And how ſhort ſoever the time allotted is for the Treaty (for which we cannot be anſwerable, being not bound up in point of time by His Majeſty as your Lordſhips ſay you are by your Inſtructions; and we ſhould be glad that the ſame might be enlarged proportionably to the importance of the things to be Treated on) we ſhould be wanting to the great Truſt repoſed in us, if we ſhould conſent to thoſe Demands as they are propoſed to us by your Lordſhips, otherwiſe then as they are agreeable to our Conſciences and Underſtandings. And ſuch an Anſwer your Lordſhips ſhall receive from us to your Demands concerning *Religion*, upon which we hope a ſafe and well-grounded Peace, by the bleſsing of God, may be eſtabliſhed. LIV.

* Theſe words are in the preamble of the Bill preſented by the for aboliſhing *Epiſcopacy*.

Their Paper.

13. *Feb.*

WE did aſſure our ſelves, that after ſo many dayes debate concerning *Religion*, and our removal of whatever Objections have been offered by your Lordſhips, and our making it appear how great a hinderance Epiſcopal Government is and hath been to a perfect Reformation, to the growth of Religion, and prejudicial to the LV.

Civil State; that your Lordſhips would have been ready to have anſwered our expectation with the Grant of our Demands: But if ſtill your Lordſhips remain unſatisfied, we conceive it cannot with any Juſtice be imputed unto us, and therefore we again deſire your Lordſhips full and clear Anſwer to what we have delivered unto you concerning *Religion*.

Upon this laſt Paper, and after the ſeveral Debates between the Commiſſioners, and Arguments by the Divines, and conſideration had of all that had been delivered concerning Religion, *His Majeſties Commiſſioners gave in theſe Four Papers following.*

13. *Feb.*

LVI. WE are not yet ſatisfied that the Bill inſiſted on by your Lordſhips, which remains in His Majeſties hands, for the utter aboliſhing of *Arch-biſhops, Biſhops, Deans* and *Chapters*, &c. ought to be enacted, believing it not to be agreeable to Conſcience and Juſtice, to alienate the Lands therein mentioned to Lay-uſes; and not underſtanding that the Alienation thereof is neceſſary at all to the Reformation of *Religion*: beſides that there is no certain proviſion made for any of thoſe who are now legally veſted in thoſe poſſeſsions, whereby they and their Families ſhall be in evident danger of want of bread: and it appearing by your Lordſhips Propoſitions, which relate to the Articles of the late Treaty of the date at *Edenburgh* 29. of *Novemb.* 1643. and the joynt Declaration of both Kingdoms, to which you require our Aſſent as well as to the Bill, that part of the Church-land may be, after the paſsing this Bill, aſsign'd to other uſes then is expreſt in the ſaid Bill. Upon theſe conſiderations, and upon your Debate which hath paſſed between us upon this Bill, whereby it hath appeared that there would be ſo great an Alteration in the Civil State by this Bill being enacted, in the failer of Juſtice at the Common Law, and otherwiſe in many ſeveral particulars of great importance to the Subjects of this Kingdome, which, for ought appears to us, is not yet provided for, and that by a particular * Clauſe in the Bill His Majeſties ancient and undoubted power of the *Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction* is wholly taken away; beſides, it may be very conſiderable what inconveniences would enſue by the paſsing this Bill now, which looks back and is to begin from *November* was twelve-moneth, whereby all thoſe Acts of Juriſdiction exerciſed by Biſhops ſince that time are already void, which would produce great inconveniences and miſchiefs touching the probates of Wills and Adminiſtrations throughout the Kingdom; not to ſpeak of the doubts which may ariſe in many conſciencious men who have been ordained by Biſhops ſince that time, which may ſeem to be likewiſe declared void by this Bill, and ſo at leaſt to diſcountenance all Acts which have inſued by virtue of that Ordination, and thereby many Queſtions may ariſe in Law concerning Marriages, Legitimations and Deſcents of Inheritance; and for many other reaſons expreſt in our Conference and Debate, we conceive that your Lordſhips may be ſatisfied, that this individual Bill ought not to paſs.

For

See before in the margin to the Paper, num 44.

* See that Clauſe in the Bill in the *Appendix*, n. 3. at this mark †

For the matter then of the ſaid Bill, the Extirpation of Epiſcopacy, we deſire your Lordſhips to conſider, That it is evident, and we conceive conſented to on all parts, that it hath continued even from the Apoſtles times by continual Succeſsion in the Church of Chriſt, till within theſe few years, without intermiſsion or interruption; and then how perilous a thing it muſt be, and prejudicial to the publick Peace, to remove and deſtroy a Form of Government ſo long exerciſed in this Kingdom, and under which we have enjoyed as great a meaſure of Happineſs (to ſay no more) as any Nation in Chriſtendom, and which your Lordſhips have not pretended to be unlawfull, before we particularly ſee the Model of that Government and Juriſdiction which is to be eſtabliſhed in the place thereof, that thereby we may be aſſured that it be ſuch, to which as well thoſe who like as all thoſe who diſlike the preſent Government will ſubmit; otherwiſe Peace, which is the main end and pretence for Alterations, cannot be eſtabliſhed: and therefore we very earneſtly beſeech your Lordſhips to conſider and weigh, whether, without ſhaking Foundations, it be not much better, and more agreeable to Chriſtian Prudence and Charity, to remove thoſe particulars from the preſent Government, and make ſuch Alterations therein as may moſt probably give ſatisfaction to all perſons ſeriouſly diſturbed or afflicted in their Conſciences, then by deſtroying the whole, to give juſt Offence and Scandal to very many Pious and Religious Perſons.

Under theſe Conſiderations, and for the uniting and reconciling all Differences between us in the matter of *Religion*, and procuring a bleſſed Peace, we are willing,

That Freedom be left to all Perſons, of what Opinions ſoever, in matters of Ceremony, and that all the Penalties of the Laws and Cuſtoms which injoyn thoſe Ceremonies be ſuſpended.

That the Biſhop ſhall exerciſe no Act of Juriſdiction or Ordination without the conſent and counſel of the Presbyters, who ſhall be choſen by the Clergy of each Dioceſe out of the learnedeſt and graveſt Miniſters of that Dioceſe.

That the Biſhop keep his conſtant reſidence in his Dioceſe, except when he ſhall be required by His Majeſty to attend Him on any occaſion, and that (if he be not hindred by the infirmities of old Age or Sickneſs) he Preach every Sunday in ſome Church within his Dioceſe.

That the Ordination of Miniſters ſhall be always in a publick and ſolemn manner, and very ſtrict Rules obſerved concerning the Sufficiency and other Qualifications of thoſe men who ſhall be received into Holy Orders; and the Biſhop ſhall not receive any into Holy Orders without the approbation and conſent of the Presbyters, or the major part of them.

That competent maintenance and proviſion be eſtabliſhed by Act of Parliament to ſuch Vicarages as belong to Biſhops, Deans and Chapters, out of the Impropriations, and according to the value of thoſe Impropriations, of the ſeveral Pariſhes.

That for the time to come, no man ſhall be capable of two Parſonages or Vicarages with Cure of Souls.

That towards the ſettling of the publick Peace, one hundred thouſand pounds ſhall be raiſed by Act of Parliament out of the Eſtates of Biſhops, Deans and Chapters, in ſuch manner as ſhall be thought fit by the King and two Houſes of Parliament, without the Alienation of any of the ſaid Lands.

That the Juriſdiction in Cauſes Teſtamentary, Decimal, Matrimonial, be ſettled in ſuch manner as ſhall ſeem moſt convenient by the King and two Houſes of Parliament.

And likewiſe that one or more Acts of Parliament be paſſed for regulating of Viſitations, and againſt immoderate Fees in Eccleſiaſtical Courts, and the abuſes by frivolous Excommunications, and all other abuſes in the exerciſe of Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, in ſuch manner as ſhall be agreed upon by His Majeſty and both Houſes of Parliament.

And if your Lordſhips ſhall inſiſt upon any other thing which your Lordſhips ſhall think neceſſary for Reformation, we ſhall very willingly apply our ſelves to the conſideration thereof.

13. *February.*

LVII. FOr the confirmation of the Ordinances concerning the Calling and Sitting of the Aſſembly of Divines and the taking the Covenant, we conceive neither of them need be inſiſted on, if the alterations of Church-Government be agreed upon between us: and if they be not, it will not be reaſonable that we conſent to thoſe Ordinances. And for the Covenant, we cannot adviſe His Majeſty to ſwear and ſigne the ſame, nor conſent that an Act of Parliament ſhould paſs for enjoyning the taking thereof by His Majeſties Subjects.

13. *February.*

LVIII. WE do not yet conceive that the Directory for publick Worſhip, delivered to us by your Lordſhips, ought to be enacted, or that it is ſo likely to procure and preſerve the Peace of this Kingdom, as the Liturgy or Common-Prayer-Book already eſtabliſhed by Law, againſt which we have not yet received from your Lordſhips any Objections; which Liturgy (as the ſame was compiled by many Learned and Reverend Divines, of whom ſome dyed Martyrs for the Proteſtant Religion) we conceive to be an Excellent Form for the Worſhip of God, and hath been generally ſo held throughout this Kingdom till within theſe two or three years at the moſt. And therefore ſince there are no Inconveniences pretended to ariſe from the Book of Common-Prayer to which we conceive the Directory is not more liable, and ſince there is nothing commendable in the Directory which is not already in the Book of Common-Prayer, we conceive it much better and more conducing to the Peace of this Kingdom, ſtill to obſerve the ſaid Form, with ſuch Diſpenſations as we have expreſſed in

our

our firſt Paper now preſented to your Lordſhips: and if there ſhall be any Alterations propoſed by your Lordſhips of ſuch particulars in the Book of Common-Prayer as good men are ſcrupled at, we ſhall willingly endeavour to give your Lordſhips ſatisfaction in thoſe particulars; but as yet can make no further or other Anſwer then we have already done; but ſhall be ready to receive ſuch Objections as your Lordſhips ſhall think fit to make againſt the Book of Common-Prayer, and your Reaſons for introducing the Directory. And for the Propoſition concerning Church-Government, annexed to your firſt Paper, we have no Information how that Government ſhall be conſtituted in particular, or what Juriſdiction ſhall be eſtabliſhed, or by whom it ſhall be granted, or upon whom it ſhall depend. And therein alſo we deſire further Information from your Lordſhips.

13. *February.*

WE deſire to ſee the Bills for the Obſervation of the Lord's day, for ſuppreſsing of Innovation in Churches and Chappells, and for the better advancement of the Preaching of God's Holy Word, which are mentioned in your Lordſhips * Paper of the 11 of *Febr.* we being very ready to conſent to the ſubject Matter of thoſe Bills. We have expreſſed in our Paper delivered to your Lordſhips what we conceive fit to be done in the buſineſs of Pluralities, which will prevent any inconveniences that way: And when your Lordſhips ſhall give us your Demands concerning Papiſts, and when we ſhall ſee the Acts for the regulating and reforming of both Univerſities, of the Colleges of *Weſtminſter*, *Wincheſter* and *Eaton*, and for the Education and Marriage of His Majeſties Children, and the Children of His Heirs and Succeſſors, in the true Proteſtant Religion, we ſhall give your Lordſhips ſuch Anſwers as ſhall be fit, being very willing to concurre with your Lordſhips in any good means for the ſuppreſſing of Popery, and advancement of the Proteſtant Religion. And we are well aſſured that His Majeſty hath taken a pious care for the Education of all His Children in the true Proteſtant Religion; and having already married one of His Children to the ſatisfaction (we conceive) of all His good Subjects, we are confident, in due time, His Majeſty will ſo diſpoſe of the reſt in Marriage as ſhall be moſt for the advancement of Religion, and the good and welfare of all His Dominions. LIX.

* num. 52.

Their Anſwer to the Firſt.

13. *February.*

WHereas we exſpected your Lordſhips reſolution for His Majeſties aſſent unto the Bill for the utter Aboliſhing of *Arch-biſhops*, *Biſhops*, &c. we find by your Paper given in this Evening, that your Lordſhips are not yet ſatisfied that the Bill ſhould paſs, and you are pleaſed to expreſs ſeveral Reaſons and Objections againſt it, which were at large anſwered and cleared at the publick Debate. But what was then ſaid by us is now by your Lordſhips wholly omitted; nor may we in writing repreſent it again unto your Lordſhips, it not being agreeable to the uſage LX.

of Parliament to deliver Reaſons for or againſt a Bill, though we were willing by Conference in the Treaty to ſatisfy all doubts, and remove all ſcruples which remained with you. And ſo farre were we from conſenting that Epiſcopacy hath continued from the Apoſtles times by continual Succeſſion, that the contrary was made evident unto your Lordſhips, and the Unlawfulneſs of it fully proved. And as for that which your Lordſhips have propounded for uniting and reconciling all differences in the matter of Religion, it is a new Propoſition, which wholly differs from ours, is no way ſatisfactory to our deſires, nor conſiſting with that Reformation to which both Kingdoms are obliged by their ſolemn Covenant; therefore we can give no other Anſwer to it, but muſt inſiſt, to deſire your Lordſhips that the Bill may be paſt, and our other Demands concerning *Religion* granted.

The King's Commiſſioners Reply thereunto.

13. *February.*

LXI. WE conceive that our Anſwer to your Lordſhips concerning the Bill for the utter aboliſhing of Arch-biſhops, Biſhops, &c. was ſo reaſonable, that it clearly appears thereby, that the paſſing that individual Bill is not agreeable to Conſcience and Juſtice, and that it would be very prejudicial to the Civil State and to the Peace of the Kingdom; neither have the Reaſons and Objections given by us againſt it, firſt in Debate, and ſince in Writing, been anſwered in Debate by your Lordſhips. And therefore we know no reaſon why your Lordſhips may not give an Anſwer to thoſe Objections in writing. For as it is not agreeable to the uſage of Parliaments, for the two Houſes to give His Majeſty Reaſons why He ſhould paſs any Bill preſented by them; ſo it is no more agreeable to the ſame uſage, for His Majeſty to give Reaſons why He doth not paſs Bills ſo preſented. But we deſire your Lordſhips to conſider that we are now in a Treaty, and we conceive the proper buſineſs thereof to be, for your Lordſhips to give us Reaſons why His Majeſty ſhould conſent to the Propoſitions made by you, or for us to give Reaſons to your Lordſhips why we cannot conſent to thoſe Propoſitions; otherwiſe it would be onely a Demand on your Lordſhips part, and no Argument of Treaty between us. And we muſt profeſs to your Lordſhips, that as we conceived in our former Paper the Succeſsion of Epiſcopacy, by Succeſsion from the Apoſtles time, was conſented to on all parts; ſo we cannot remember that the contrary thereof was ſo much as alleged, much leſs that the Unlawfulneſs thereof was proved, the Queſtion of the Lawfulneſs thereof having never yet come in debate. And we ſhall be very ready to receive any aſſertion from your Lordſhips to that purpoſe, not doubting but we ſhall give your Lordſhips full ſatisfaction in that point. And we conceive the Alterations propoſed by us to your Lordſhips to be a very proper Anſwer to your Lordſhips Propoſitions, and moſt agreeable to the end for which thoſe Propoſitions ſeem to be made. And that ſince it appears, that the utter aboliſhing of Epiſcopacy in the manner propoſed is viſibly inconvenient, and may be miſchievous, the Regulating of Epiſcopacy, being moſt conſonant to the Primitive Inſtitution, will produce all theſe good effects towards Peace and Unity, which

which Regulated Epiſcopacy is the ſumme of our former Paper; we deſire your Lordſhips to conſent to the ſame. And we again offer to your Lordſhips, that if you ſhall inſiſt upon any other things neceſſary for Reformation, we will apply our ſelves to the conſideration thereof.

Their Anſwer to the Second.

13. *Feb.*

WE conceive your Lordſhips ſecond Paper, this day delivered to us, is a Denial of our Demands, that the Ordinance for the Calling and Sitting of the Aſſembly of Divines be confirmed by Act of Parliament, and that His Majeſty take the ſolemn League and Covenant, and the Covenant be injoyned to be taken, according to the Second Propoſition. Wherein if we miſconceive your Lordſhips intention, we deſire you would explain the meanings, and accordingly ſhall make our reports to the Parliaments of both Kingdoms. LXII.

The King's Commiſſioners Reply.

13. *February.*

COncerning the Ordinances for the Calling and Sitting of the Aſſembly of Divines, and the taking the Covenant, we can give no farther Anſwer then we have done in our ſecond Paper delivered to your Lordſhips this day. LXIII.

Their Anſwer to the Third.

13. *Febr.*

WE do conceive your Lordſhips third Paper is a Denial of our Demands, concerning the *Directory* for publick Worſhip & the Propoſition for Church-Government, againſt which your Lordſhips have made no Objection, and your *Queres* are already ſatisfied by Conference. And we ſhall accordingly make our reports to the Parliaments of both Kingdoms. LXIV.

The King's Commiſſioners Reply.

13. *Feb.*

OUr expreſsions in our Anſwer to your Lordſhips Demands concerning the Directory for publick Worſhip, import onely what we as yet conceive concerning that matter, there having hitherto been no debate touching the ſame, or concerning the Common-Prayer-Book now eſtabliſhed by Law, and thereby intended to be aboliſhed. And therefore we did in that Paper, and do ſtill deſire to receive your Lordſhips * Objections againſt the Book of Common-Prayer, and your Reaſons for introducing the Directory. Neither can our Anſwer to the Propoſitions for Church-Government, annexed to your firſt Paper, be otherwiſe taken, then as our deſire to receive information how that Government ſhould be conſtituted in particular, & what Juriſdiction ſhould be eſtabliſhed, by whom granted, and upon whom it ſhould depend; which *Queres* were not ſatisfied by any Conference, your Lordſhips (as we conceive) having declared your ſelves, that the particular form or model of that Government, mentioned in thoſe Propoſitions onely in general, LXV.

* None were made.

were

were not then particularly agreed on; and we have ſince deſired and expect to receive it: and therefore your Lordſhips cannot conceive we have denied that which we have not yet ſeen, nor been informed of.

Their Anſwer to the Fourth.

13. *Febr.*

LXVI. TO your Lordſhips Fourth Paper we Anſwer; The Bill for ſuppreſſing of Innovations in Churches and Chappels in and about the Worſhip of God, &c. and for the better advancement of the Preaching of God's holy Word in all parts of this Kingdom, and againſt the enjoying of Pluralities of Benefices by Spiritual perſons, and Non-reſidencie, were heretofore preſented to His Majeſty, and remain with him; and we herewith deliver to your Lordſhips the Ordinance for the due obſervation of the Lord's day, and we inſiſt on our former Demands concerning them. And when your Lordſhips have given us your full Anſwers to our deſires already with you concerning Religion, we then ſhall deliver unto your Lordſhips our Demands concerning Papiſts, the regulating the Univerſities, the Education and Marriage of His Majeſties Children in the true Proteſtant Religion, contained in our Paper of the 11. of this inſtant *February*.

The King's Commiſsioners Reply.

13. *Feb.*

LXVII. WE have not the Bills here which we deſired of your Lordſhips, in our Fourth Paper, to ſee, and which you now ſay were heretofore preſented to His Majeſty. But we ſhall take ſpeedy care to have thoſe Bills, if they remain with His Majeſty; and in the mean time deſire your Lordſhips to give us Copies of them, and we ſhall give your Lordſhips a ſpeedy Anſwer; as we ſhall to the Ordinance for the due obſervation of the Lord's Day, which we received from your Lordſhips this night, and had never before ſeen: and we ſhall be ready to receive your Lordſhips * Demands concerning Papiſts, the regulating the Univerſities, the Education and Marriage of His Majeſties Children, and ſhall return our Anſwers accordingly.

* None at all were delivered in.

This laſt Paper concluded the ſix daies appointed for the Treaty upon Religion, *according to the Order preſcribed for diſpoſing the firſt* 18. *dayes of the* 20. *for the Treaty. In the end of which* 18. *dayes, after ſome* * *Papers mutually delivered concerning the manner how the two laſt dayes ſhould be diſpoſed, this Subject of* Religion, *with the two others, were again reſumed, and their Papers following were then delivered in concerning* Religion.

* See theſe Papers after n. 170, 192, and 193.

Their Paper.

21. *Febr.*

LXVIII. WHereas your Lordſhips in your * laſt Paper of *Feb.* 13. were pleaſed to ſay, that (as you conceived) the continual ſucceſſion of Epiſcopacy from the Apoſtles times was conſented to on all parts, and that you cannot remember that the contrary thereof was ſo much as alleged, much leſs that the Unlawfulneſs thereof was proved, the Queſtion of the Unlawfulneſs thereof having never yet come into debate; we deſire your Lordſhips to remember, that when a Divine in Commiſſion with you undertook to prove the *Jus Divinum* of Epiſcopacy, his Arguments were not only anſwered by another Divine in Commiſſion with us, but that 4 or 5 ſeveral

* The Paper intended, is the King's Commiſsioners Reply to their firſt Anſwer, 13. *Feb.* n 61.

ſeveral Arguments were then brought by him out of the Scriptures to prove the Unlawfulneſs of it; and afterwards in an extrajudicial Debate between ſeveral Divines on both ſides, by conſent of the Commiſſioners, thoſe Arguments were further made good by the Divines on our ſide, and the pretended continual ſucceſſion of Epiſcopal Government from the Apoſtles times was (as we conceive) at the ſame time ſufficiently diſproved: ſo that we cannot but wonder that your Lordſhips ſhould forget that the Unlawfulneſs of it was debated. And whereas in your Lordſhips * laſt Paper of *Feb.* 20. you were pleaſed to ſay, that if it might be made appear that the Government by Biſhops is unlawful, or that the Government which we deſire to introduce in the room thereof is the only Government that is agreeable to the Word of God, your Lordſhips would immediately give us full ſatisfaction in our Propoſition; we deſire your Lordſhips to remember beſides what hath been proved in debate concerning the unlawfulneſs of Epiſcopal Government, and notwithſtanding the general experience that the government by Arch-biſhops, Biſhops, &c. hath been a hindrance to Reformation and growth of Religion, and prejudicial to the Civil State, and the manifeſt evidence of the thing it ſelf, that ſo much of the Government deſired by us as hath been preſented to your Lordſhips is agreeable to the Word of God, how we have ſeveral times offered ourſelves to give your Lordſhips ſatisfaction by Conference, if any Objections remained with your Lordſhips to the contrary, which we are ſtill ready to doe, and deſire your Lordſhips full Anſwer to that, and the reſt of our Propoſitions concerning *Religion*.

* See the Paper, 20. *Feb.* after num. 196. being delivered upon another occaſion.

The King's Commiſſioners Anſwer.

21. *Febr.*

LXIX.

WE did conceive that the continual Succeſsion of Epiſcopacy from the Apoſtles times had been ſo clearly manifeſted to your Lordſhips by our Conference on the 12. of this inſtant, that your Lordſhips had been fully ſatisfied therein; the which ſince you are not, we would gladly be informed when and where any National Church ſince the Apoſtles times was without that Government: and ſince your Lordſhips are of opinion that the Unlawfulneſs of Epiſcopacy was made good by thoſe Arguments which were given by the Divines on your part, which in truth we did not underſtand to be made to that purpoſe when they were firſt urged, and being now again remembred, in our Judgements do not in any degree prove the ſame, we being very ready to conſent to the aboliſhing thereof if the ſame can be proved, and your Lordſhips aſſuming that you have proved it, and ſo that you can again prove it; we deſire your Lordſhips by Conference or in writing to ſatisfie us in that point: which we hope being in your power (as you ſay) to doe, and being a ſure way to put an end to this debate by our yielding, your Lordſhips will not refuſe to doe it. But if neither that, nor the other Propoſition, that the Government intended to be introduced by your Lordſhips is the onely Government that is agreeable to the Word of God, can be evinced, we hope your Lordſhips will reſt ſatisfied with the Reaſons we have given your Lordſhips in writing, why we cannot conſent to your Propoſitions concerning *Religion* as they are made and inſiſted on by your Lordſhips, and that we have offered your Lordſhips a remedy againſt all the inconveniences that have been ever pretended in the Government as it is now eſtabliſhed by Law, and which ought not upon leſs Reaſons then we have mentioned to be taken away.

Their

Their Reply.

21. *Feb.*

LXX. WE do not conceive that the continual Succeſſion of *Epiſcopacy* from the Apoſtles times hath been at all manifeſted to us in Conference by your Lordſhips; and for what your Lordſhips mention concerning a National Church, it is a new Queſtion, which hath not as yet been any part of the Subject of our Debate. But we deſire to bring that to a concluſion which is in iſſue between us; and not doubting but that your Lordſhips are fully ſatisfied that *Epiſcopacy* is not *Jure Divino*, we are ready by Conference to ſhew the Unlawfulneſs of that *Epiſcopacy* which we deſire to take away by our Bill, and that the Government which we propoſe is agreeable to the Word of God.

In purſuance of this Paper, the moſt part of the next day, being the laſt of the Treaty, was ſpent in Diſpute between the Divines; and after, their Commiſſioners delivered in this Paper.

22. *Feb.*

LXXI. HAving the laſt night given in a Paper unto your Lordſhips, wherein we ſignified that we doubted not but that you were fully ſatisfied that *Epiſcopacy* was not *Jure Divino*, we are the more confirmed in it, becauſe your Lordſhips have ſince that time given us nothing in to the contrary: and we hope we have by clear Arguments from Scripture and Reaſon this day likewiſe ſatisfied you, that the Government by Arch-biſhops, Biſhops, &c. which we deſire to be taken away by this Bill, is unlawful; and that the Government which we deſire to be eſtabliſhed is agreeable to the Word of God. And therefore we deſire your Lordſhips to agree to the paſſing of this Bill, and to give us your full and clear Anſwer to this and the reſt of the Propoſitions concerning Religion.

The King's Commiſſioners Anſwer.

22. *February.*

LXXII. ACcording to your Lordſhips Paper of the laſt night, we attended your Debate this day concerning the Unlawfulneſs of *Epiſcopacy*; but did neither then nor do now acknowledge our ſelves convinced by any Arguments offered by you, that *Epiſcopacy* is not *Jure Divino*, the ſame having been the opinion of very many Learned men in all Ages, (which we do not cenſure or determine) but not inſiſted on by us as the ground of any Anſwer we have delivered to your Lordſhips: and we are ſo far from being ſatisfied with the Arguments from Scripture and Reaſon this day urged to prove that the Government by Arch-biſhops, Biſhops, &c. which you deſire to be taken away by this Bill, is unlawfull, that the weightieſt Arguments which were urged (in our Judgements) concluded at moſt againſt thoſe Inconveniences which are remedied by the Alteration offered by us to your Lordſhips, in our * Paper of the 13 of this moneth; and it ſeems ſtrange to us that your Lordſhips ſhould think that Government (without which no National Church hath been ſince the Apoſtles times, till within theſe few years) to be unlawful: and for the Government deſired by you to be eſtabliſhed, your Lordſhips have not offered any ſuch particular Form of Government to us that may inable us to judge thereof; and we cannot but obſerve that the Arguments produced

* See before, num. 56.

produced to that purpoſe, were only to prove the ſame not unlawful, without offering to prove it abſolutely neceſſary. And therefore we conceive our Anſwer formerly given to your Lordſhips concerning that Bill, and your Propoſitions concerning *Religion*, is a juſt and reaſonable Anſwer.

After the firſt three dayes of the Treaty, ſpent upon the buſineſs of Religion, *according to the Order formerly preſcribed, the Propoſitions concerning the* Militia *were next Treated upon the three daies following, beginning the fourth of* February, *and the ſame was after reſumed the* 14. *of* February *for other three daies.*

Their Propoſitions touching the *Militia*.

4. February.

WE deſire that by Act of Parliament the Subjects of the Kingdom of *England* may be appointed to be Armed, Trained and Diſciplined, in ſuch manner as both Houſes ſhall think fit. LXXIII.

The like for the Kingdom of *Scotland*, in ſuch manner as the Eſtates of Parliament there ſhall think fit.

We deſire that an Act of Parliament be paſſed for the ſettling of the Admiralty and Forces at Sea, and for the raiſing of ſuch moneys for maintenance of the ſaid Forces and of the Navy, as both Houſes of Parliament ſhall think fit.

The like for the Kingdom of *Scotland*, in ſuch manner as the Eſtates of Parliament there ſhall think fit.

An Act for the ſettling of all Forces by Sea and Land in Commiſſioners to be nominated by both Houſes of Parliament, of Perſons of known Integrity, and ſuch as both Kingdoms may confide in, for their faithfulneſs to the Religion and Peace of the Kingdom, of the Houſe of Peers, and of the Houſe of Commons, who ſhall be removed or altered from time to time as both Houſes ſhall think fit; and when any ſhall dye, others to be nominated in their places by the ſaid Houſes. Which Commiſſioners ſhall have power,

1. To ſuppreſs any Forces raiſed without Authority of both Houſes of Parliament, or in the Intervalls of Parliaments without conſent of the ſaid Commiſſioners, to the diſturbance of the publick Peace of theſe Kingdoms, and to ſuppreſs any Forein Forces that ſhall invade this Kingdom: and that it ſhall be high Treaſon in any who ſhall levy any Forces without ſuch Authority or conſent, to the diſturbance of the publick Peace of the Kingdom, any Commiſſion under the great Seal or other Warrant to the contrary notwithſtanding; and they to be incapable of any Pardon from His Majeſty, and their Eſtates to be diſpoſed of as both Houſes of Parliament ſhall think fit.

2. To preſerve the Peace now to be ſettled, and to prevent all diſturbances of the publick Peace, that may ariſe by occaſion of the late Troubles.

So for the Kingdom of *Scotland*.

3. To have power to ſend part of themſelves, ſo as they exceed not a third part, or be not under the number of to reſide in the Kingdom of *Scotland*, to aſſiſt and vote as ſingle perſons with the Commiſſioners of *Scotland*, in thoſe matters wherein the Kingdom of *Scotland* is only concerned.

So for the Kingdom of *Scotland*.

4. That the Commiſſioners of both Kingdoms may meet as a joynt Committee, as they ſhall ſee cauſe, or ſend part of themſelves, as aforeſaid, to doe as followeth:

1. To preſerve the Peace betwixt the Kingdoms, and the King, and every one of them.

2. To prevent the violation of the Articles of Peace, as aforeſaid, or any Troubles ariſing in the Kingdoms by breach of the ſaid Articles, and to hear and determine all differences that may occaſion the ſame, according to the Treaty; and to

doe further, according as they ſhall reſpectively receive Inſtructions from both Houſes of Parliament in *England*, or the Eſtates of Parliament in *Scotland*, and in the Intervals of Parliaments from the Commiſſioners for the preſervation of the publick Peace.

3. To raiſe and joyn the Forces of both Kingdoms, to reſiſt all Forein Invaſion, and to ſuppreſs any Forces raiſed within any of the Kingdoms to the diſturbance of the publick Peace of the Kingdoms, by any Authority under the great Seal or other Warrant whatſoever, without conſent of both Houſes of Parliament in *England*, and the Eſtates of the Parliament in *Scotland*, or the ſaid Commiſſioners of that Kingdom whereof they are Subjects. And that in thoſe Caſes of joynt Concernment to both Kingdoms, the Commiſſioners to be directed to be there all, or ſuch part as aforeſaid, to act and direct as joynt Commiſſioners of both Kingdoms.

We deſire that the *Militia* of the City of *London* may be in the ordering and government of the Lord Maior, Aldermen and Commons in Common-Councel aſſembled, or ſuch as they ſhall from time to time appoint, whereof the Lord Maior and Sheriffs for the time being to be three. And that the *Militia* of the Pariſhes without *London* and the Liberties within the Weekly Bills of Mortality, may be under the command of the Lord Maior, Aldermen and Commons in Common-Councel of the ſaid City, to be ordered in ſuch manner as ſhall be agreed on and appointed by both Houſes of Parliament.

We deſire that the Tower of *London* may be in the government of the City of *London*, and the chief Officer and Governour thereof from time to time be nominated and removable by the Common-Councel.

And that the Citizens or Forces of *London* ſhall not be drawn out of the City into any other parts of the Kingdom without their own conſent; and that the drawing of their Forces into other parts of the Kingdom in theſe diſtracted times may not be drawn into example for the future.

After theſe Propoſitions made, the King's Commiſſioners, for their Information concerning theſe Propoſitions, gave in ſeveral Papers.

The King's Commiſſioners Paper.

4. *February.*

LXXIV. WE conceive the Propoſitions delivered by your Lordſhips concerning the *Militia* import very great Alterations in the main foundation of the Frame of Government of this Kingdom, taking by expreſs words, or by neceſſary conſequence, the whole Military and Civil power out of the Crown, without any limitation in Time, or reparation propoſed. Therefore we deſire to know for what term you intend the *Militia* ſhall be ſettled in ſuch manner as may be a reaſonable and full Security, which we are ready and deſirous to give, to preſerve the Peace now to be ſettled, and to prevent all diſturbances of the publick Peace that may ariſe by occaſion of the late Troubles. For the better doing whereof, we are ready by Conference to ſatisfie your Lordſhips in any particulars.

Their Anſwer.

4. *Feb.*

LXXV. OUr Paper given in to your Lordſhips concerning the *Militia* doth not contain the Alterations mentioned in your Lordſhips Anſwer, but deſires that which by the wiſdome of the Parliaments of both Kingdoms is judged neceſſary at this time for the ſecurity of His Majeſties Kingdoms, and preſervation of the Peace now to be ſettled; and until your Lordſhips ſhall declare an aſſent unto the matter

ter therein expreſſed, we conceive it will not be ſeaſonable to give any Anſwer concerning the Time: And we are ready to conferre with your Lordſhips upon what ſhall be offered by you to our Paper concerning the *Militia* formerly delivered.

The King's Commiſsioners Reply.

4. *February.*

LXXVI. WE are of opinion, that the Propoſitions in your Lordſhips Paper contain the Alterations mentioned in the Paper we lately delivered to your Lordſhips, and take by expreſs words, or neceſſary conſequence, the whole Military and Civil Power out of the Crown; which Alterations we are ready to make appear in Debate. And the Alterations being ſo great, we have reaſon to deſire to know the limitation of Time, the cõſideration of which makes the Propoſitions more or leſs reaſonable.

The King's Commiſsioners ſecond Paper.

4. *February.*

LXXVII. WE deſire to know who the Commiſsioners ſhall be in whoſe hands the Forces by Sea and Land ſhall be entruſted; and whether you intend His Majeſty ſhall be obliged to conſent to ſuch Perſons; or whether He may except againſt them, and name others in their places of known affection to Religion and Peace.

Their Anſwer.

4. *February.*

LXXVIII. THe Commiſſioners in whoſe hands the Forces by Sea and Land ſhall be entruſted, are to be nominated for *England* by both the Houſes of the Parliament of *England*, and for *Scotland* by the Eſtates of the Parliament of *Scotland*; as is expreſſed in our Paper formerly delivered to your Lordſhips concerning the *Militia*.

The King's Commiſsioners Reply.

4. *February.*

LXXIX. WE deſire a full Anſwer to our Paper concerning the Perſons to be entruſted with the *Militia*, it being very neceſſary to know the Perſons before conſent can be given to the matter; and whether His Majeſty may except againſt any ſuch perſons, and nominate others in their rooms, againſt whom there can be no juſt exception.

The King's Commiſsioners third Paper.

4. *February.*

LXXX. WE deſire to know, whether your Lordſhips intend that the *Militia* of the City of *London* ſhall be independent, and not ſubordinate to thoſe Commiſsioners in whoſe hands the Forces by Sea and Land ſhall be entruſted.

Their Anſwer.

4. *Feb.*

LXXXI. IT appears by the Propoſitions concerning the *Militia* of the City of *London*, that the ſame is to be ordered in ſuch manner as ſhall be agreed on and appointed by both Houſes of Parliament.

The King's Commiſsioners Reply.

4. February.

LXXXII. WE deſire an Anſwer to our Paper concerning the *Militia* of the City of *London*, whether the ſame ſhall be ſubordinate to the Commiſsioners in whoſe hands the Forces by Sea and Land are to be intruſted; your Lordſhips Anſwer, that the ſame is to be ordered in ſuch manner as ſhall be agreed on and appointed by both Houſes of Parliament (which yet doth not appear by the Propoſitions) being no Anſwer to the Queſtion.

The King's Commiſsioners Paper.

5. February.

LXXXIII. HAving with great diligence peruſed your Lordſhips Paper concerning the *Militia*, and being very deſirous to come to as ſpeedy a concluſion in that Argument as we can; we will be ready to morrow to give your Lordſhips our full Anſwer, which we are confident will give your Lordſhips ſatisfaction concerning the matter of the *Militia* of this Kingdom.

The King's Commiſsioners Paper in Anſwer to the Propoſitions concerning the Militia.

6. February.

LXXXIV. TO ſuppreſs any Forces that may be raiſed to the diſturbance of the publick Peace of the Kingdom, or that ſhall invade this Kingdom, and to preſerve the Peace now to be ſettled, and to prevent all diſturbances of the publick Peace that may ariſe by occaſion of the late Troubles, and that His Majeſty and all His People may be ſecured from the Jealouſies and apprehenſions they may have of Danger, we do conſent, that all the Forces of the Kingdom, both by Sea and Land, ſhall be put into the hands of Perſons of known faithfulneſs to the Religion and Peace of the Kingdom, in ſuch manner and for ſuch time as is hereafter mentioned.

That the number of thoſe Perſons be Twenty; or if that be not accepted by your Lordſhips, ſuch greater or leſſer number as ſhall be agreed upon between us; and that His Majeſty may name half the perſons to be ſo entruſted, and the two Houſes the other half.

That ſuch Forts and Towns in which Garriſons have been before theſe Troubles, and ſuch other as ſhall be agreed upon between us to be neceſſary for a time to be kept as Garriſons, ſhall be entruſted likewiſe to perſons to be choſen by the Commiſsioners, or the major part of them, to be ſubordinate to the ſaid Commiſsioners, and to receive orders from them and no others: and all other places which have been fortified ſince the beginning of theſe Troubles ſhall be left as they were before, and the Fortifications and Works ſlighted and demoliſhed; and all Forces with all poſſible expedition to be disbanded, that the Kingdom may be eaſed of that intolerable burthen.

That

That an Act of Parliament ſhall be paſſed for the raiſing of ſuch Moneys for the maintenance of the Navy and Sea-Forces, as His Majeſty and both Houſes ſhall think fit.

That when any of the ſaid Commiſsioners ſhall dye who was nominated by His Majeſty, His Majeſty ſhall name another, and when any ſhall dye of thoſe named by the two Houſes, another ſhall be choſen by them, and in the Intervals of Parliament by the major part of the ſaid Commiſsioners named by the two Houſes; and neither the one nor the other to be removed, but by the joynt conſent of His Majeſty and both Houſes; except it ſhall be deſired by your Lordſhips, that His Majeſty and the two Houſes reſpectively may remove the reſpective perſons named by them as often as they ſhall ſee occaſion, to which (if it ſhall be inſiſted on) we ſhall conſent.

Theſe Commiſsioners, or the major part of them, or ſuch other number of them as ſhall be agreed upon, ſhall have Power by Act of Parliament to ſuppreſs any Forces raiſed ſitting a Parliament, without the joynt conſent of His Majeſty and both Houſes of Parliament, or in the Intervals of Parliament, without conſent of the ſaid Commiſsioners, or the major part of them, to the diſturbance of the publick Peace of the Kingdom, and to ſuppreſs any Forces that ſhall invade the Kingdom. And it ſhall be high Treaſon in any who ſhall levy any Forces without ſuch Authority or conſent, to the diſturbance of the publick Peace.

That they ſhall have like Power to preſerve the Peace now to be ſettled, and to prevent all diſturbances of the publick Peace that may ariſe by occaſion of the late Troubles: And if any Forces ſhall be brought into the Kingdom without the joynt Conſent of the King and the two Houſes of Parliament, it ſhall be lawful for any four of the ſaid Commiſsioners to levy Forces for the ſuppreſsing, reſiſting and deſtroying of the ſaid Forces ſo brought in.

We are content that this Power to ſuch Perſons ſhall continue for the ſpace of three years, which we doubt not but, by the bleſsing of God, will be abundantly ſufficient to ſecure all perſons from their Doubts and Fears, and in which time ſuch a mutual Confidence may be begot betwixt His Majeſty and all His People, that the Peace will be firm and laſting.

That the Commiſsioners, before their entrance upon the ſaid Truſt, ſhall take an Oath for the due execution of the ſaid Commiſsion; and that after the expiration of the ſaid term of three years from the time of the iſſuing the ſaid Commiſsion, they ſhall not preſume to continue any execution of the ſaid Authority, and it ſhall be high Treaſon in any of them to execute the ſaid Authority after the expiration of the ſaid three years. And all the Commanders in chief of the Garriſons, Forts, and His Majeſties Ships, ſhall likewiſe take an Oath for the due execution of their Truſt.

That the Commiſsioners ſhall have Power to prevent the violation of the Articles of Peace, or any Troubles ariſing in the Kingdom by breach

of the ſaid Articles, and to hear and determine all differences that may occaſion the ſame.

We ſhall be willing that any juſt Privileges and Immunities be granted by His Majeſty to the City of *London*, as being the chief City of this Kingdom, and the place His Majeſty deſires to honour with His moſt uſual and moſt conſtant Reſidence: But we conceive it too envious a thing, and may prove very prejudicial to the Happineſs of that great City, to diſtinguiſh it in a matter of ſo high importance as the buſineſs of the *Militia* from the Authority that the whole Kingdom is to ſubmit to.

If your Lordſhips ſhall not conſent to the election of perſons in that manner as we have propoſed, half by His Majeſty and the other half by the two Houſes, we do then propoſe to your Lordſhips, that the ſaid perſons who ſhall have the ſaid Powers in manner and form above mentioned, may be named by mutual conſent upon Debate between us; in which conſideration may be taken of the fitneſs or unfitneſs of thoſe who ſhall be named: And in caſe that any of them who ſhall be thus agreed upon ſhall die within the ſaid term of three years, the ſurvivers, or the major part of them, ſhall nominate and chuſe another in his place who ſhall be deceaſed. This way we ſhould moſt have deſired, but in regard the conſideration of perſons may take up a long time in debate, which neither the time allotted for the Treaty nor the preſent Diſtractions will permit, we do propoſe the former as the moſt expedite and certain way, but leave the election to your Lordſhips.

And whatſoever ſhall be found deficient in the ſettling this according to the preſent Agreement, or ſhall be thought fit to be added to it upon any inconveniences or defects that ſhall be hereafter diſcovered, the ſame ſhall be mended or ſupplied in ſuch manner as ſhall be thought reaſonable by the joynt Conſent of His Majeſty and the two Houſes of Parliament.

After which the King's Commiſsioners delivered in this Paper.
6. February.

LXXXV. WE ſhall be ready againſt the time that the *Militia* is again in order to be Treated upon, to give your Lordſhips an Anſwer to your Demands concerning the *Militia* of the Kingdom of *Scotland*; the which for the preſent we have not had time to doe, having wholly ſpent theſe three dayes in the perfecting the Paper delivered to your Lordſhips this day, and the Debates in preparation thereof.

And at the ſame time their Commiſsioners delivered in this Paper.
6. Feb.

LXXXVI. YOur Lordſhips Paper which we have received ſo late at the end of the third day appointed to Treat upon the *Militia*, on which we expected a ſatisfactory Anſwer to our Demands concerning it, is very far differing from what we have propoſed, and unſatisfactory to our juſt and neceſſary deſires for ſecuring the Peace of the Kingdoms, and wherein we cannot but obſerve that the Kingdom of *Scotland* is wholy omitted.

omitted. We do therefore inſiſt upon our Paper formerly delivered concerning the *Militia*, and deſire your Lordſhips full and clear Anſwer, being ready by Conference to remove all Objections which may be made to the contrary.

The King's Commiſſioners Anſwer thereupon.

6. February.

LXXXVII. WE conceive the Paper delivered by us to your Lordſhips, may juſtly ſatisfie your Lordſhips for the ſecuring the Peace of this Kingdom againſt all Forces that may any wayes endanger it at home or from abroad, and for ſecuring the performance of all things that ſhall be agreed in this Treaty; and we are ready by Conference to make the Reaſonableneſs thereof appear, and to receive any Reaſons from your Lordſhips to the contrary. And as touching *Scotland*, we hope your Lordſhips will be ſatisfied by the laſt Paper we delivered to you.

Their Paper.

6. Feb.

LXXXVIII. IN our laſt Paper we inſiſted upon our former Demands for the *Militia*, and offered by Conference to ſatisfy your Lordſhips of the Reaſonableneſs of them, if any Doubts remained with you to the contrary, which we are ſtill ready to doe, they being the proper Subject of this part of the Treaty. And whereas your Lordſhips have in your Paper referred what concerns the Kingdom of *Scotland* unto another time, and ſeem to intend it a ſeveral Anſwer; both Kingdoms being united in the ſame Cauſe, and under the ſame Danger, and mutually providing for the joynt Safety and Security of both and each other, our Propoſitions are joyntly made by both, and are inconſiſtent with a divided Anſwer.

The King's Commiſſioners Anſwer.

6. Feb.

LXXXIX. WHereas your Lordſhips have offered in your laſt Paper to ſatisfie us by Conference of the Reaſonableneſs of your Demands, if any Doubts remain with us to the contrary: we deſire to receive ſatisfaction by Conference, that it is reaſonable for us to grant the nomination of the Perſons by the two Houſes onely, and that the Time ought not to be limited.

Their Paper:

6. Feb.

XC. AS we have given to your Lordſhips our Propoſitions for the *Militia* of both Kingdoms in writing, ſo do we again deſire your Lordſhips full and clear Anſwer to them both in writing, and we are ready to anſwer any Doubts you ſhall make upon them in order as we delivered them, and as they do relate to both Kingdoms; but we cannot Treat upon your Lordſhips Anſwer which divides them.

The three firſt dayes allotted for the Treaty upon the Militia *being ſpent, and that Subject reſumed upon Friday the* 14, *Saturday the* 15, *and Monday the* 17 *of* February, *in thoſe dayes divers Papers were delivered, and ſome Debates had touching the* nomination of the Perſons *who were to be intruſted with the* Militia, *whether they ſhould all be nominated by the two Houſes only; and touching the* Time, *how long they ſhould have it, and whether the ſame ſhould be unlimited, as it was in the Propoſitions, or be limi-*

ted to a certain time; as likewiſe concerning the Powers *of the* Engliſh *and* Scotiſh *Commiſſioners for the* Militia, *which are ſo intermingled in the Propoſitions, that it was not well underſtood upon the Propoſitions how far the Commiſſioners of one Kingdom and their Power might extend unto and have influence upon the other, and the one upon the Government of the other; and concerning ſome other Paſſages having relation to the* Militia: *which would be intricate, if they ſhould be ſet down in the order of time as they were delivered. And becauſe ſometimes divers Papers were delivered together, therefore they are here placed according to their diſtinct matters. And firſt touching the* Nomination of Perſons, *and* limitation of the Time,

The Kings Commiſſioners delivered in this Paper.

14. *Febr.*

XCI. IF your Lordſhips are not ſatisfied with the * Papers delivered to your Lordſhips by us on the 6. of *February*, concerning the *Militia* as farre as the ſame concerns this Kingdom, we deſire, according to your Lordſhips offer in your * firſt and * ſecond Paper delivered to us the ſixth of *February*, that your Lordſhips will ſatisfie us of the Reaſonableneſs of your Demands, and that the nominating of the Perſons ought to be by the two Houſes onely, and that the time ought not to be limited.

* See num. 84.

* See num. 86 & 88.

Their Anſwer.

14. *Feb.*

XCII. BY your Lordſhips Paper received this day, we apprehend your deſire to proceed in the Treaty upon the Propoſitions for the *Militia* as far as the ſame concerns this Kingdom, without any mention of the Kingdom of *Scotland*. In Anſwer whereunto, we referre your Lordſhips to a former Paper of the 6. of *February* inſtant, whereby we deſired your full and clear Anſwer to our Propoſitions for the *Militia* of both Kingdoms, in order as we have delivered them, and as they do relate to both Kingdoms, and that we could not Treat upon your Lordſhips Anſwer which divides them. We ſtill inſiſt on that Paper, and when your Lordſhips ſhall be pleaſed to give an Anſwer thereunto, we ſhall be ready to clear any Doubts which may remain with your Lordſhips.

The King's Commiſſioners Reply.

14. *Feb.*

XCIII. WE do deſire to proceed in the Treaty upon the Propoſitions for the *Militia* as the ſame concerns both Kingdoms joyntly, as well as either of them ſeverally, neither is the contrary expreſſed (as we conceive) in the Paper delivered by us to your Lordſhips this day: but we cannot reaſonably anſwer to them as they concern one or both Kingdoms, before we receive ſatisfaction from your Lordſhips of the Reaſonableneſs of your Demands, which your Lordſhips were pleaſed to promiſe us by two of your Papers of the ſixth of *February*, and which we again deſire of your Lordſhips, concerning the Perſons and the Time; conceiving it unreaſonable that all the Perſons ſhall be nominated onely by the Houſes, and that the Time ſhould be unlimited.

Their Anſwer.

15. *Febr.*

XCIV. WE have formerly deſired your Lordſhips Anſwer to the Propoſitions for the *Militia* in order as we delivered them, and as they do relate to both Kingdoms,

doms, and not to give any Anſwer which ſhall divide them. Yet we obſerve in the matter of your Lordſhips * third Paper yeſterday received, that you deſire ſatisfaction in the particulars there mentioned as the ſame concern the Kingdom of *England* only, in purſuance of a former Paper given in by your Lordſhips the 6. of *February*. We therefore again deſire as formerly, that ſuch Anſwer as your Lordſhips ſhall think fit to make to our Propoſitions concerning the *Militia*, may be applied to both Kingdoms joyntly; and then we ſhall be ready by Conference to clear any Objections which your Lordſhips ſhall make againſt the Reaſonableneſs of our Demands.

* See the Paper intended, n. 91.

The King's Commiſſioners Paper.

15. *February.*

XCV. WE deſire that your Lordſhips will ſatisfie us of the Reaſonableneſs of your Demands concerning the ſettling the *Militia* of both Kingdoms, and that the nominating of the Perſons ought to be by the two Houſes of Parliament, and the like for the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and that the Time ought not to be limited.

Their Paper.

15. *Feb.*

XCVI. YOur Lordſhips Demand in your * 4. Paper being made concerning the *Militia* of both Kingdoms, we are ready upon Conference to give ſatisfaction to what your Lordſhips ſhall object againſt the nominating of the Commiſſioners by the two Houſes of the Parliament of *England*, and the Eſtates of the Parliament of *Scotland* reſpectively, or againſt the Time for which the *Militia* is demanded in the Propoſitions.

* The precedent Paper.

After ſome time ſpent in Conference for Limiting the Time, wherein the Debate was touching the unreaſonableneſs of the Demand, for taking from the King the Power of the Militia, *and ſettling it in Commiſſioners to be nominated by the two Houſes, not limited to any Time, the King's Commiſſioners gave in this Paper.*

15. *February.*

XCVII. WE deſire to know whether your Lordſhips can by your Inſtructions conſent to a limitation of Time in the ſettling the *Militia*, or whether you muſt inſiſt that the Time be unlimited.

Their Anſwer.

17. *Feb.*

XCVIII. IN Anſwer to your * ſixth Paper of the 15. of this inſtant concerning the limitation of Time in the ſettling of the *Militia*, we do inſiſt that the Time be unlimited, according to our former Demands.

* The next precedent Paper.

The King's Commiſſioners Reply.

17. *Febr.*

XCIX. AFter ſo long Debate between us concerning the limitation of Time in the ſettling of the *Militia*, (in which we conceived your Lordſhips had been ſatisfied, that as it is no way neceſſary for the ſecurity of the obſervation and performance of the preſent Agreement that the Time ſhould be unlimited, ſo in reſpect of other conſiderations it may be very miſchievous that it ſhould be unlimited) we had great reaſon to deſire

to

to know whether your Lordſhips had any power by your Inſtructions to conſent to a limitation of Time, and are ſorry that your Lordſhips will not give us an Anſwer to that Queſtion, that thereupon we might have endeavoured to have given your Lordſhips other ſatisfaction then by not knowing your power therein we are enabled to doe.

Their Paper.

17. *Feb.*

C. WE conceived that after ſo long a Debate between us, your Lordſhips would have been ſatisfied, that it was moſt fit concerning the ſettling the *Militia*, for the Time to be unlimited, as we have formerly deſired, and which by our Inſtructions we are to inſiſt upon.

They alſo delivered in this Paper.

17. *Feb.*

CI. WE deſire a full and clear Anſwer to what we have delivered to your Lordſhips concerning the *Militia*, and to know whether your Lordſhips be limited by any Inſtructions or Directions what to grant or deny in the ſame, and that we may have a ſight of ſuch Inſtructions or Directions.

Their Anſwer.

17. *Feb.*

CII. WE do * herewith deliver to your Lordſhips ſuch a full and clear Anſwer to your Propoſitions concerning the *Militia*, as we hope will give your Lordſhips ſatisfaction, being ſuch as, upon the Conference and Information we have received from your Lordſhips, ſeems to us to be moſt reaſonable.

* The Paper after n. 128. was delivered with this.

It appeareth by our Commiſsion, whereof your Lordſhips have a Copy, that it hath not any reference to any Inſtructions. It is true, that as we have (according to our Duty) from time to time acquainted His Majeſty with our proceedings, ſo in ſome particular caſes we have deſired to be aſſiſted with His Majeſties Opinion; but what Anſwers we have therein received from His Majeſty, we conceive it not proper for us to communicate to your Lordſhips, nor have we any warrant ſo to doe.

Their Reply.

17. *Feb.*

CIII. WE again deſire of your Lordſhips, to know whether you be limited by any Inſtructions or Directions what to grant or deny unto us concerning the *Militia*, and that we may have a ſight of ſuch Inſtructions or Directions, and which we conceive your Lordſhips in Juſtice and Reaſon cannot deny, ſeeing by your Papers and Debates you inſiſted, that it was juſt and reaſonable for us to let you know whether we had any power by our Inſtructions to conſent to a limitation of Time, which we did accordingly. And your Lordſhips ſeventh Paper this day delivered gives no Anſwer or ſatisfaction to our former Demand herein.

The King's Commiſsioners Anſwer.

17. *Feb.*

CIV. WE conceive it was juſt and reaſonable for us to demand of your Lordſhips, whether you had power by your Inſtructions to conſent to a limitation of Time concerning the *Militia*, becauſe the Time is left indefinite, and not expreſſed in the Propoſitions. And your Lordſhips Commiſsion, which gives you power to Treat, relating to Inſtructions, they are thereby part of your Power: and yet your Lordſhips to that our Demand have given no other Anſwer then, That by your Inſtructions you were to inſiſt to have the Time unlimited; but have not anſwered whether you had power to conſent to a limitation of Time. And we deſire your Lordſhips to remember, that formerly upon our deſire to ſee your Inſtructions, that thereby we might ſee what Power was granted to you, by your * Paper of the laſt of *January* your Lordſhips did anſwer, it was that for which you had no warrant; and it appearing to your Lordſhips that our Commiſsion hath no reference to Inſtructions, we conceive that your Lordſhips cannot expect any other Anſwer then we have already given to your Lordſhips Demand touching any Inſtructions or Directions to us, what to deny or conſent to grant in the *Militia*, aſſuring your Lordſhips, that we ſhall not deny, but willingly conſent, to grant whatſoever ſhall be therein requiſite for a full ſecurity for obſerving the Articles of the Treaty, or otherwiſe agreeable to Juſtice or Reaſon.

Touching the Power *which ſhould be given to the Commiſsioners for the* Militia.

The King's Commiſsioners Paper.

14. *Feb.*

CV. WE deſire to know what Authority the Commiſsioners nominated by the Eſtates of the Parliament of *Scotland* are to have in the *Militia* of this Kingdom, and what influence the Orders and Advice from the Eſtates of the Parliament there ſhall have upon this Kingdom, and how farre the ſame is to be conſented or ſubmitted to here.

Their Anſwer.

14. *Feb.*

CVI. YOur Lordſhips Deſire expreſſed in your ſecond Paper this day, may be fully ſatisfied by the Propoſitions concerning the *Militia*, where the Authority of the Commiſſioners to be nominated is clearly expreſſed, both in caſes of ſeveral and of joynt concernment of the Kingdoms; and if upon peruſal thereof any Doubts ſhall occurre to your Lordſhips, we are ready by Conference to clear the ſame.

The King's Commiſsioners Paper.

15. *February.*

CVII. WE do not conceive that the Authority of the Commiſsioners of both Kingdoms, and in both Kingdoms, is clearly expreſſed in your Lordſhips Propoſitions, and therefore we deſire to be informed, whether your Lordſhips intend that the Commiſsioners of *Scotland* ſhall have any Power in the ſettling of all Forces by Sea and Land in this Kingdom, and what Authority they ſhall have.

* See before n. 16.

Their

Their Paper.

15. *Feb.*

CVIII. WE do conceive that the Authority of the Commiſſioners of both Kingdoms, and in both Kingdoms, is clearly expreſſed in our Propoſitions; by which it doth appear how they are to act as ſeveral, or as joynt Commiſſioners. And if your Lordſhips ſhall propound any Objections againſt our Propoſitions concerning the *Militia* of both Kingdoms, we are ready upon Conference to give your Lordſhips ſatisfaction.

The King's Commiſſioners Paper.

15. *February.*

CIX. WE deſire to know, whether in that part of the Propoſition wherein the Commiſsioners of both Kingdoms are appointed to meet as a joynt Committee, and to receive Inſtructions in the Intervalls of Parliament from the Commiſsioners for the preſervation of the publick Peace, your Lordſhips mean the Commiſsioners to be nominated according to theſe Propoſitions, or the * Commiſsioners intended by the Act of Pacification, or what other Commiſsioners; and what Juriſdiction you intend the ſaid Commiſsioners of both Kingdoms ſhall have, by the power given them to hear and determine all differences that may occaſion the breach of the Articles of the Peace, according to the Treaty, and by what Law they ſhall proceed to hear and determine the ſame.

* See the printed Act.

Their Anſwer.

15. *Feb.*

CX. WE intend that the Commiſſioners are to be nominated according to the Propoſitions, and are to proceed in ſuch manner as is therein expreſſed: and if your Lordſhips ſhall make any Objections hereupon, we are ready by Conference to give you ſatisfaction.

Their further Anſwer.

15. *Febr.*

CXI. FOr further anſwer to your Lordſhips ſecond Paper, we conceive that the matter of the Juriſdiction to be exerciſed by the Commiſſioners is expreſſed in the Propoſition; and for the manner of exerciſing that Juriſdiction, and by what Law they ſhall proceed to hear and determine, the ſame are to be ſettled by the two Houſes of the Parliament of *England*, and the Eſtates of the Parliament of *Scotland* reſpectively.

The King's Commiſſioners Paper.

15. *February.*

CXII. WE deſire to receive a perfect and full Anſwer from your Lordſhips to our *firſt and *ſecond Papers, delivered by us this morning to your Lordſhips, and whether your Lordſhips intend, that the Commiſsioners of *Scotland* ſhall have any Power and Authority in the ſettling of all Forces by Sea and Land in this Kingdom, and what Authority they ſhall have; and whether the Advice or Orders of the Eſtates of the Parliament

* See n. 107, & 109, & n. 105.

ment of *Scotland* ſhall have any influence upon the affairs of this Kingdom, or the Commiſsioners to be named according to theſe Propoſitions, otherwiſe then as the ſaid Advice or Orders ſhall be approved and confirmed by the two Houſes of Parliament of *England*; and what Juriſdiction you intend the Commiſsioners ſhall have who are to determine all differences that may occaſion the breach of the Articles of Peace; and by what Law or Rule they ſhall proceed, try and judge, in the hearing and determining the ſame. And it is moſt neceſſary for us to deſire ſatisfaction from your Lordſhips to theſe particulars in writing, ſince the Anſwer we ſhall give to your Lordſhips upon ſo much of your Propoſitions, will very much depend upon our clear underſtanding your Lordſhips in theſe particulars, it being agreed between us, that nothing ſhall be binding or taken as agreed upon but what ſhall be in writing on either part.

Their Anſwer.

17. *Febr.*

WE conceive there is a full Anſwer already given by us in * ſeveral Papers of the 14. of this inſtant to the former parts of your Paper delivered in on the 15. day; and to the latter part, what Juriſdiction the Commiſſioners ſhall have who may determine all differences that ſhall be by breach of the Articles of Peace, and by what Law and Rule they ſhall proceed to hear and determine, the ſame is clearly ſet down in our * further Anſwer, of the 15. of this inſtant, to your ſecond Paper delivered in to us the day before. CXIII. * See the Papers intended, n. 92. & 106. * n. 111.

The King's Commiſsioners Anſwer thereunto.

17. *February.*

WE had great reaſon to deſire a perfect and full Anſwer from your Lordſhips to our firſt and ſecond Papers, delivered by us to your Lordſhips on the 15. of *Feb.* and we deſire your Lordſhips to conſider how difficult a thing it is for us, to give your Lordſhips a ſatisfactory Anſwer to your Propoſitions as they relate to either or both Kingdoms, or to the Power of the Commiſsioners of both Kingdoms, as they are to be a joynt Committee to hear and determine all differences, according to Inſtructions from both Houſes of Parliament of *England*, or the Eſtates of the Parliament of *Scotland*, before your Lordſhips are pleaſed to inform us, whether you intend the Commiſsioners of *Scotland* ſhall have any Power or Authority in the ſettling all Forces by Sea and Land in this Kingdom, and what Authority they ſhall have; and whether the Advice, Inſtructions, or Orders of the Eſtates of the Parliament of *Scotland*, ſhall have any influence upon the affairs of this Kingdom, or the Commiſsioners to be named according to thoſe Propoſitions, otherwiſe then as the ſaid Advice, Inſtructions, or Orders ſhall be approved and confirmed by the two Houſes of Parliament of *England*; and what Juriſdiction you intend the Commiſsioners ſhall have who are to determine all differences that may occaſion the breach of the Articles of the Peace; and by what Law or Rule they ſhall proceed, try and judge, in the hearing and determining the ſame. In all which particulars we CXIV.

are very ſorry that we can receive no Anſwers from your Lordſhips, for want whereof we may fail in giving your Lordſhips ſo ſatisfactory Anſwers to your Propoſitions, as otherwiſe we might be enabled to do.

Their Reply.

17. *Feb.*

CXV. IT is clearly expreſſed in our Propoſitions delivered to your Lordſhips, that all Forces by Sea and Land in this Kingdom are to be ſettled by the two Houſes of the Parliament of *England*, and in the Kingdom of *Scotland* by the Eſtates of the Parliament there; and we conceive that the Advice, Inſtructions or Orders of either Kingdom are to have no influence upon the affairs of the other, but ſuch as is and ſhall be mutually agreed upon by the two Houſes of the Parliament of *England*, and the Eſtates of the Parliament of *Scotland*; and for the Juriſdiction of the Commiſſioners, and by what Law or Rule they ſhall proceed, we have given your Lordſhips a full and clear Anſwer thereunto, in our 5 * Paper of the 15. of *February*.

* See before, n. 111.

The King's Commiſsioners Paper.

17. *Feb.*

CXVI. IN the twelfth Propoſition your Lordſhips deſire an Act to be paſſed for confirmation of the late Treaty, for the ſettling of the Garriſon of *Berwick*, of the 29. of *Novemb.* 1643. which relating to the buſineſs of the *Militia*, we hold it neceſſary to ſee, before we can make our full Anſwer upon the whole, and deſire it accordingly of your Lordſhips.

Their Anſwer.

17. *Feb.*

CXVII. AS for what concerns the Act for Confirmation of the late Treaty, and for ſettling the Garriſon of *Berwick*, it is not now to be Treated upon, but is reſerved to its proper time.

The King's Commiſsioners Paper.

17. *February.*

CXVIII. WE deſire to know, whether by the joynt Power mentioned in your Lordſhips Propoſitions to be given to the Commiſsioners for both Kingdoms, to preſerve the Peace between the Kingdoms, and the King, and every one of them, your Lordſhips do intend any other then Military power for ſuppreſsing Forces onely, which is expreſſed after in a diſtinct Clauſe by it ſelf; and if your Lordſhips do intend any further Power, that your Lordſhips would declare the ſame in certainty and particular.

Their Anſwer.

17. *Feb.*

CXIX. WE conceive the Power of the Commiſſioners mentioned in the 17. Propoſition is there fully expreſſed, to preſerve the Peace betwixt the Kingdoms, to prevent the violation of it, or any Troubles ariſing in the Kingdoms by breach of the Articles, and to hear and determine all differences which may occaſion the ſame, according to the Treaty, and to raiſe Forces to reſiſt Forein Invaſion, and ſuppreſs inteſtine Inſurrections; as is more at large ſet down in the Propoſition, to which we referre your Lordſhips.

The

The King's Commiſsioners Paper.

17. *February.*

CXX. WE deſire to know, whether the Commiſsioners of both Kingdoms meeting as a joynt Committee, the Commiſsioners of each Kingdom ſhall have a Negative voice, ſo as nothing can be done without their joynt conſent in matters of joynt concernment; and how and by whom it ſhall be decided, what are caſes of joynt concernment to both Kingdoms.

Their Anſwer.

17. *Febr.*

CXXI. IN all matters of joynt concernment, the Commiſſioners of both Kingdoms are to act joyntly; and when they ſhall meet as a joynt Committee upon ſuch matters of joynt concernment, the Commiſſioners of each Kingdom are to have a Negative voice: and in doubtful caſes, not expreſſed in the 17. Propoſition to be of joynt concernment, where the Commiſſioners cannot agree whether or no they be of joynt concernment, they are to repreſent them to the two Houſes of Parliament of *England*, and the Eſtates of the Parliament of *Scotland* reſpectively, to be by them determined, if they be ſitting; and in the Intervalls of Parliament, if the caſes be ſuch as cannot without prejudice to both or either Kingdom admit of delay, we conceive the Commiſſioners of each Kingdom are to act ſeverally, and to be accomptable for it to the two Houſes of Parliament of *England*, and the Eſtates of the Parliament of *Scotland* reſpectively, at their next ſitting.

The King's Commiſsioners Paper.

17. *February.*

CXXII. WE deſire to know, whether by the Propoſitions for ſettling the Forces in Commiſsioners to be nominated by both Houſes of Parliament, ſuch as both Kingdoms may confide in, your Lordſhips do intend, that the Eſtates of the Parliament of *Scotland* ſhall approve or except againſt the Commiſsioners to be nominated for the Kingdom of *England*, both at preſent, and from time to time, as the Commiſsioners ſhall die, or be removed, or altered.

Their Anſwer.

17. *Febr.*

CXXIII. WE conceive it to be plain by the Propoſition it ſelf, that the Commiſſioners of both Kingdoms are reſpectively to be nominated by the Parliaments of either Kingdom, and neither Parliament hath power to except againſt or approve the perſons choſen by the other; and we are confident there will be no cauſe of exception, but who are choſen by either will be ſuch as both may confide in.

The King's Commiſsioners Paper.

14. *Feb.*

CXXIV. WE deſire to know, whether your Lordſhips intend by your Propoſition concerning the ſettling of the Admiralty of *Scotland* by Act of Parliament, to alter the inheritance of any perſon which is already ſettled by the Laws of that Kingdom.

The Admiralty is an office of Inheritance in *Scotland*, & ſettled by Act of Parliament

Their Anſwer thereunto.

15. *February.*

CXXV. TO your Lordſhips fourth Paper of the 14. of *Feb.* it is anſwered, that by our Propoſitions for ſettling the Admiralty of *Scotland* by Act of Parliament, it is intended that the Admiralty and Forces at Sea, &c. ſhall be ſettled in ſuch manner as the Eſtates of Parliament there ſhall think fitteſt for the ſafety and ſecurity of that Kingdom. And as touching the inheritance of any perſon which is already ſettled by the Laws of that Kingdom, the Eſtates of Parliament will doe that which is agreeable to Juſtice.

The King's Commiſsioners Paper.

15. *Feb.*

CXXVI. WE deſire to know whether the Papers delivered to us touching the *Militia* contain all your Lordſhips Propoſitions touching the *Militia* of *England* and *Scotland*: and if they do not, that your Lordſhips will deliver the reſt, that we may make our Anſwers upon the whole.

Their Anſwer.

15. *Feb.*

CXXVII. WHatſoever is contained in the Propoſitions concerning the *Militia* of *England* and *Scotland*, is delivered in to your Lordſhips, except the 23. Propoſition, and the laſt Article in the 26. Propoſition, which are reſerved for their proper place.

After all theſe Paſſages, the King's Commiſsioners delivered in this Paper, in further Anſwer to their Propoſitions concerning the Militia.

17. *February.*

CXXVIII. * num. 84. WE had no purpoſe in our * Anſwer delivered by us to your Lordſhips on the ſixth day of *February*, to divide our Anſwers concerning the *Militia* of the two Kingdoms otherwiſe then in point of time, and till we might receive ſatisfaction from your Lordſhips concerning the Powers to be given to the Commiſsioners of both Kingdoms, and the other particulars mentioned in our Papers ſince delivered to your Lordſhips, wherein we are not as yet ſatisfied by any Papers delivered by your Lordſhips to us. Our further Anſwer to thoſe Propoſitions concerning the *Militia* is, That we are willing and do agree, that the like courſe ſhall be taken and obſerved touching the *Militia* of the Kingdom of *Scotland* as is offered in our ſaid Paper of the ſixth of *February*, and as ſhall be hereafter agreed on for the Kingdom of *England*, which we conceive to be a full ſecurity for the performance and obſervation of all Articles which ſhall be agreed upon between us in order to a bleſſed Peace; which we are ſo deſirous may be punctually and exactly obſerved, that we are willing that His Majeſty be deſired to take a moſt ſolemn ſtrict Oath for the full obſervation thereof; and likewiſe that all perſons of any immediate truſt by office or attendance on His Majeſty, and any other whom you ſhall think fit, ſhall take ſuch Oath for the due obſervance of the ſame, with ſuch reaſonable Penalties, as ſhall be propoſed by your Lordſhips, and agreed to by us: in which we believe

believe we ſhall not differ with your Lordſhips, being willing that whoſoever ſhall in the leaſt degree infringe the Agreement which ſhall be made between us, may be looked upon and accounted as moſt pernicious Enemies to King and Kingdoms. And if it ſhall be thought neceſſary to make any additional ſettlement of the *Militia*, with a general reference to the good of the Kingdoms reſpectively, we deſire the ſame may be done, after the Peace eſtabliſhed, by the joynt conſent of His Majeſty and the two Houſes of Parliament in *England*, and His Majeſty and the Eſtates of the Parliament of *Scotland*, reſpectively. And as we ſhall deſire and endeavour to remove all occaſions that may interrupt the Peace and Tranquillity of that Kingdom, and a perfect Amity with them, and ſhall not deſire any change of, or to intermeddle in their Laws or Government, or give them cauſe to apprehend any diſturbance or violation of them from this Kingdom; ſo are we obliged with all tenderneſs to preſerve the Honour, Dignity and Conſtitution of this Realm. And therefore as we are yet ſatisfied, we cannot conſent that any perſons authorized by the Eſtates of the Parliament of *Scotland*, or any Advice from thence, ſhall have any influence upon the *Militia* of this Kingdom, or further interpoſe in the affairs of this Kingdom then is already provided by the Act of Pacification. And we offer to your Lordſhips conſiderations, whether unleſs there could be an union of the Laws of both Kingdoms, ſuch a mixture of Power as is now propoſed, and the influence thereof both upon Martial and Civil affairs, may not prove very inconvenient and prejudicial to both Kingdoms, and give cauſe of Jealouſies to each other, to the diſturbance of that mutual Amity ſo much deſired. But if this intermingling of Power in both Kingdoms ſhall be further inſiſted on by your Lordſhips, we propound that the ſame may be ſettled as (after a Peace eſtabliſhed) ſhall be agreed by the joynt conſent of His Majeſty and both Houſes of Parliament of *England*, and of His Majeſty and the Eſtates of the Parliament of *Scotland*: and if your Lordſhips ſhall inſiſt on any thing further for neceſſary Security, we ſhall apply our ſelves to the conſideration thereof, if we ſhall have further time ſo to doe, according to our deſires grounded upon His Majeſties Letter.

Their Paper.

17. *Febr.*

CXXIX. WE do conceive that we have in our former Papers punctually ſatisfied your Lordſhips in all you deſired to know concerning the Powers of the Commiſſioners of both Kingdoms, and the other particulars mentioned by your Lordſhips: and what your Lordſhips now offer concerning the *Militia* of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, that the like courſe ſhall be taken in it as is expreſſed in your Lordſhips Paper of the 6. of *Feb.* to be obſerved for the *Militia* of this Kingdom, your Lordſhips may remember, that in our Anſwer to that Paper we told your Lordſhips it was differing from what we had propoſed, and unſatisfactory to our juſt and neceſſary deſires for ſecuring the Peace of the Kingdoms; and it cannot be expected that what was ſo then for the Kingdom of *England*, ſhould now be thought other for the Kingdom of *Scotland*. And though both Kingdoms be now united in the ſame Cauſe, and labouring under the ſame Dangers, and therefore neceſſitated to a mutual and reciprocal Aſſiſtance

of each other, had propoſed a joynt remedy and ſecurity by that Commiſſion deſired in our 17 Propoſition; we find your Lordſhips ſay, that (as yet you are ſatisfied) you cannot conſent unto it. To which we anſwer, That we believed we had given your Lordſhips ſuch convincing Reaſons as might have ſatisfied you, and we doubt not but they may, if you will recollect your memories concerning them, and rightly weigh them. This being the laſt day we are to Treat upon this Subject, it cannot be expected, and, as we conceive, it is altogether needleſs to uſe any more Arguments; we do therefore deſire your Lordſhips will be pleaſed now at the laſt to give us your full and poſitive Anſwer to our Demands, as we have often already preſſed your Lordſhips. And whereas your Lordſhips do propound, that if we ſhall further inſiſt upon the uniting of the Powers of both Kingdoms, it may be done after the Peace eſtabliſht; we deſire your Lordſhips to conſider, that it is demanded by us in order to a Peace, and a chief and moſt neceſſary means for the attaining and eſtabliſhing of it. And we further obſerve, that your Lordſhips have given us no Anſwer at all to our 15 Propoſition; which we do likewiſe inſiſt upon, and deſire your Anſwer.

The King's Commiſſioners Anſwer.

17. *February.*

CXXX. IF your Lordſhips had punctually, or in any degree, ſatisfied us in what we deſired to know concerning the Powers of the Commiſsioners of both Kingdoms, and the other particulars mentioned by us, we had not troubled your Lordſhips with ſo many Queſtions, to moſt of which we could receive no other Anſwers, then the referring us to the Propoſitions themſelves upon which we grounded our Queſtions. And we conceive that your Lordſhips Propoſitions upon the *Militia*, upon which you ſtill inſiſt, have in truth appeared upon Debate to be moſt unreaſonable in many particulars: As that the Perſons to be entruſted with the *Militia* ſhould be nominated onely by the two Houſes, and that His Majeſty, who is equally to be ſecured that the Peace ſhould not be broken, ſhould name none; that the Power given to the Commiſsioners ſhall be framed and altered as occaſion ſerves by the two Houſes onely, and that His Majeſty, who is ſo much concerned therein, ſhall have no Negative Voice as to ſuch Powers, but is abſolutely excluded; and that the Time ſhould be unlimited, ſo that His Majeſty for Himſelf and His Poſterity ſhould for ever part with Their peculiar Regal Power of being able to reſiſt their Enemies, or protect their good Subjects, and with that undoubted and never-denied Right of the Crown, to make Warre and Peace, and in no time to come His Majeſty or His Poſterity ſhould have power to aſſiſt their Allies with any ſupplies of Men, though Voluntiers, or ever more to have any Juriſdiction over Their own Navy or Fleet at Sea, and ſo conſequently muſt looſe all eſtimation and confidence with Forein Princes. And many other expreſsions in the ſaid Propoſitions do either ſignifie what we finde your Lordſhips do not expect or intend, or at leaſt are ſo doubtfull, that the clear ſenſe thereof is not evident to all underſtandings: As by the literal ſenſe of your Propoſitions, neither the Sheriffs of Counties nor Juſtices of Peace and other Legal Miniſters may raiſe Forces by the *Poſſe Comitatus* or otherwiſe to ſuppreſs Riots, and remove forcible Entries, or to perform the

the other neceſſary Duties of their places, without being liable to the interpretation of the Commiſsioners for the *Militia*, that ſuch Forces are raiſed or Actions done for the diſturbance of the publick Peace; as likewiſe all Civil Actions and Differences may be comprehended within thoſe Propoſitions to be tried before the ſaid Commiſsioners: neither of which we believe your Lordſhips intend ſhould be.

And therefore we have in our Anſwers propoſed what we thought would be agreeable to the matter and end of thoſe Propoſitions, that is, a reaſonable and full Security for the obſervation of the Articles of the Treaty, which, according to what we have offered, cannot be broken on either part, without evident prejudice and danger to that part which ſhall endeavour the breaking thereof; and that the memory of theſe unhappy Diſtractions may be forgotten as ſoon as may be, that the time of this ſettlement may be limited to three years, which, by the bleſſing of God, will be ſufficient to beget a good underſtanding between His Majeſty and all His People; and that the Fifteenth Propoſition, and all the other parts of your Lordſhips Propoſitions, being not at all neceſſary to the preſent Union and Reconciliation, may be deferred till after the Peace eſtabliſhed, to be ſettled by His Majeſty and the two Houſes of Parliament in *England*, and His Majeſty and the Eſtates of the Parliament in *Scotland*, reſpectively. But if your Lordſhips ſhall not think this way of nomination of Perſons to be Commiſsioners, or the other propoſed likewiſe by us in our Paper of the ſixth of *February*, for the agreement of the Commiſsioners between your Lordſhips and us, to be equal; we ſhall gladly receive any more equal way from your Lordſhips, ſince it is apparent that that already propoſed by your Lordſhips, and which you inſiſt upon *in terminis*, is not fit to be conſented to for the Quiet and Peace of the Kingdom, preſuming that you will think the Security ought to be mutual, as the Fears and Jealouſies are mutual. And we are moſt confident that His Majeſty ſo much deſires to give all reaſonable and fit ſecurity on His part, that the Agreement and Peace to be now made ſhall be inviolably obſerved: that as He will name no man for this great Truſt againſt whom there can be juſt Exception, (if the Perſons are named equally between Him and you;) ſo if the whole nomination were left to Him, He would pitch onely upon ſuch as both Kingdoms might have great cauſe to confide in, and we believe might give full ſatisfaction to your Lordſhips. And therefore we hope your Lordſhips will believe that the Reaſon we conſent not to your Propoſitions is, becauſe we conceive them deſtructive to the End for which they are propoſed, Juſtice, Peace and Unity; and not that we deny to conſent to any reaſonable Security for obſervance of the Agreement to be made, of which we will alwayes be moſt tender, with regard to all perſons concerned.

This was the laſt Paper delivered in the laſt of the ſix daies touching the Militia; *but that being taken up again in ſome part of the two laſt dayes of the Treaty, as thoſe of*

Religion *and* Ireland *alſo were, their Commiſſioners upon the breaking up of the Treaty, about two of the clock in the morning after the* 22. *of* February, *gave in a Paper intended for an Anſwer to this Paper, which nevertheleſs relates to the Paper here next following, delivered by them the* 21. *of* February, *mentioning a limitation of time for ſeven years, and for that cauſe is herein ſet down after that Paper, and as their laſt of that Subject: and the Papers upon that Subject delivered in the mean time, in the two laſt dayes, are theſe following.*

Their Paper.

21. *Feb.*

CXXXI. WHereas your Lordſhips have in ſeveral Papers much inſiſted, that the Commiſſioners mentioned in the 17. Propoſition ſhould be for a limited Time, that your Lordſhips might better give a full Anſwer to our deſires concerning the *Militia*; though we conceive the Reaſons we have given might have ſatisfied your Lordſhips for the Time to be unlimited, yet to manifeſt our earneſt deſires of Peace, we propoſe to your Lordſhips, the Time for the ſaid Commiſſioners to be for ſeven years from the time of the paſſing the Act for the *Militia*: and that after the expiration of ſuch term, the *Militia* of the Kingdom to be ſettled and exerciſed in ſuch manner as ſhall be agreed upon by His Majeſty and the two Houſes of the Parliament of *England*, and by His Majeſtie and the Eſtates of the Parliament of *Scotland*, reſpectively, and not otherwiſe.

At the ſame time the Scotch *Commiſſioners, from themſelves apart, delivered in this Paper, ſigned by their own Secretary only, all the other Papers being ſigned by two Secretaries, for the* Engliſh *and* Scotch *Commiſſioners.*

21. *Feb.*

CXXXII. WE the Commiſſioners of the Parliament of *Scotland* do declare, that our Conſent to the Paper given in this day, concerning the limitation of the Power of the *Militia* in Commiſſioners, according to the 17. Propoſition, to continue for ſeven years from the time of the paſſing of the Act for the *Militia*, and after the expiration of that term, to be ſettled in ſuch manner as ſhall be agreed upon by His Majeſty and the two Houſes of the Parliament of *England*, and by His Majeſty and the Eſtates of the Parliament of *Scotland*, reſpectively, and not otherwiſe, is to be underſtood as followeth; That we will repreſent the ſame to the Eſtates of the Parliament of *Scotland* or their Committees, to which we are confident they will aſſent, as that which is conceived to conduce to a happy Agreement, and ſettling of a firm and bleſſed Peace.

The King's Commiſſioners Anſwer.

22. *Febr.*

CXXXIII. WE have hitherto conceived, that this Treaty hath been betwixt us that are appointed Commiſsioners by His Majeſty, and your Lordſhips the Commiſsioners from the two Houſes of the Parliament of *England*, and your Lordſhips the Commiſsioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*, joyntly, and not ſeverally: but finding that your Lordſhips the Commiſsioners of the Parliament of *Scotland* have delivered to us a diſtinct Paper, ſigned onely by your Secretary, of the twentieth of *Febr.* concerning the *Militia*, and that not concurring with the other joynt Paper delivered and ſubſcribed by both your Secretaries upon that Subject that day; we deſire to know whether the Commiſſioners of the Parliament of *Scotland* have a negative voice, or have not power

power to conclude, without farther power to be granted from the Eſtates of the Parliament of *Scotland*, and expect in this Treaty to be ſeverally Treated with. And after your Lordſhips Anſwer to this Paper, we ſhall be able to give your Lordſhips a farther Anſwer to your joynt Paper of the 20. of *February*.

Their Paper.

22. *February.*

CXXXIV. THE Treaty is betwixt us that are the Commiſſioners of the Parliaments of both Kingdoms joyntly, and not ſeverally; and your Lordſhips the Commiſſioners from His Majeſty, and the Commiſſioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*, did joyn with the Committees of the two Houſes of the Parliament of *England*, in giving in the other joynt Paper concerning the *Militia* delivered yeſterday, ſubſcribed by both Secretaries: but ſeeing it contains an alteration, limiting the Time to ſeven years, which in the former Propoſitions agreed to by both Parliaments is indefinite, they did declare, that they are confident the Parliament of *Scotland* will aſſent thereto, and they have ſhewed your Lordſhips ſufficient Power to conclude any thing by them agreed unto.

The King's Commiſſioners Paper.

22. *February.*

CXXXV. WE cannot reſt ſatisfied with your Lordſhips Anſwer to our Paper delivered to you this day, concerning your Lordſhips the Commiſſioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*, it being indeed but a repetition of your Lordſhips Paper, and no Anſwer to ours thereupon; and it being very neceſſary for us to know, whether the Commiſſioners of the Parliament of *Scotland* have a negative voice, and whether they have not power to conclude without farther powers to be granted from the Eſtates of the Parliament of *Scotland*: upon the Anſwer to which we muſt the rather inſiſt, becauſe your Lordſhips laſt Paper gives the reaſon of the diſtinct Paper delivered to us from the Commiſſioners of the Parliament of *Scotland* to be, becauſe the limitation of Time now offered differs from the Propoſitions agreed on by both Parliaments, in which the Time is indefinite; which ſeems to us to intimate, that your Lordſhips who are the Commiſſioners from the Parliament of *Scotland*, have not power to conſent to any alteration from the ſaid Propoſition without firſt acquainting the Parliament of *Scotland*, although the other joynt Paper delivered upon that Subject be ſigned by both your Secretaries; and thereby it is evident, that it much concerns us to know whether the ſaid Commiſſioners have a negative voice in this Treaty.

For the matter of your Lordſhips Paper concerning the limitation of time for the *Militia* to ſeven years, it is not poſsible, by reaſon of this ſhortneſſe of time for the Treaty (it being ten of the clock this night when your Paper was delivered) to give your Lordſhips a full Anſwer, it being neceſſary for us to receive ſatisfaction from your Lordſhips in writing, or by Conference, whether by the words, [*and not otherwiſe*] your Lordſhips

Lordſhips intend that after the expiration of the time limited, His Majeſty ſhall not exerciſe the Legall Power which He now hath over the *Militia*, before the ſame be agreed upon by His Majeſty and the two Houſes of the Parliament of *England*, and by His Majeſty and the Eſtates of the Parliament of *Scotland*, reſpectively: for which reſolution and debate we heartily wiſh the time were ſufficient, being very willing to give your Lordſhips all reaſonable ſatisfaction. And therefore we do propoſe to your Lordſhips, that if the Treaty may not now continue, it may be adjourned for ſuch time as you ſhall think fit, and not totally diſſolved, but again reſumed; which we propoſe as the beſt Expedient now left us for the procuring of a bleſſed Peace, and by it the preſervation of this now miſerable Kingdome from utter Ruine and Deſolation.

After this, about two of the clock the next morning, they gave this Paper following, which is here mentioned, to be delivered upon their breaking up the Treaty, and intended for an Anſwer to the Paper of the 17. *of* February, *n°* 129.

Their Paper.

22. *Feb.*

CXXXVI. WE conceive, if your Lordſhips would weigh our Demands concerning the Power of the Commiſſioners of both Kingdomes, you will be ſatisfied with our Anſwers to your ſeveral Queſtions: where any Doubts were of the expreſſions, we did explain them; and where the Propoſitions were ſo clear as they could bear no doubtful ſenſe, we did referre your Lordſhips to the Propoſitions themſelves. And we conceive our Demands concerning the *Militia* to be moſt reaſonable, and all Objections made againſt them to be by us removed. And why your Lordſhips ſhould inſiſt that the Commiſſioners ſhould not be nominated by the two Houſes onely, and His Majeſty, who is to be equally ſecured, ſhould name none, we much marvel at, when you may well conſider this Power was not to be exerciſed by the Commiſſioners untill a Peace had been concluded upon this Treaty, and then His Majeſty had been fully ſecured by the Laws of the Kingdome, and by the Duties and Affections of His Subjects; neither could the Commiſſioners doe any thing in violation of the Peace to the prejudice of His Majeſty, contrary to the Truſt repoſed in them, they having a Rule preſcribed which they were not to tranſgreſſe, and being removable by both Houſes of the Parliament of *England* and the Eſtates of the Parliament of *Scotland* reſpectively, and being liable for any miſcarriage to ſevere puniſhment. And as for their ſecurity who have been with His Majeſty in this Warre, an Act of Oblivion is deſired to be paſſed, whereby all His Majeſties Subjects in both Kingdomes would have been put in one and the ſame condition and under the ſame protection, with ſome exceptions mentioned in thoſe Propoſitions. And if the Commiſſioners had been ſeverally choſen, the memory of theſe unnaturall Diviſions muſt needs have been continued, and probably being ſeverally named, would have acted dividedly according to ſeveral Intereſts, and the Warre thereby might be more eaſily revived: whereas the ſcope of the Propoſitions we have tendered was to take away occaſions of future Differences, to prevent the raiſing of Armes, and to ſettle a firme and durable Peace. And to your Lordſhips Objections, that the Commiſſioners were to continue without any limitation of Time, although the reaſonableneſſe thereof hath been ſufficiently manifeſted to your Lordſhips, yet out of moſt earneſt deſires of Peace we have propoſed to your Lordſhips a time of ſeven yeares, as is expreſſed in our Paper delivered to your Lordſhips the 21. of this inſtant.

And for the peculiar Royal Power which your Lordſhips mention to reſide in His Majeſty concerning the *Militia*, and to make Peace and Warre, we cannot admit thereof,

thereof, or that it is otherwiſe exerciſed then by Authority from His Majeſty and both Houſes of Parliament of *England*, and the Eſtates of the Parliament of *Scotland* reſpectively; neither are the Commiſſioners to have power to make Peace or Warre, but that is referred to the 23. Propoſition to be Treated upon in due time.

And for the Navy and Fleet at Sea, the principal means to maintain them is to be raiſed by the free gift of the Subjects out of Tonnage and Poundage, and other payments upon Merchandiſe; and the Navy and Fleet being a principal means of our ſecurity, the reaſons are the ſame for them as for the *Militia* by Land.

And for what your Lordſhips allege concerning Sheriffs & Juſtices of Peace and other legal Miniſters, not to raiſe the *Poſſe Comitatus*, or Forces to ſuppreſſe Riots, without being liable to the interpretation of the Commiſſioners; we ſay this is no part of the *Militia* to be exerciſed by the Commiſſioners, but in executing of Juſtice and legall Proceſſe, nor can be intended to be any diſturbance, but for the preſervation of the Peace; nor can their power of hearing and determining Civil Actions and differences be extended further then preſervation of the Articles of the Peace to be made, and as is clearly and plainly expreſt in the 27. Propoſition.

And whereas we ſeek the *Militia* to be ſettled in the 15. Propoſition, and the other parts of our Propoſitions, in order to and for procuring of a Peace, and which are neceſſary to a preſent Union, your Lordſhips deferre them untill the Peace ſhall be eſtabliſhed: which delay, we hope, upon ſecond thoughts your Lordſhips will not judge to be reaſonable.

And when your Lordſhips do take into ſerious conſideration the great Calamities, and how occaſioned, (to ſay no more) you cannot think but that we ought to be moſt careful of preventing the like for the future.

And ſeeing all we deſire for theſe ſo important ends is limited to a few yeares, we ought to inſiſt upon ſuch a remedy as may be a fitting cure, and in ſo doing we hope we ſhall be juſtified before God and Man.

Wherefore we again moſt earneſtly deſire your Lordſhips, as you tender the deplorable Eſtates of theſe bleeding Kingdomes, the ſettling of Religion, the Honour of His Majeſty, and the compoſing theſe miſerable Diſtractions, that your Lordſhips will give your full and clear Anſwer to our Demands concerning the *Militia*.

This laſt Paper was delivered about two of the clock, when the Treaty was at that inſtant breaking up, and at the ſame time the King's Commiſſioners had (upon the like occaſion of two Papers of theirs given in a little before, concerning Ireland, *hereafter mentioned) delivered in a Paper,* N°. 179. *that they might give Anſwer thereto the next day, dated as of that day, as had been formerly uſed, which was not granted; ſo that in Anſwer to this Paper ſo earneſtly requiring an Anſwer in the Cloſe thereof, it was impoſſible to give in any Paper at the preſent, neither would any be received but at preſent.*

The Papers touching *Ireland*.

After the firſt ſix dayes of the Treaty ſpent upon Religion *and the* Militia, *according to the ſame order formerly propoſed, the Propoſitions concerning* Ireland *were next Treated upon, the three dayes following, beginning the* 7. *of* February; *and the ſame was alſo taken up again the* 18. *of* February, *for other three dayes.*

Their Propoſitions touching Ireland.

7. *February.*

WE deſire that an Act of Parliament be paſſed to make void the Ceſſation of *Ireland*, and all Treaties with the Rebels without conſent of both Houſes of Parliament, and to ſettle the proſecution of the War of *Ireland* in both Houſes of the Parliament of *England*, to be managed by the joynt advice of both Kingdoms, and His Majeſty to aſſiſt, and to doe no act to diſcountenance or moleſt them therein. CXXXVI.

The

The King's Commiſsioners Paper.

7. February.

CXXXVII. WE deſire to know, whether the Paper we have received from your Lordſhips contain in it all the Demands your Lordſhips are required by your Inſtructions to inſiſt upon concerning *Ireland*: which if it doth, we are ready to enter upon that Debate; but if it do not, we then deſire to receive all the Propoſitions your Lordſhips intend to make concerning *Ireland* together, being confident that upon a whole view of the buſineſs we ſhall give you full ſatisfaction in that Argument.

Their Paper.

7. Feb.

CXXXVIII. WE are to inſiſt upon other things concerning *Ireland*, which being part of other Propoſitions, we conceive not ſo proper to give your Lordſhips, till we have received your Anſwer to our Paper formerly delivered, and are ready by preſent Conference to ſatisfie any Doubts that remain with your Lordſhips concerning that Paper.

Notwithſtanding they delivered in theſe further Papers and Propoſitions following.

Their Paper.

7. Feb.

CXXXIX. WE deſire that an Act be paſſed in the Parliament of both Kingdoms reſpectively, to confirm the Treaty concerning *Ireland* of the 6. of *Auguſt* 1642. (which Treaty we herewith deliver) and that all Perſons who have had any hand in plotting, deſigning or aſſiſting the Rebellion of *Ireland*, may expect no Pardon, and their eſtates to pay publick Debts and damages; and that the Commiſſioners to be nominated as is appointed in the 17. Propoſition, may order the War of *Ireland*, according to the Ordinance of the 11. of *April* 1644. (which we herewith deliver) and to order the *Militia*, and to conſerve the Peace of the Kingdom of *Ireland*.

And that by Act of Parliament the Deputy or chief Governour, or other Governours of *Ireland*, be nominated by both Houſes of the Parliament of *England*, or in the Intervalls of Parliament by the ſaid Commiſſioners, to continue during the pleaſure of the ſaid Houſes, or in the Intervalls of Parliament during the pleaſure of the ſaid Commiſſioners, to be approved or diſallowed by both Houſes at their next ſitting; and that the Judges of both Benches and of the Exchequer in *Ireland* be nominated by both Houſes of Parliament, to continue *quamdiu bene ſe geſſerint*, and in the Intervalls of Parliament by the aforeſaid Commiſſioners, to be approved or diſallowed by both Houſes at their next ſitting.

Together with theſe laſt Propoſitions they delivered the Treaty of the ſixth of Auguſt 1642. *and the Ordinance of the* 11. *of* April *therein mentioned, together with another of the* 9. *of* March; *which ſee in the* Appendix, n° 7, and 8.

The King's Commiſsioners Paper.

9. February.

CXL. * num. 361. WE deſire to know what your Lordſhips intend or expect by thoſe words in your * firſt Paper concerning *Ireland*, [*and His Majeſty to aſſiſt*] ſince you propoſe to have the proſecution of the War of *Ireland* to be ſettled in both Houſes of the Parliament of *England*, to be managed by the joynt advice of both Kingdoms.

Their

Their Anſwer.

9. Feb.

BY the words in our Paper concerning *Ireland* [*and His Majeſty to aſsiſt*] we conceive is to be underſtood, the giving of His Royal Aſſent to ſuch Acts of Parliament as ſhall be preſented unto Him by both Houſes, for raiſing of moneys from the Subject, and for other things neceſſary to the proſecution of the Warre in *Ireland*, and to be further aiding by His Power and countenance in whatſoever ſhall be requiſite for the better carrying on of that Warre. CXLI.

The King's Commiſsioners Paper.

10. *Febr.*

WE conceive that His Majeſty had and hath Power to make a Ceſſation in *Ireland*; and having upon juſt grounds, and for the good and ſafety of His Proteſtant Subjects there, and for the preſervation of that whole Kingdom, conſented to ſuch a Ceſſation, we deſire to be informed by your Lordſhips, how that Ceſſation can be declared void, without a breach of Faith and Honour in His Majeſty: and we are ready by Conference particularly to inform your Lordſhips of the Motives which induced His Majeſty to conſent to that Ceſſation. CXLII.

Their Anſwer.

10. *Feb.*

WE conceive that His Majeſty had not Power to make the Ceſſation in *Ireland*, nor had any juſt grounds to doe the ſame; and therefore we inſiſt, as in our former Paper, That an Act of Parliament be paſſed to make void the Ceſſation of *Ireland*, and conceive that His Majeſty is bound in Honour and Juſtice to conſent unto the ſame: and we are ready to conferre with your Lordſhips as is deſired, and to receive your Lordſhips full Anſwer to this and the other particulars expreſſed in our Paper concerning *Ireland*. CXLIII.

After long Debates in Conference, which ſpent the greateſt part of the day, touching the Motives of that Ceſſation, and the King's Power to make it, His Majeſties Commiſsioners delivered in this Paper.

10. *Febr.*

WE have received no ſatisfaction or information in your Lordſhips Debate, to alter our opinion of His Majeſties Power to make the Ceſſation in *Ireland*; and having carefully peruſed and conſidered the Statute alleged by your Lordſhips, we cannot finde any particular clauſe in that Statute, neither have your Lordſhips mentioned any, (though often deſired by us ſo to doe) whereby His Majeſties Power to make a Ceſſation there is taken away: and therefore we are ſtill of opinion, that His Majeſty had full Power to make and conſent to that Ceſſation. And we conceive that we have given your Lordſhips an account of very juſt grounds to induce His Majeſty to doe the ſame, it appearing to His Majeſty by the Letters and Advice from the Lords Juſtices and Councel of that Kingdom, and of the Officers of His Majeſties Army there (which we have read to your Lordſhips, and of CXLIV.

* Copies of the Letters & advices were accordingly delivered [In the *Appendix.*]

which Letters and Advices we now give * Copies to your Lordſhips) that His Majeſties good Proteſtant Subjects of that Kingdom were in imminent danger to be over-run by the Rebels, and His Army to be diſbanded for want of neceſſary Supplies, and that there was no ſuch probable way for their preſervation as by making a Ceſſation. Neither have your Lordſhips given us any ſatisfying Reaſons againſt the making the ſaid Ceſſation, or made it appear to us that that Kingdom could have been preſerved without a Ceſſation; and therefore we cannot apprehend how His Majeſty can with Juſtice and Honour declare the ſame to be void.

We ſhall be ready againſt the next time aſsigned for the Treaty touching *Ireland*, to give your Lordſhips a further Anſwer to your Propoſitions concerning that Argument; the Treaty concerning *Ireland* of the ſixth of *Auguſt* 1642. and the Ordinance of the 11. of *April* 1644. (which we did never ſee till your Lordſhips delivered us Copies of them) making ſo great an alteration in the Government there, that we cannot be prepared for the preſent to make a full Anſwer to thoſe Propoſitions.

Their Anſwer.

10. *Feb.*

CXLV. IT is very contrary to our expectation to finde your Lordſhips unſatisfied, after thoſe Arguments and Reaſons alleged by us, that His Majeſty had not Power to make the Ceſſation with the Rebels in *Ireland*, and that upon the peruſal of the Statute, it appears not to you that His Majeſty had no power to make that Ceſſation: it is ſtrange to us your Lordſhips ſhould forget all the other Arguments uſed by us from the Common Law, from other proceedings in Parliament, and circumſtances as this caſe ſtands, on which we ſtill inſiſt, and do affirm, that His Majeſty had no Power to make or conſent to that Ceſſation: we do not ſee any juſt grounds in the Copies of the Letters given us by your Lordſhips for His Majeſties aſſenting to the Ceſſation, nor do we know by whom thoſe Letters were written. We are therefore ſtill clearly of Opinion, notwithſtanding all your Lordſhips have alleged, that it was unfit for His Majeſty to agree unto that Ceſſation, being deſtructive to His good Subjects, and to the Proteſtant Religion there, and only for the advantage of the Popiſh Rebels, to the high Diſhonour of God, the Diſſervice of His Majeſty, and evident prejudice of His three Kingdoms. We therefore again deſire your Lordſhips full Anſwer to what we have delivered to you concerning *Ireland.*

The King's Commiſsioners Paper.

10. *February.*

CXLVI. WE have given your Lordſhips our Reaſons why we are not ſatisfied with your Arguments, that His Majeſty had not Power to make the Ceſſation; and as upon the peruſal of the Statute we can finde no ground for that Opinion, ſo your Lordſhips in your whole Debate have not inſiſted or mentioned one clauſe in that Statute (though often deſired) which makes it good, neither have your Lordſhips given us any Argument from the Common-Law, other then by telling us, *That it is againſt the Common-Law, becauſe the private Intereſt of the Subſcribers for Money was concerned in it.* To which we give this Anſwer, That their Intereſt was conditional, upon payment of their Moneys for the

See the late Statute concerning the Adventurers for *Iriſh* Lands.

the maintenance of the Warre, which was not performed; and that if they had paid their Moneys, yet this Ceſſation was rather for the advance of that Intereſt, there being (as it appears by the * Papers) no other viſible means of preſervation of the Army in *Ireland*; and that the Statute which gave that private Intereſt, doth not take away the Kings Power of making a Ceſſation; and we conceive that Argument of Intereſt was waved. But if your Lordſhips ſhall inſiſt upon it, we again deſire, as we did formerly, that a Caſe may be made of it, and that the Debate may be again reſumed. Neither do we know that any Argument was uſed by your Lordſhips from the proceedings in Parliament; and if you ſhall give any, we ſhall be ready to anſwer it. And we conceive that the Advice given to His Majeſty from the Lords Juſtices and Councel of *Ireland*, and the Teſtimony of the Officers of the Army, expreſſing the miſerable condition of that Kingdom, and inability to bear the Warre, ſhould appear to your Lordſhips to be juſt grounds for His Majeſties aſſenting to the Ceſſation. One of the Letters delivered by us to your Lordſhips, bearing date the fourth of *April* 1643. was ſent by the Lords Juſtices and Councel of *Ireland* to Mr Secretary *Nicholas*, in which was incloſed their Letter to the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, of which your Lordſhips have likewiſe an Extract, and a Remonſtrance of the Officers of the Army to the Lords Juſtices and Councel there; and the other Letter of the fifth of *May* 1643. to His Majeſty, was from the Lords Juſtices and Councel of that Kingdom: All which (if your Lordſhips pleaſe) ſhall be examined by you with the Originals. And we are therefore of opinion, that our Anſwer formerly delivered is a good Anſwer to the point of Ceſſation in queſtion, and that it was not unfit for His Majeſty to agree to that Ceſſation, nor deſtructive to the Proteſtant Religion, nor for the advantage of the Popiſh Rebels; but much for the advantage of the Proteſtant Subjects there, who were in apparent hazard of Deſtruction by Force and Famine, occaſioned by the want of Supplies which had been promiſed to them, as we have formerly ſaid. And we ſhall give your Lordſhips a further Anſwer to your other Propoſitions concerning *Ireland*, when the time comes again for that Debate.

* See the Letters and advices in the *Appendix*, num. 9.

Here ended the firſt three dayes of the Treaty concerning Ireland; *and the night before the return of the next three dayes their Commiſſioners delivered this Paper.*

17. *February.*

CXLVII. WE conceived that the Arguments uſed by us, that His Majeſty neither had nor hath Power to make the Ceſſation with the Rebels of *Ireland*, might have fully ſatisfied your Lordſhips; and if any Doubts yet remain, we are ready by Conference to clear them. Your Lordſhips may well call to minde the ſeveral Clauſes we inſiſted upon in the Statute, and the Arguments we have given from the Common Law, and other proceedings in Parliament: And we do affirm that ſeveral great Summs of Money were paid by particular Perſons and by Corporations, who, according to the true intent of the Statute, ought to have the benefit of the ſame, according to divers other Acts of Parliament in purſuance thereof; and upon failer of payment by any particular Perſons, the forfeiture was to accrue to the common

benefit of the reſt, not failing; and we do deny that the Argument of Intereſt was at all waved by us. And we conceive thoſe Wants alleged by your Lordſhips (if any ſuch were) in juſtifying the Ceſſation were ſupplied from time to time by the Houſes of Parliament, until His Majeſties Forces were ſo quartered in and about the common Roads to *Ireland*, that Proviſions going thither were intercepted, and neither Money, Cloaths, Victuals, or other things could paſs by Land with ſafety to be tranſported. And when that both Houſes of Parliament were deſirous further to ſupply thoſe Wants, and for that purpoſe did tender a Bill to His Majeſty, it was refuſed. And we ſtill allege that we have no reaſon to be ſatisfied concerning the Ceſſation by any Arguments uſed by your Lordſhips, or by any thing contained in the Extracts of the Letters and Papers delivered to us by your Lordſhips, as from the Lords Juſtices and Councel of *Ireland*, and the Officers of the Army; nor (though deſired by us) have your Lordſhips afforded us liberty to compare thoſe Extracts with the Originals, whereby we might have the names of the Perſons by whom they were written, which we now again deſire. We are therefore ſtill clearly of Opinion as is expreſſed in our former Paper of the 10. of *February* concerning the Ceſſation, and do deſire your Lordſhips full Anſwer to our Demands concerning *Ireland*.

The King's Commiſſioners Anſwer.

18. *February.*

CXLVIII. WE did not conceive that your Lordſhips had believed that any Arguments uſed by you could ſatisfie us againſt His Majeſties Power to make a Ceſſation with the Rebels in *Ireland*, which appears to have been made by Him by the Advice of His Councel there, and for the preſervation of His Majeſties Proteſtant Subjects of that Kingdom, who in all probability would have periſhed by Famine and the Sword if that Ceſſation had not been made; and we ſhall be very ready to receive farther Information from your Lordſhips by Conference or otherwiſe in that particular, either concerning any Clauſes in the Statute, or Arguments at Common Law, or proceedings of Parliament (your Lordſhips having never mentioned the one, or made any Caſe upon the other) upon which you intend to inſiſt. And for the ſeveral great Summes of Money that were paid by particular Perſons and Corporations upon that Statute mentioned by your Lordſhips, we are ſorry that we are compelled by your Lordſhips inſiſting thereon to inform your Lordſhips, that His Majeſty had clear information, that not onely much of the money raiſed by the Act for the four hundred thouſand pound, which was paſſed for the better ſuppreſsing that moſt wicked and execrable Rebellion in *Ireland*, and for the paiment of the Debts of this Kingdom, but alſo of the money raiſed by the Statute (on which your Lordſhips inſiſt) for the ſpeedy and effectual reducing of the Rebels of *Ireland*, &c. and other moneys raiſed by Contribution and Loan for the relief of His Majeſties diſtreſſed Subjects of that Kingdom, were expended, contrary to the intent of the Acts by which the ſame were levied, and of the perſons who lent and contributed the ſame, towards the maintenance of the Forces in this Kingdom under the Command of the Earl of *Eſſex*; and that many Regiments of Horſe and Foot, levied for the Warre of *Ireland*, under the Command of the Lord *Wharton*, the Lord *Kerry*, Sir *Faithfull Forteſcue* and others, were likewiſe imployed

in

in that Army under the Earl of *Eſſex* at *Edge-hill*; and therefore His Majeſty refuſed to conſent to the Bill preſented to His Majeſty after this, for the levying more money for *Ireland*, juſtly fearing that the ſame might be uſed as the former had been. And for the few Cloaths (for there were no Moneys) intercepted by His Majeſties Souldiers in His Majeſties Quarters, which are ſaid to be intended for *Ireland*, the ſame were intercepted near *Coventry*, and going thither, after that City had refuſed to receive His Majeſty, though at the Gates. But His Majeſty never refuſed to give any ſafe Paſs through His Quarters for any Goods or Proviſions which were intended or prepared for *Ireland*, neither was the ſame ever deſired. For the extracts and Copies of the Letters delivered by us to your Lordſhips from the Lords Juſtices and Councel of *Ireland*, and the Officers of the Army, we have been and are willing that your Lordſhips ſhould compare them with the Originals: but for your having the Names of the Perſons who writ the ſame (ſince there can be no doubt of the truth of our Aſſertions) we conceive it not reaſonable to deſire the ſame, not knowing what inconvenience any of them (ſince you ſeem not to like that Advice) might incurre, if at any time they ſhould be found within your Quarters. And having now ſatisfied your Lordſhips in the matter of the Ceſſation, we ſhall gladly proceed in the Treaty with your Lordſhips upon any thing that may be apparently good for His Majeſties Proteſtant Subjects there, and the re-ſettling of that Kingdom in His Majeſties Obedience.

Their Reply.

18. *Feb.*

CXLIX. WE do conceive that the Arguments uſed by us might have fully ſatisfied your Lordſhips againſt His Majeſties Power to make a Ceſſation with the Rebells in *Ireland*, having anſwered whatſoever your Lordſhips have hitherto alleged to the contrary, and offered, if any other Doubts yet remain, by Conference to clear them, which ſtill we are ready to doe; and we have heard nothing juſt or reaſonable for that Ceſſation. It will be made evident, that the Neceſſities which by your Lordſhips were made excuſes for the Ceſſation were created on purpoſe to colour the ſame; and we are compelled by your Lordſhips Paper to let you know, that the Committees of Parliament ſent into *Ireland* to endeavour to ſupply their Neceſſities, were diſcountenanced by the principal Inſtruments for that Ceſſation, and when they had taken up 2000^{l}. upon their perſonal ſecurity for the Army there, they were preſently after commanded from the Councel, by a Letter brought thither from His Majeſty by the Lord *Ormond*'s Secretary: and when the Officers of the Army were contented to ſubſcribe for Land in ſatisfaction of their Arrears, it was declared from His Majeſty, that He diſapproved of ſuch Subſcriptions, whereby that courſe was diverted. And we do affirm, that whatever ſummes of money raiſed for *Ireland* were made uſe of by both Houſes of Parliament, were fully ſatisfied with advantage, and, as we are informed, before the Bill mentioned in our former Paper was refuſed by His Majeſty. And for the Regiments of Horſe and Foot mentioned by your Lordſhips to be raiſed for *Ireland*, and imployed otherwiſe by the Houſes of Parliament; it is true that Forces were ſo deſigned, and when the Money, Armes and other Proviſions were all ready, and nothing wanting but a Commiſſion from His Majeſty for the Lord *Wharton* who was to command them, the ſame could not be obtained, which was the cauſe thoſe Forces did not goe thither: and when twelve Ships and ſix Pinnaces were prepared with a thouſand or more Land-Forces for the ſervice of

Ireland, and nothing desired but a Commission from His Majesty, the Ships lying ready and staying for the same were three weeks together at three hundred pound a day charge; yet the same was denied, though often desired. And where your Lordships seem to imply, that the Provisions seised by His Majesties Forces were going for *Coventry*, it was made known to His Majesty that the same were for *Ireland*. And your Lordships must needs conceive that, the Papers you delivered to us being but Extracts, and for that you deny us so to compare them with the Originals as to have the Names of the persons by whom they were written, it is altogether unreasonable for us to give any credit to them, it being manifest by this and our former Papers and Debates, that the Cessation with the Rebels in *Ireland* is both unjust and unlawful. We therefore insist on our Demands concerning *Ireland*, as apparently good for His Majesties Subjects there, and for reducing that Kingdom to His Majesties Obedience.

Before His Majesties Commissioners gave Answer to this last Paper, they being also to answer the rest of the Demands concerning Ireland, *for their necessary information touching some Doubts that did arise upon those Demands, and the Articles of the Treaty of the 6. of* August *concerning* Ireland, *and Ordinances delivered with them, the King's Commissioners gave in these several Papers.*

The King's Commissioners First Paper.

19. Feb.

CL. IN the eighth Article of the Treaty, for the coming of the *Scots* Army into *England*, dated 29. *Nov.* 1643. at *Edenburgh*, delivered to us by your Lordships among the Papers for *Ireland*, and desired by the twelfth Proposition to be confirmed by Act of Parliament, *It is agreed that no Cessation, nor any Pacification or Agreement for Peace whatsoever, shall be made by either Kingdom, without the mutual advice and consent of both Kingdoms, or the Committees in that behalf appointed, who are to have full power for the same, in case the Houses of the Parliament of* England, *or the Parliament or Convention of Estates in* Scotland, *shall not sit.* We desire to know whether that Article extend to any Cessation, Pacification, or Agreement in *Ireland.*

Their Answer.

19. Feb.

CLI. WE did, in Answer to your Lordships Paper of the first of *February*, upon the Propositions concerning Religion, deliver the Treaty of the 29. of *November* 1643. mentioned by your Lordships, and not among the Papers for *Ireland*, to which it hath no relation.

The King's Commissioners Reply.

20. February.

CLII. YOur Lordships did deliver the Treaty of the 29. of *November*, 1643. to us with the Papers concerning *Ireland*, and on the 7. day of this instant *February*, and not upon the first of *February*, upon the Propositions concerning Religion.

Their Answer.

20. February.

CLIII. WHen your Lordships peruse your Papers, you will rest satisfied with our Answer of the 19. of this instant to your first Paper that day given to us; for

for it will appear by your Lordſhips third Paper of the firſt of *February*, and our Paper given to your Lordſhips in anſwer of it, that the Treaty of the date at *Edenburgh 29. Novemb.* 1643. was delivered to your Lordſhips on the firſt of *February*, upon the Propoſition of Religion, and not upon the 3. of *February*, with the Papers concerning *Ireland*.

The Article of the Treaty of the 29. of November 1643. *which occaſioned theſe Papers, being by their Papers thus acknowledged not to concern* Ireland, *and ſo not pertinent to that Subject, the King's Commiſſioners inſiſted no farther.*

The King's Commiſſioners Second Paper.

19. February.

CLIV. BY the thirteenth Propoſition it is demanded, that an Act be paſſed to ſettle the proſecution of the Warre of *Ireland* in both Houſes of Parliament of *England*, to be managed by the joynt advices of both Kingdoms. We deſire to know, whether if the two Kingdoms ſhall not agree in their advice touching that Warre, each have a Negative voice, or whether the *Scots* Commander in chief of the Forces in *Ireland* may manage that Warre in ſuch caſe according to his own diſcretion.

Their Anſwer:

19. Febr.

CLV. IN Anſwer to your Lordſhips ſecond Paper, the proſecution of the Warre of *Ireland* is to be ſettled in the two Houſes of the Parliament of *England*, but is to be managed by a joynt Committee of both Kingdoms, wherein the Committee of each Kingdom hath a Negative voice; but in caſe of diſagreement, the Houſes of Parliament of *England* may proſecute the Warre as they ſhall think fit, obſerving the Treaty of the ſixth of *Auguſt* 1642. between the two Houſes and the Eſtates of the Parliament of *Scotland*, and the Ordinance of the 11. of *April* 1644. delivered to your Lordſhips formerly.

The King's Commiſſioners Third Paper.

19. February.

CLVI. BY the twentieth Propoſition, in the Intervalls of Parliament the Commiſsioners for the *Militia* have power to nominate the Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, and other Officers and Judges there. We deſire to know, whether that power be limited to the Commiſsioners of both Kingdoms, or onely to the Commiſsioners for *England*, and whether in ſuch caſes the Commiſsioners of *Scotland* ſhall vote as ſingle perſons.

Their Anſwer.

19. Feb.

CLVII. THe power of the Commiſſioners in the Intervalls of Parliament to nominate the Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, and other Officers and Judges there, mentioned in the twentieth Propoſition, being no matters of joynt concernment, is to be limited to the Commiſſioners of the Parliament of *England*, wherein the Commiſſioners of *Scotland* are to vote as ſingle perſons.

The King's Commiſsioners Fourth Paper.

19. February.

CLVIII. THe Articles of the Treaty of the ſixth of *Auguſt*, giving power to the Lieutenant of *Ireland* (when the *Scotiſh* Army ſhall be joyned with his Army) to give Inſtructions to the *Scotiſh* Commander in chief, and the Orders of the two Houſes of the 9. of *March* 1644. and the 11. of *April* 1644. appointing the General of the *Scotiſh* Forces in *Ireland* to command in chief over all the Forces, as well *Britiſh* as *Scots*, and both being deſired to be enacted, we deſire to know, whether the Lieutenant of *Ireland* ſhall command the *Scots* Forces, or whether the *Scotiſh* General ſhall command all Forces, both *Britiſh* and *Scots*.

See all theſe in the *Appendix.*

Their Anſwer.

19. Feb.

CLIX. IN Anſwer to your Lordſhips fourth Paper we ſay, that the Ordinances of the 9. of *March* and 11. of *April* 1644. were made when there was no Lieutenant of *Ireland*: and when a Lieutenant ſhall be made with the approbation of both Houſes, according to our former Demands in the ſeventeenth and twentieth Propoſitions, it will be a fitting time to give further Anſwer to your Lordſhips.

The King's Commiſsioners Reply.

20. Feb.

CLX. WE deſire a full Anſwer from your Lordſhips to our fourth Paper, delivered to your Lordſhips yeſterday, concerning the Power of the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and the General of the *Scots* Forces, your Lordſhips having propoſed to us, that the Articles of the Treaty and the Ordinance of the 11. of *April* be enacted by His Majeſty; by one of which the General of the *Scots* Forces is to receive Inſtructions for the managing the War there from the Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and by the other (which is the later) the General of the *Scots* Forces is to command in chief both the *Britiſh* and *Scots* Forces, by which it ſeems the Lieutenant of that Kingdom is to have no Power in the proſecution of that Warre.

Their Anſwer.

20. Feb.

CLXI. WE do inſiſt upon our former Papers, that the proſecution of the Warre in *Ireland* is to be ſettled in both Houſes of Parliament, and is to be managed by the joynt advice of both Kingdoms, as in thoſe Papers is ſet down; and when a Lieutenant of *Ireland* ſhall be appointed, as is expreſſed in the Propoſitions, and it ſhall be neceſſary for the good of the ſervice that he and the Commander in chief of the *Scotiſh* Army joyn, the Commander of the *Scotiſh* Army ſhall receive Inſtructions from the Lord Lieutenant or Deputy, or other who ſhall have the chief Government of the Kingdom for the time, according to the Orders which ſhall be given by the Commiſſioners of both Kingdoms.

The King's Commiſsioners Fifth Paper.

19. February.

THe laſt part of the ſeventeenth Propoſition gives power to the Commiſsioners for the *Militia* of both Kingdoms, as a joynt Committee to order the Warre of *Ireland*, according to the Ordinance of the 11. of *April*, and to order the *Militia*, and conſerve the Peace of the Kingdom of *Ireland*; and by that of the 11. of *April*, the Earl of *Leven* being appointed Commander in chief over all the Forces, as well *Britiſh* as *Scots*, we deſire to know, whether he ſhall be ſubordinate to thoſe Commiſsioners for the *Militia*, and be obliged to obſerve ſuch Orders as he ſhall receive from them. CLXII.

Their Anſwer:

19. Feb.

THe Commiſſioners of the *Militia* deſired by the ſeventeenth Propoſition are to order the Warre of *Ireland*, according to the Ordinance of the 11. of *April*; and the Earl of *Leven* being by that Ordinance Commander in chief of the Forces there, is obliged to obſerve ſuch Orders as he ſhall receive from thoſe Commiſſioners. CLXIII.

Their Commiſsioners likewiſe the ſame 19. of Feb. *delivered in ſome Papers of Demands on their part.*

*Their * Anſwer.* * Demand.

19. Feb.

WE deſire that no Ceſſation of Arms or Peace in *Ireland* may be Treated upon, or concluded, without conſent of both Houſes of Parliament of *England*. CLXIV.

Another, 19. Feb.

WE deſire to know, whether any Peace or Ceſſation of Arms in *Ireland* be conſented unto by His Majeſty, and for what time, and whether any Commiſſion be now on foot, or other Authority given by His Majeſty for that purpoſe. CLXV.

The King's Commiſsioners Anſwer to both.

20. February.

TO your Lordſhips * ſixth and ſeventh Papers delivered to us yeſterday concerning any Peace or Ceſſation of Arms in *Ireland*, your Lordſhips well know, that long after the Warre begun in this Kingdom, and the want of a Supply from hence, that a Ceſſation hath been made with His Majeſties conſent, and we conceive that the ſame expires in *March* next, and we are confident there is no Peace made there: But for the making a Peace or a farther Ceſſation, we can give no farther Anſwer till we may know whether there may be a bleſſed Peace made in *England*; ſince if the miſerable Civil Warres ſhall continue in this Kingdom, we cannot conceive it poſſible for His Majeſty by Force to reduce the Kingdom of *Ireland*, or to preſerve His Proteſtant Subjects there without a Peace or Ceſſation. CLXVI.

* Which were the two next precedent Papers.

Their

Their Reply.

20. *Febr.*

CLXVII. WE conceive your Lordſhips have given no Anſwer to us, whether any Commiſſion be now on foot, or other Authority given by His Majeſty for any Peace or Ceſſation of Arms in *Ireland*, other then that which determines in *March* next; nor to our deſire that no Ceſſation of Arms or Peace in *Ireland* may be Treated upon, or concluded, without conſent of both Houſes of the Parliament of *England:* nor do we underſtand why your Lordſhips ſhould delay your Anſwer herein till the Peace in *England* be concluded, ſince it hath been ſo clearly manifeſted to your Lordſhips by the true meaning of the Act paſſed by His Majeſty this Parliament, that His Majeſty can make no Peace nor Ceſſation without the Conſent of the two Houſes; and that your Lordſhips ſatisfactory Anſwer to this and our other Demands concerning *Ireland* will much conduce to the ſettling the Peace of this Kingdom. We therefore again deſire your Lordſhips full and clear Anſwer to the particulars expreſſed in our ſixth and ſeventh Papers, yeſterday delivered to your Lordſhips.

The King's Commiſſioners Anſwer.

20. *Febr.*

CLXVIII. WE do not hold our ſelves any wayes obliged to anſwer your Lordſhips Demand, whether any Commiſsion be on foot, or other Authority from His Majeſty, for a Peace or Ceſſation of Arms in *Ireland* (that Queſtion not ariſing upon any Propoſitions on His Majeſties part:) yet for your Lordſhips ſatisfaction, we do again aſſure you, we do not know there is any Peace or Ceſſation made there other then that which determines in *March* next. But what Commiſsion the Marqueſs of *Ormond*, as Lieutenant of *Ireland*, or General of the Forces there, hath to that purpoſe, we do not know, and therefore cannot inform your Lordſhips. And as to the other particulars in that Paper, we do * referre our ſelves to the Anſwers formerly given in to your Lordſhips Demands touching that Subject, with this, that we do conceive it to be moſt clear, that His Majeſty is in no wiſe reſtrained by expreſs words, or by the meaning of any Act made this Parliament, from making a Peace or Ceſſation in *Ireland* without the conſent of the two Houſes.

* The two Papers following, n. 171, & 172. were delivered in before this Paper, and the reference is to them & others formerly delivered on that Subject.

Their Paper.

19. *Feb.*

CLXIX. THere being but three dayes left to Treat upon the Propoſitions for *Religion*, the *Militia*, and for *Ireland*, and for that your Lordſhips have given no ſatisfactory Anſwers to our Demands concerning them, we therefore now deſire to conferre with your Lordſhips how to diſpoſe of the three dayes yet remaining, that we may receive your Lordſhips full and clear Anſwers thereunto.

The King's Commiſsioners Anſwer.

19. *February.*

CLXX. WE ſee no cauſe why your Lordſhips ſhould think our Anſwers upon the Propoſitions for *Religion* and the *Militia* were not ſatisfactory,

factory. And for that of *Ireland*, we have received many Papers from your Lordſhips concerning that buſineſs beſides the Propoſitions themſelves, to all which we doubt not to give a full and clear Anſwer to your Lordſhips to morrow, being the time aſſigned, and the laſt day of the Treaty upon that Subject. * After, we ſhall be ready to conferre with your Lordſhips of diſpoſing the remainder of the time.

* See the Paper, 20. *Feb.* n. 192. touching His Majeſties return to *Weſtminſter*.

Accordingly, after the before-mentioned Demands and Anſwer thereunto of the 19. *of* February, *the King's Commiſsioners in Anſwer to theirs of the* 18. *of* February, *n.*149. *delivered in this Paper.*

20. *February.*

CLXXI. WE have already told your Lordſhips how farre we are from being ſatisfied by what you have alleged againſt His Majeſties Power to make a Ceſſation with the Rebels in *Ireland*, neither have your Lordſhips in any degree anſwered the important Reaſons which induced His Majeſty ſo to doe, it being very evident that by the Ceſſation there His Majeſties Proteſtant Subjects have been preſerved and ſubſiſted, which without it they could not have done, the two Houſes forbearing to ſend any relief or ſupply to them, and His Majeſty not being able. And we deſire your Lordſhips to conſider how impoſsible it was, whileſt the Warre continued in *England* with ſuch fierceneſs and animoſity, by Arms to reduce the Kingdom of *Ireland* to His Majeſties Obedience; and therefore His Majeſty had great reaſon to preſerve that by a Ceſſation which He could not reduce by a Warre: And we are moſt confident that the Neceſsities (which are not offered as excuſes for, but were the reall grounds of, the Ceſſation) were very viſible to all thoſe in that Kingdom, whoſe Advices His Majeſty ought in reaſon to follow, and whoſe Intereſts were moſt concerned, and would not have given ſuch Advice, if any other way could have been found out to preſerve them. And we have been credibly informed, that the Committee ſent into *Ireland* (which His Majeſty never underſtood to be ſent thither to ſupply the Neceſsities, but to obſerve the Actions of His Majeſties Miniſters there, having in their Journey thither ſigned Warrants in their own names to apprehend the Perſons of Peers of this Realm, and Perſons of His Majeſties Privy Councel) were never diſcountenanced there; for His Majeſties directions, that Perſons who were not of His Privy Councel there ſhould not be preſent at thoſe Councels, cannot be interpreted a diſcountenance to them in any thing they ought to doe. And we are moſt aſſured, that His Majeſty ſent no Meſſage or Letter to divert the courſe of the Officers ſubſcribing for Land in ſatisfaction of their Arrears, but the Souldiers were merely diſcouraged from the ſame, by diſcerning that for want of Supplies they ſhould not be able to goe on with that Warre. And we do aſſure your Lordſhips, that His Majeſty doth not believe that the Summes of Money raiſed for *Ireland* (which your Lordſhips do admit to have been made uſe of by both Houſes of Parliament otherwiſe then was appointed) are yet ſatisfied in any proportion,

tion, the greateſt part of the money raiſed upon the Bill for 400000 l. and of the moneys raiſed upon the charitable Collections, as well as the Adventurers moneys, being imployed upon the Warre here; and if the ſame were ſince ſatisfied, it doth no wayes excuſe the diverting of them, when in the mean time that Kingdom ſuffered by that diverſion: and that the fear that other moneys ſo raiſed might likewiſe be miſ-imployed, was a great reaſon (amongſt others) that made His Majeſty not conſent to that Bill mentioned by your Lordſhips. And for the Regiments of Horſe and Foot, which your Lordſhips in your Paper of the 18th of this moneth ſay were deſigned for *Ireland*, though they were imployed otherwiſe, becauſe a Commiſsion could not be obtained for the Lord *Wharton* who was to command thoſe Forces; it is well known that thoſe Forces were raiſed before His Majeſties Commiſsion was ſo much as deſired, and then the Commiſsion that was deſired ſhould have been independent upon His Majeſties Lieutenant of that Kingdom, and therefore His Majeſty had great reaſon not to conſent to ſuch a Commiſsion, and ſo the damages of keeping thoſe ſix Pinnaces and the 1000 Land-Forces (if any ſuch were) proceeded not from any default of His Majeſty. And for the Proviſions ſeized by His Majeſties Forces, it is notorious that they were ſeized in the way to and near *Coventry*, and that it was not made known to His Majeſty that the ſame were for *Ireland* till after the ſeizure thereof, when it was impoſſible to recover the ſame from the Souldiers who had taken them; whereas if a ſafe Conduct had been
* of deſired * by His Majeſty, as it ought to have been, the ſame being to paſs through His Quarters, there would have been no Violence or Interruption offered. For the giving the Names of the Perſons who ſubſcribed the Letters delivered to your Lordſhips (the Originals of which have been ſhewed to you by us) we have given your Lordſhips a full and reaſonable Anſwer: and if your Lordſhips will aſſure us, that the giving their Names to you ſhall be no prejudice to the Perſons who did ſubſcribe, if at any time any of them ſhall be found within your Quarters, we will forthwith deliver their Names to you; otherwiſe we conceive your Lordſhips cannot but give credit to that we have ſaid and ſhewed to you. All which, we hope, hath clearly ſatisfied your Lordſhips, that the Ceſſation with the Rebels was neither unjuſt nor unlawful, and that you will proceed to ſatisfie us by what means the Warre may be managed in *Ireland*, with probable hope of the preſervation of His Majeſties Proteſtant Subjects there; we being very willing to concurre with your Lordſhips in any juſt and honourable way for the good and ſettlement of that miſerable Kingdom.

And together with this laſt the King's Commiſsioners delivered in this other Paper.

20. *February.*

CLXXII. HAving given your Lordſhips clear Reaſons, why the Ceſſation which hath been made in *Ireland* is not in Reaſon or Juſtice to be made

made void, and that the making void thereof (if the ſame might be done) is not or cannot be for the benefit or advantage of His Majeſties Proteſtant Subjects in that Kingdom ſo long as the unhappy Warres in this Kingdom continue; to the other part of your Lordſhips firſt Paper concerning *Ireland*, for the proſecution of the Warre there to be ſettled in both Houſes of the Parliament of *England*, to be managed by the joynt advice of both Kingdoms, and His Majeſty to aſsiſt, we ſay, That it appears by the other Papers delivered to us by your Lordſhips, as the Articles of the Treaty of the ſixth of *Auguſt*, and the Ordinances of the eleventh of *April* and ninth of *March*, and otherwiſe, That the intent is, that that War ſhall be managed by a joynt Committee of both Kingdoms, and that the Committee of each Kingdom ſhall have a Negative voice, and conſequently it is very probable that upon difference of Opinion between them that Warre may ſtand ſtill, or, to the utter Ruine of His Majeſties good Subjects there, be abſolutely diſſolv'd. For whereas your Lordſhips ſay, That in caſe of ſuch Diſagreement, the Houſes of the Parliament of *England* may proſecute the War as they ſhall think fit, obſerving the Treaty of the ſixth of *Auguſt* 1642. and the Ordinance of the 11th of *April*; your Lordſhips well know, that by that Treaty and that Ordinance the two Houſes of the Parliament of *England* alone cannot proſecute that Warre, that Ordinance of the 11. of *April* expreſly making the Earl of *Leven*, the *Scots* General, Commander in chief of all Forces in that Kingdom, both *Britiſh* and *Scotiſh*, without any reference unto His Majeſty or His Lieutenant of that Kingdom, and directing that the Warre ſhall be managed by the Committee of both Kingdoms, without any other reference to the two Houſes of the Parliament of *England*. And therefore we cannot conſent that ſuch an Act of Parliament be paſſed for the confirmation of that Treaty, or the Ordinance of the 11th of *April*, as your Lordſhips propoſe, by reaſon that thereby all His Majeſties Authority would be wholly taken away in that Kingdom, and in truth that whole Kingdom be thereby delivered into the hands of His Majeſties Subjects of *Scotland*; which we conceive is neither juſt, prudent nor honourable to be done. And we are of opinion, that it is not agreeable to His Majeſties Honour, or the Juſtice and Protection which He owes to His Subjects of His Kingdom of *Ireland*, to put the nomination of His Lieutenant and Judges of that Kingdom out of Himſelf, and to commit the whole Power of that Kingdom to others, and to binde Himſelf to paſs all ſuch Acts of Parliament as any time hereafter ſhall be preſented to Him for raiſing of moneys, and other things neceſſary for the proſecution of the War in that Kingdom, which your Lordſhips ſay, in your Paper the 9th of this inſtant, you intend by thoſe words [*His Majeſty to aſsiſt*,] in your firſt Paper. And we conceive it cannot be expected that His Majeſty ſhould conſent to an Act of Parliament for proſecution of the War in *Ireland* to be managed by the Advice of the Houſes of Parliament here and the Eſtates of the Parliament of *Scotland*, ſo long as the War in this Kingdom ſhall continue.

For theſe and many other Reaſons, we conceive it doth appear to your Lordſhips that the Propoſitions, as they are delivered to us by your Lordſhips, are by no means fit to be conſented to; and therefore we deſire your Lordſhips to make other Propoſitions to us, which may be for the preſervation and relief of His Majeſties Proteſtant Subjects there, and for the ſettlement of that Kingdom, in which we ſhall very readily concurre; and we ſhall be very willing that the buſineſs of that Kingdom ſhall, after a Peace ſettled in this, be taken into conſideration, and ordered as His Majeſty and both Houſes of Parliament here ſhall think fit.

Their Anſwers to theſe two Papers.

Their Paper.

20. *Feb.*

CLXXIII. WE expected that your Lordſhips would have been fully ſatisfied by what we have alleged againſt His Majeſties Power to make the Ceſſation with the Rebels in *Ireland*; and we cannot find thoſe important Reaſons which your Lordſhips mentioned to have induced His Majeſty ſo to doe, or that thereby His Majeſties Proteſtant Subjects there have been preſerved or ſubſiſted: but we have made it evident that this Ceſſation tended to the utter Deſtruction of the Proteſtants in that Kingdom, as we conceived was deſigned by thoſe who adviſed His Majeſty thereunto. And we obſerve, your Lordſhips urge that this Ceſſation was the onely means for the ſubſiſtence of the Proteſtants there; when it cannot be denied but that very many of the Proteſtants in *Ulſter*, *Munſter* and *Connaught* have yet ſubſiſted, although they have refuſed to ſubmit to the Ceſſation, and oppoſed the ſame as the means intended for their Ruine. And we do affirm unto your Lordſhips, that the two Houſes of Parliament have been ſo farre from failing to ſupply His Majeſties good Subjects in that Kingdom, that although His Majeſties Forces have, as much as lay in their power, endeavoured to prevent the ſame, and have taken to themſelves that which was provided for thoſe whom your Lordſhips mention to have been in ſo great Want and extremity; yet the two Houſes not diſcouraged thereby, have conſtantly ſent great proportions of all neceſſary Supplies unto the Proteſtants there, whereby they have ſubſiſted, and have very lately ſent thither, and have already provided to be ſpeedily ſent after, in Money, Victuals, Cloaths, Ammunition, and other Neceſſaries, to the value of ſevenſcore thouſand pounds: and they have not deſired any other Proviſion from His Majeſty but what He was well able to afford herein, only His Aſſiſtance and Conſent in joyning with His two Houſes of Parliament, for the better enabling them in the proſecution of that Warre. And we are ſo farre from apprehending any impoſſibility of reducing that Kingdom during the unhappy Diſtractions here, that although many of the Forces provided by the two Houſes for that end were diverted and imployed againſt the Parliament, to the increaſing of our Diſtractions, yet the Proteſtants in *Ireland* have ſubſiſted and do ſtill ſubſiſt, and we have juſt cauſe to believe, that if this Ceſſation had not been obtained by the Rebells (and that in the time of their greateſt Wants) and that theſe Forces had not been withdrawn, they might in probability have ſubdued thoſe bloody Rebels, and finiſhed the Warre in that Kingdom. For the pretended Neceſſities offered as grounds of this Ceſſation, we have already given your Lordſhips (we hope) clear information. For the Perſons whoſe Advice His Majeſty followed therein, your Lordſhips have not thought fit to make them known unto us, and we cannot conceive their Intereſt in that Kingdom to be of ſuch conſideration as is by your Lordſhips ſuppoſed: But we know very well, that many perſons of all ſorts have forſaken that Kingdom rather then they would ſubmit unto this Ceſſation, and great numbers of conſiderable perſons and other Proteſtants yet remaining there have oppoſed, and ſtill do oppoſe, that Ceſſation, as the viſible

visible means of their Destruction. The two Houses sent their Committees into *Ireland* for the better supplying and encouraging of the Armies there, and to take an account of the state of the Warre to be represented hither, that what should be found defective might be supplied. What Warrants they issued we are ignorant of; but are well assured that what they did was in pursuance of their Duty, and for advancement of the publick Service, and suppressing of that horrid Rebellion: and we cannot but still affirm they were discountenanced and commanded from the Councel there where the prosecution of that Warre was to be managed, and that it was declared from His Majesty, that He disapproved of the Subscriptions of the Officers of the Army, by means whereof that course was diverted.

Concerning the Moneys raised for *Ireland*, we have in our former Papers given your Lordships a full and just Answer, and we are sorry the same cannot receive credit. Those moneys raised upon charitable Collections, we do positively affirm were only imployed to those ends for which they were given; and we cannot but wonder the contrary should be suggested. We are confident the Commission desired by the two Houses for the Lord *Wharton* (and which your Lordships acknowledge was denied) was only such as they conceived most necessary for advancement of that Service, and the denial thereof proved very prejudicial thereunto. And we must again inform your Lordships, that it was well known, at the time when the goods were seised by His Majesties Forces (as your Lordships allege, near *Coventry*) that the same were then carrying for the supply of the Protestants in *Ireland*; and some other Provisions made and sent for the same purpose were likewise seised and taken away by some of His Majesties Forces, as we have been credibly informed, not without His Majesties own knowledge and direction. Your Lordships may believe that those who signed the Letters mentioned in your Papers have done nothing but what they may well justifie; and if the same be well done, they need not fear to give an Account thereof, nor your Lordships to suppose that if they come within our Quarters they shall be otherwise dealt withall then shall be agreeable to Justice. Upon the whole matter, notwithstanding the Allegations, Pretences and Excuses offered by your Lordships for the Cessation made with the Rebels in *Ireland*, we are clearly satisfied that the same was altogether unjust, unlawful, and destructive to His Majesties good Subjects, and of advantage to none but the Popish bloody Rebels in that Kingdom. And therefore we still earnestly insist, as we conceive our selves in Conscience and Duty obliged, upon our former Demands concerning *Ireland*, which we conceive most Just and Honourable for His Majesty to consent unto. We know no other waies to propound more probable for the reducing of the Rebels there: but these being granted, we shall chearfully proceed in the managing of that Warre, and doubt not, by God's blessing, we shall speedily settle that Kingdom in their due Obedience to His Majesty.

Their other Paper.

20. *Feb.*

WE cannot understand how out of any of the Papers, Articles and Ordinances delivered by us unto your Lordships, there should be a ground for your Opinion, that upon any Differences between the Committees or Commanders imployed about the Warre of *Ireland*, the Warre should stand still or be dissolved: nor do we find that the Ordinance of the 11. of *April* can produce any such inconvenience as your Lordships do imagine: nor doth the making of the Earl of *Leven* Commander in chief of the *Scotish* and *British* Forces, and the settling of the prosecution of the Warre of *Ireland* in the two Houses of the Parliament of *England*, to be managed by the joynt Advice of both Kingdoms, take away the relation to His Majesties Authority, or of the two Houses of Parliament, or of the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*. For, in the first place, His Majesties Consent is humbly desired, and the whole Power is derived from Him; only the Execution of it is put into such a way, and the General is to carry on the Warre according to the Orders he shall receive from the Committee of both Kingdoms; and in case of Disagreement in CLXXIV.

the Committee, the two Houſes of Parliament are to proſecute that Warre, as is expreſſed in our Anſwer to your Lordſhips ſecond Paper of the 19. of *February*. And when there ſhall be a Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and that he ſhall joyn with the Commander in chief of the *Scotiſh* Army, the ſaid Commander is to receive Inſtructions from him, according to the Orders of the Commiſſioners of both Kingdoms, as we have ſaid in our Anſwer to your Lordſhips ſecond Paper of this day. Nor doth the naming of the Earl of *Leven* to be General any more take away the Power of the two Houſes, then if he were a Native of this Kingdom; or is there any part of the Kingdom of *Ireland* delivered over into the hands of His Majeſties Subjects of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, who do only joyn with their Counſels and Forces for carrying on the Warre, and reducing that Kingdom to His Majeſties Obedience. And we conceive it moſt conducing for the good of His Majeſties Service and of that Kingdom, that the Lieutenant and Judges there ſhould be nominated by the two Houſes of Parliament, as is expreſſed in the twentieth Propoſition, who will recommend none to be imployed by His Majeſty in places of ſo great truſt, but ſuch whoſe known Ability and Integrity ſhall make them worthy of them, which muſt needs be beſt known to a Parliament; nor are they to have any greater Power conferred upon them by the granting this Propoſition, then they have had who did formerly execute thoſe places. And we know no reaſon why your Lordſhips ſhould make difficulty of His Majeſties conſenting to ſuch Acts as ſhall be preſented unto Him for raiſing moneys and other neceſſaries from the Subject, which is without any charge to Himſelf, for no other end but the ſettling of the true Proteſtant Religion in that Kingdom, and reducing it to His Majeſties Obedience, for which we hold nothing too dear that can be imployed by us. And we cannot but wonder that your Lordſhips ſhould make the proſecution of the Warre of *Ireland*, which is but to execute Juſtice upon thoſe bloody Rebels, who have broken all Laws of God and Man, their Faith, their Allegiance, all bonds of Charity, all rules of Humanity and humane Society, who have Butchered ſo many thouſands of Innocent Chriſtians, Men, Women and Children, whoſe blood cries up to Heaven for Vengeance, ſo many of His Majeſties Subjects, whoſe Lives He is bound to require at their hands that ſpilt them, and to doe Juſtice upon them to put away innocent blood from Himſelf, His Poſterity, the whole Land; theſe execrable Antichriſtian Rebels, who have made a covenant with Hell to deſtroy the Goſpel of Chriſt, and have taken up Arms to deſtroy the Proteſtant Religion, to ſet up Popery, to rend away one of His Majeſties Kingdoms, and deliver it up into the hands of Strangers, for which they have negotiations with *Spain* and other States; a Warre which muſt prevent ſo much miſchief, doe ſo much good, offer up ſuch an acceptable Sacrifice to the Great and Juſt God of Heaven, who groans under ſo much Wickedneſs to ly ſo long unpuniſhed; a Warre which muſt reduce that Kingdom unto His Majeſties Obedience, the moſt glorious work that this Kingdom can undertake; that the proſecution of ſuch a Warre your Lordſhips ſhould make to depend upon any other condition, that the Diſtractions of theſe Kingdoms ſhould be laid as an impediment unto it, and that there ſhould be any thought, any thing which ſhould give thoſe Rebels hope of impunity, if our Miſeries continue; whereas, according to Chriſtian reaſon and the ordinary courſe of God's Providence, nothing can be more probable to continue our Miſeries then the leaſt connivence in this kind. What can be ſaid or imagined ſhould be any inducement to it? We hope, not to make uſe of their help and aſſiſtance to ſtrengthen any party here, to bring over ſuch Actors of barbarous Cruelties to exerciſe the ſame in theſe Kingdoms. We deſire your Lordſhips to conſider theſe things, and that nothing may remain with you which may hinder His Majeſty from giving His Conſent to all good means for the reducing of *Ireland*, according to what is deſired by us in our Propoſitions.

The

The King's Commiſsioners Reply to the two laſt Papers.

The King's Commiſsioners Paper.

20. *February.*

CLXXV. WE are very ſorry that our Anſwers formerly given to your Lordſhips in the buſineſs of the Ceſſation, which was ſo neceſſary to be made, and being made to be kept, have not given your Lordſhips ſatisfaction; and that your Lordſhips have not rather thought fit to make the reaſonableneſs of your Propoſitions concerning *Ireland* appear to us, or to make ſuch as might be reaſonable in the ſtead, then by charging His Majeſty with many particulars which highly reflect upon His Honour, to compel us to mention many things in Anſwer to your Lordſhips Allegations, which otherwiſe in a time of Treaty, when we would rather endeavour to prevent future Inconveniences then to inſiſt on paſt miſtakes, we deſired to have omitted. And we can no wayes admit, that when the Ceſſation was made in *Ireland*, His Majeſties Proteſtant Subjects there could have ſubſiſted without that Ceſſation, nor that the Warre can be maintained and proſecuted to the ſubduing the Rebels there ſo long as the Warre continues in this Kingdom; which are the chief grounds laid for the Aſſertions in your Lordſhips firſt Paper delivered this day, concerning the buſineſs of *Ireland*. Neither can we conceive that your Lordſhips have alleged any thing that could in the leaſt degree ſatisfie us, that His Majeſty had no Power to make that Ceſſation, or had no Reaſon ſo to doe, conſidering (as we have formerly ſaid, and do again inſiſt upon it) that by that Ceſſation (which was not made till long after this Kingdom was embroiled in a miſerable Warre) the poor Proteſtants there (who for want of Supplies from hence were ready to famiſh and be deſtroyed) were preſerved, and that Kingdom kept from utter Ruine, (ſo farre was it from being a deſign for their Deſtruction, or for the advantage of the Popiſh bloody Rebels, as is inſinuated:) for it appears by the Letters of the Lords Juſtices of *Ireland*, Sir *William Parſons* and Sir *John Borlaſe*, and of the Councel there, of the fourth of *April* 1643. before that Ceſſation made, directed to the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, a Copy whereof we delivered to your Lordſhips, though we preſume you may have the Original, *That His Majeſties Army and good Subjects there were in danger to be devoured for want of needfull Supplies forth of* England; *and that His Majeſties Forces were of Neceſsity ſent abroad, to try what might be done for ſuſtaining them in the Country, to keep them alive untill Supplies ſhould get to them: but that deſigne failing, thoſe their hopes were converted into aſtoniſhment, to behold the Miſeries of the Officers and Souldiers for want of all things, and all thoſe Wants made unſupportable in the want of Food; and divers Commanders and Officers declaring they had little hope to be ſupplied by the Parliament, preſſed with ſo great importunity to be permitted to depart the*

Kingdom, as that it would be extreme difficult to keep them there. And in another part of that Letter (for we ſhall not grieve you with mention of all their Complaints) they expreſſed, *That they were expelling thence all Strangers, and muſt inſtantly ſend away for* England *thouſands of poor deſpoiled* Engliſh, *whoſe very eating was then unſupportable to that place; that their Confuſions would not admit the writing of many more Letters, if any,* (for they had written divers others, expreſsing their great Neceſsities.) *And to the end His Majeſty and the* Engliſh *Nation might not irrecoverably and unavoidably ſuffer, they did deſire that then (though it were almoſt at the point to be too late) ſupplies of Victualls and Ammunition in preſent might be haſtned thither to keep life untill the reſt might follow, there being no Victuall in the ſtore, nor a hundred Barrells of Powder* (a ſmall proportion to defend a Kingdom) *left in the ſtore, when the out-Garriſons (as they were to be inſtantly) were ſupplied, and that remainder, according to the uſuall neceſſary expence, beſides extraordinary accidents, would not laſt above a Moneth.* And in that Letter they ſent a Paper ſigned by ſundry Officers of the Army, delivered to them as they were ready to ſigne that Diſpatch, and by them apprehended to threaten imminent Danger, which mentioned, *That they were brought to that great exigence, that they were ready to rob and ſpoil one another; that their Wants began to make them deſperate; that if the Lords Juſtices and Councell there did not finde a ſpeedy way for their preſervation, they did deſire that they might have leave to goe away; that if that were not granted, they muſt have recourſe to the Law of Nature, which teacheth all men to preſerve themſelves.*

And by a Letter of the 11th of *May* following (a Copy whereof we have alſo delivered to your Lordſhips) the Lords Juſtices and Councel there did advertiſe His Majeſty, *That they had no Victuall, Cloaths, or other Proviſions, no Money to provide them of any thing they want, no Arms, not above* 40. *Barrells of Powder, no ſtrength of ſerviceable Horſe, no viſible means by Sea or Land of being able to preſerve that Kingdom; and that though the Winds had in many dayes, and often formerly, ſtood very fair for acceſſions of Supplies forth of* England, (the two Houſes having then and ever ſince the full Command of thoſe Seas) *yet to their unexpreſſible grief, after full ſix moneths waiting, and much longer patience and long ſuffering, they found their expectations anſwered in an inconſiderable quantity of Proviſions,* viz. 75 *Barrells of Butter and* 14 *Tun of Cheeſe, being but the fourth part of a ſmall Veſſels-loading, which was ſent from* London, *and arrived there on the fifth of* May, *which was not above* 7 *or* 8 *days Proviſions for that part of the Army in and about* Dublin; *no Money or Victuals (other then that inconſiderable proportion of Victuals) having arrived there as ſent from the Parliament of* England, *or from any other forth of* England, *for the uſe of the Army ſince the beginning of* November *before.* And beſides theſe, whereof we have * Copies to your Lordſhips, it was repreſented to His Majeſty by Petition from that Kingdom, *That all means by which comfort and life ſhould be conveyed to that gaſping Kingdom ſeemed to be totally obſtructed, and that unleſs timely relief were afforded, His Loyall Subjects there muſt yield their Fortunes for a Prey, their Lives for a Sacrifice, and their Religion*

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Religion for a Scorn to the mercileſs Rebels. Upon all which deplorable paſſages, repreſented by Perſons principally intereſſed in the managing of the affairs of that Kingdom and the War there, in which number were Sr *William Parſons*, Sr *John Temple*, Sr *Adam Loftus*, and Sr *Robert Meredith*, Perſons of great eſtimation with your Lordſhips (to which we could adde many other Advices and Letters from ſeveral men of Repute and Quality, but that we will not trouble your Lordſhips with repetition of private Advices) we cannot think but your Lordſhips are now ſatisfied, that the Neceſsities of that Kingdom, which were the ground of the Ceſſation there, were reall, and not pretended: and therefore for Excuſes, we leave them to them who ſtand in need of them; and we deſire your Lordſhips to conſider, as the diſtracted condition of this Kigndom was, what other way could be imagined for the preſervation of that Kingdom then by giving way to that Ceſſation. And though it is inſiſted on in your Lordſhips Paper, that ſome Proteſtants in *Ulſter*, *Munſter* and *Connaught*, (who have refuſed to ſubmit to that Ceſſation) have yet ſubſiſted; yet your Lordſhips well know theſe were generally of the *Scotiſh* Nation, who had ſtrong Garriſons provided and appointed to them, and were in thoſe parts of *Ireland* near the Kingdom of *Scotland*, whence more ready ſupplies of Victuals might be had then the *Engliſh* could have from *England*, and for whoſe ſupply (as His Majeſty hath been credibly informed, and we believe that your Lordſhips know it to be true) ſpecial care was taken, when the *Engliſh* Forces and other *Engliſh* Proteſtant Subjects there were neglected, whereby they were expoſed to apparent Deſtruction by Sword and Famine. And we cannot but wonder at the Aſſertion, That His Majeſties Forces have, as much as lay in them, endeavoured to prevent thoſe Supplies for *Ireland*, and at the mention of the intercepting thoſe Proviſions near *Coventry*, with His Majeſties own knowledge and direction; whereas, as we have formerly acquainted your Lordſhips, it was not known to His Majeſty that thoſe Proviſions which were taken near *Coventry* going thither, when His Majeſties Forces were before it, were intended for *Ireland*, till after the ſeiſure thereof, when it was impoſsible to recover them from the Souldiers; which might have been prevented, if a ſafe Conduct had been deſired through His Majeſties Quarters, which we are aſſured He would have readily granted for thoſe or any other Supplies for that Kingdom, but was never asked of Him. And as there is no particular inſtance of any other Proviſions for *Ireland* intercepted by His Majeſties Forces but thoſe near *Coventry*, which were conſiderable; ſo we can aſſure your Lordſhips, that when His Majeſty was in the greateſt wants of all Proviſions, and might have readily made uſe of ſome provided for *Ireland*, lying in Magazines within His Quarters, yet He gave expreſs Order for the ſending them away, which was done accordingly, and would have ſupplied them further out of His own ſtore, if He had been able. And no man can be unſatisfied of His Majeſties tender ſenſe of the Miſeries of His Proteſtant Subjects in *Ireland*, when they ſhall remember how

readily He gave His Royal Aſſent to any Propoſition or Acts for raiſing of Men, Moneys, and Arms for them; that He offered to paſs over in Perſon for their relief, (which His Majeſties Subjects of *Scotland* approved, and declared it to be an argument of Care in His Majeſty,) and if that had proceeded, it might in poſsibility have quenched the flames of that unhappy Rebellion, as long before it might probably have been prevented, if the Army of *Iriſh* Natives there had been ſuffered to have been tranſported out of that Kingdom, as was directed by His Majeſty.

What Proviſions are lately ſent or are now ſending to *Ireland* from the two Houſes, we know not: but His Majeſty hath been informed, that even thoſe Proviſions are deſigned in purſuance of the late Treaty concerning *Ireland* made with His Subjects of *Scotland* without His Majeſties Conſent, and onely for ſuch who have declared themſelves againſt His Majeſties Miniſters, and in oppoſition to that Ceſſation to which many of them had formerly conſented, though they have ſince, upon private Intereſt and the encouragement and ſolicitations of others, oppoſed the ſame: and therefore His Majeſty cannot look upon thoſe Supplies as a ſupport for the Warre againſt the *Iriſh* Rebels, or as a repaiment of thoſe moneys which being raiſed by Acts of Parliament for that Warre, have been formerly diverted to other uſes, of which money 100000 l. at one time was iſſued out for the paiment of the Forces under the Earl of *Eſſex*.

And as to diverting the Forces provided for the reducing of *Ireland*, though we conceived it ought not to be objected to His Majeſty, conſidering the Forces under the Command of the Lord *Wharton*, raiſed for *Ireland*, had been formerly diverted and imployed againſt Him in the Warre here in *England*: yet it is evident they were not brought over till after the Ceſſation, when they could no longer ſubſiſt there, and that there was no preſent uſe for them; and before thoſe Forces brought over, there was an attempt to bring the *Scotiſh* Forces in *Ireland*, as likewiſe divers of the *Engliſh* Officers there, into this Kingdom; and ſince the Earl of *Leven* their Generall and divers *Scotch* Forces were actually brought over.

To the Allegations that many Perſons of all ſorts have forſaken the Kingdom, rather then they would ſubmit to that Ceſſation, we know of none: but it is manifeſt, that divers who had left that Kingdom, becauſe they would have been famiſhed if they had continued there, ſince that Ceſſation have returned.

Touching the Committee ſent into *Ireland*, we have already anſwered, they were not diſcountenanced by His Majeſty in what they lawfully might doe, although they went without His Privity, but conceive your Lordſhips will not inſiſt that they ſhould ſit with the Privy Councel there, and aſſume to themſelves to adviſe and interpoſe as Privy Councellors. And we again deny the Subſcriptions of the Officers of the Army was diverted by His Majeſty; and it is well known that

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ſome Officers apprehending upon ſome ſpeeches, that the drift in requiring Subſcriptions was to engage the Army againſt His Majeſty, in deteſtation thereof upon thoſe ſpeeches rent the book of Subſcription in pieces.

For the diverſion of the Moneys raiſed for that Warre, if they had been ſince repaied, (the contrary whereof is credibly informed to His Majeſty,) yet that preſent Diverſion might be, and we believe was, a great means of the future Wants of that Kingdome which induced the Ceſſation. As to the Lord *Wharton*'s Commiſsion, we conceive we have already fully ſatisfied your Lordſhips the juſt Reaſons thereof.

For the Letters whereof your Lordſhips had Copies, we conceive that you being thereby ſatisfied of the Contents, and that they came from the Lords Juſtices and Councel there, your Lordſhips need not doubt of the truth of the matter: and for the Names of the ſingle Perſons ſubſcribing, we cannot conceive it is deſired for any other purpoſe, then to be made uſe of againſt ſuch of them as ſhould come into your Quarters, you having not granted, though deſired, that it ſhall not turn to their prejudice if we ſhould give in their Names.

Upon what hath been ſaid it appears, that His Majeſties *Engliſh* Proteſtant Subjects in *Ireland* could not ſubſiſt without a Ceſſation: and that the Warre there cannot be maintained or proſecuted to the ſubduing of the Rebels there, during the continuance of this unnatural Warre here, is evident to any man that ſhall conſider, that this Kingdom labouring in a Warre which imployes all the Force and Wealth at home, cannot nor will ſpare conſiderable Supplies to ſend abroad; or if it could, yet whiles there are mutual Jealouſies, that there cannot be that concurrence in joynt Advices betwixt the King and the two Houſes, as will be neceſſary if that Warre be proſecuted; and that His Majeſty cannot condeſcend, or your Lordſhips in Reaſon expect His Majeſty ſhould by His Conſent to Acts of Parliament for the managing of that Warre, and raiſing moneys to that purpoſe, put ſo great a Power into their hands who, during theſe Troubles, may, if they will, turn that Power againſt Him; and it is apparent, that the continuance of the Warre here muſt inevitably cauſe the continuance of the Miſeries there, and endanger the rending of that Kingdom from this Crown.

The King's Commiſsioners other Paper.

20. *February.*

WE do very much wonder that it doth not clearly appear to your Lordſhips, that upon any difference between the Committees of both Kingdoms in the managing the Warre of *Ireland*, (in the manner propoſed by your Lordſhips) the Warre there muſt ſtand ſtill or be diſſolved: for if the Ordinance of the 11th of *April* be by His Majeſties Royal Aſſent made an Act of Parliament, (as your Lordſhips deſire) all the Forces of that Kingdom, both *Britiſh* and *Scotiſh*, are put under the abſolute CLXXVI.

ſolute Command of the Earl of *Leven* the *Scotiſh* General, and the managing the War committed wholly to the Committee of both Kingdoms, without any reference to the two Houſes of the Parliament of *England* by themſelves: ſo that whatſoever your Lordſhips ſay of your intentions, that the two Houſes of Parliament here ſhall upon ſuch difference manage the War, (which yet you ſay muſt be obſerving the Treaty of the 6th of *Auguſt*, and the ſaid Ordinance of the 11th of *April*,) it is very evident if that Ordinance ſhould be made a Law, the War muſt ſtand ſtill or be diſſolved, upon difference of opinion between the Committee of both Kingdoms, or elſe the Earl of *Leven* muſt carry on that Warre according to his diſcretion, for he is in no degree bound to obſerve the Orders or Directions of the Houſes of Parliament in *England* by themſelves. Neither doth the asking His Majeſties Conſent at all alter the caſe from what we ſtated it to your Lordſhips in our Paper of the 20. of this inſtant; for we ſaid then, and we ſay ſtill, that if His Majeſty ſhould conſent to what you propoſe, He would deveſt Himſelf of all His Royal Power in that Kingdom, and reſerve no Power or Authority in Himſelf over that War, which is moſt neceſſary for His Kingly Office to doe. For your Lordſhips expreſſion, *when there ſhall be a Lieutenant of Ireland*, we preſume your Lordſhips cannot but be informed that His Majeſty hath made, and we doubt not but you acknowledge He hath Power to make, the Lord Marqueſs of *Ormond* His Lieutenant of that Kingdom, and who is very well able to manage and carry on that War, in ſuch manner as ſhall be thought neceſſary for the good of that Kingdom; and there is no queſtion but that the naming the Earl of *Leven* to be General, to receive Orders onely from the joynt Committee of both Kingdoms, doth more take away the Power of the two Houſes here, then if he were a Native of this Kingdom, and to obey the Orders of the two Houſes. And we conceive it evident, that the giving the abſolute Command of all Forces, both *Britiſh* and *Scotiſh*, to the Earl of *Leven*, General of the *Scotiſh* Forces, who is to manage the Warre according to the Directions of the joynt Committee of both Kingdoms, doth not amount to leſs then to deliver the whole Kingdom of *Ireland* over into the hands of His Majeſties Subjects of the Kingdom of *Scotland*: and therefore we muſt ask your Lordſhips pardon, to believe our ſelves obliged in Prudence, Honour and Conſcience, very much to inſiſt on that Conſideration, and very earneſtly to recommend the ſame to your Lordſhips. And we conceive it moſt conducing to the good of His Majeſties Service and of that Kingdom, that the Lieutenant and Judges there be nominated (as they have alwaies been) by His Majeſty, who will be ſure to employ none in places of ſo great Truſt, but ſuch whoſe known Ability and Integrity ſhall make them worthy; and if at any time He ſhall finde Himſelf deceived by thoſe He ſhall chuſe, can beſt make them examples of His Juſtice, as they have been of His Grace and Favour. And we beſeech your Lordſhips to conſider how impoſſible it is for His Majeſty to receive that meaſure of Duty, Reverence and Application which is due to Him, and

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His Royal Progenitors have always enjoyed, if it be not in His own immediate power to reward thoſe whom He ſhall by experience diſcern worthy of publick Truſt and Imployment. We have made no difficulty to your Lordſhips of His Majeſties conſenting to Acts for the raiſing of moneys, and other neceſſaries for the ſettling of the true Proteſtant Religion in that Kingdom; onely we think it unreaſonable that His Majeſty ſhould engage Himſelf (as is propoſed) to paſs all ſuch Acts as ſhall be preſented to Him, before He know whether ſuch Acts are reaſonable or no, and whether thoſe (*other neceſſaries*) may not comprehend what in truth is not onely unneceſſary, but very inconvenient. Neither will the Argument, that the moneys are to be raiſed from His Subjects without any charge to Himſelf, ſeem reaſonable to His Majeſty, His Majeſty conſidering His own charge much leſs then the damage and preſſures which may thereby befall His good Subjects, the preſerving them from which is His Majeſties moſt ſollicitous and earneſt deſire. And we cannot but wonder that your Lordſhips ſhould conceive any Expreſſions made by us, concerning the proſecution of that War of *Ireland*, to be unagreeable to the zeal of perſons abundantly ſenſible of the blood and horrour of that Rebellion. We agree with you, they have broken the Laws of God and Man, their Faith, their Allegiance, the bonds of Charity, rules of Humanity and humane Society, and we heartily wiſh that it were in His Majeſties power to doe Juſtice upon, and make up thoſe breaches of all thoſe Rules and bonds; and to that purpoſe we have deſired to be ſatisfied by your Lordſhips what probable courſe may be taken for the remedying thoſe miſchiefs, and preſerving the remainder of His Majeſties good Proteſtant Subjects: but without doubt the proſecution of that Warre ſo much depends upon the condition and Diſtractions of His Majeſties other Kingdoms, that the information your Lordſhips give us of the negotiation with *Spain* and other States, for delivering up that Kingdom from His Majeſties Obedience into the hands of Strangers, deſerves the moſt ſtrict conſideration, how His Majeſties two other Kingdoms can be applied to the relief of the third, whilſt theſe Diſtractions are in their own Bowels, and the continuance of the Miſeries in the two muſt render thoſe in the third remedileſs, if it be not preſerved by ſome other means then the proſecution of the Warre. Neither can it be foreſeen or determined what help or Aſsiſtance either party may make uſe of, where it findes it ſelf oppreſſed and overpowered by the other, eſpecially when it calls in any help, and leaves no means unattempted to deſtroy the other. And we beſeech your Lordſhips, in the Bowels of Chriſtian Charity and Compaſsion, and in the name of Him who is the Prince of Peace, and who will make an inquiſition for blood, to conſider whether all our endeavours ought not to be, to ſtop theſe bloody iſſues in all His Majeſties Dominions; and whether the juſt God of Heaven, who for our Sins hath made the ſeveral Nations under His Majeſties Government to be Scourges of one another, and of His Majeſty Himſelf, under Whoſe Obedience they ſhould all live,

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can be delighted with the ſacrifice of blood, and the blood of Chriſtians; and whether it would not be more agreeable to our Chriſtian profeſsion, to endeavour the binding up of thoſe wounds which Intereſts, Paſsion and Animoſity have made. We deſire your Lordſhips to conſider theſe things, and to make ſuch Propoſitions to us concerning *Ireland*, (ſince it is apparent, that thoſe already made by you are by no means fit to be conſented to) as may be for the growth and propagation of the true Proteſtant Religion, the Peace and Happineſs of that Kingdom, and the welfare of all His Majeſties Dominions.

The laſt of the ſix dayes concerning Ireland *being now ſpent, being the laſt of the* 18 *appointed to treat upon* Religion, Militia *and* Ireland, *by three daies apiece*, alternis vicibus, *according to the order formerly propoſed, the two remaining daies were imployed for the moſt part concerning* Religion: *but towards the end of theſe two daies, being the laſt of the Treaty (about* 12 *of the clock at night) they delivered in theſe two following Papers concerning* Ireland, *in Anſwer to the two laſt Papers.*

Their Paper.

22. *Feb.*

CLXXVII. WE are very ſorry that your Lordſhips ſhould continue in that opinion, that it was neceſſary to make the Ceſſation in *Ireland*, when by undeniable proofs, and conſideration of all circumſtances, it is moſt clear, that the Neceſſities alleged for grounds of that Ceſſation were made by deſign of the Popiſh and Prelatical party in *England* and *Ireland*, who ſo wickedly contrived the ſame, that the Proviſions ſent thither by the Parliament for relief of His Majeſties good Subjects in *Ireland*, were diſpoſed of and afforded to the Rebels there in their greateſt wants, and then when your Lordſhips affirm the Proteſtants to be in ſo great extremity: and even at that time alſo when the Officers of our Army and Garriſons, preſſing for leave to march into the Enemies Country, to live upon them, and ſave their own ſtores, ſome, who were driven forth, had great quantities of proviſions out with them, yet were not permitted to march into the Enemies Country, but kept near *Dublin*, until their Proviſions were ſpent, and then commanded back again; others could not obtain leave to goe forth, but were commanded to ſtay at home, that their own proviſions might be the ſooner conſumed, and thereby the Neceſſity made greater. Notwithſtanding, by the care of both Houſes of Parliament here for their ſupply, they were able to ſubſiſt, and did ſubſiſt at the time of that Ceſſation, although the making thereof reduced them to farre greater Neceſſities then otherwiſe they could have ſuffered, beſides the notorious advantage thereby to the Rebels, when their wants and extremities were moſt preſſing. And we ſhould not again have troubled your Lordſhips with theſe Anſwers, had they not been cauſed by your own repetition of the Letters, of part whereof you have given us Copies, though not the knowledge of the Perſons from whom they came; only you were pleaſed to mention the Lords Juſtices and Councel there: yet we are aſſured, even by ſome who were of the Councel at that time when the Letters were written, that the ſame was done only to preſs for Supplies from hence, without the leaſt intention in them of inducing a Ceſſation; neither do the Copies contain any thing tending to a Ceſſation, or the leaſt mention thereof. And we have cauſe to grieve, not only at what your Lordſhips expreſs concerning the complaints from *Ireland* and their great Extremities, but that the ſame being procured and increaſed by the Popiſh Party, yet we ſhould find ſuch earneſt endeavours to lay the blame and neglect therein upon the two Houſes of Parliament here, who have been ſo zealous for their relief, and whoſe only care (under the bleſſing of God) hath been their preſervation, and that in the heat of our own miſerable Diſtractions have continued their Supplies, and

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from our own great Wants have not ſpared to afford our Brethren there the means of their ſubſiſtence.

The Proteſtants in *Munſter*, *Connaught* and *Ulſter*, who oppoſed this Ceſſation, were many of them *Engliſh*, and both they and the *Scots* ſuffering under as great Wants and failer of Supplies as the Proteſtants in other places, and in no better poſture of their own defence, notwithſtanding in a true ſenſe of their own Duty and Conſcience, they have oppoſed and ſtill do oppoſe the ſame: neither were the *Engliſh* there neglected, as your Lordſhips have been miſinformed by ſuch who labour to deſtroy both Nations, and, as a means thereto, to divide them.

Beſides the goods ſeiſed near *Coventry*, we have mentioned other particulars aſſerted to be ſeiſed, not without His Majeſties own knowledge and direction, as we are informed, and are moſt unwilling to believe: Neither do we underſtand it to be an excuſe for ſeiſing ſome goods, to ſay that His Majeſty did forbear to ſeiſe others in His Power; but when His Majeſty ſhall rightly ponder the Horridneſs of that Rebellion, we hope thoſe wicked Inſtruments who contrived and do ſupport the ſame, will have no power to alter His Majeſties tender ſenſe of the Miſeries of His Proteſtant Subjects in that Kingdom, nor at all to leſſen His Piety and gracious Care for quenching the flames of that unhappy Rebellion.

We do again affirm unto your Lordſhips the truth of what we ſaid before concerning the Supplies of *Ireland* by the two Houſes; and it ſeems ſtrange, that what hath been lately ſent ſhould not be looked upon as a ſupport of the Warre againſt the Rebels, by which only the Proteſtants were enabled to defend themſelves, and to infeſt their Enemies: nor can we imagine any other means as a ſupport of that juſt Warre, being moſt aſſured that if this had not been done, the Rebels muſt certainly have prevailed, and the remnant of His Majeſties good Subjects of that Kingdom have periſhed.

Your Lordſhips are pleaſed to remember ſome moneys by us imployed, particularly one hundred thouſand Pounds, which was raiſed for *Ireland*, all which have been re-ſatisfied with advantage; and we muſt, as often as you are pleaſed to repeat it, referre your Lordſhips to our former juſt and clear Anſwers concerning the ſame, and the like for the Forces under the Command of the Lord *Wharton*. And we believe what your Lordſhips expreſs concerning the Forces brought hither to His Majeſty out of *Ireland* after the Ceſſation, it being one end for which the Ceſſation was made, that thoſe Forces might be imployed againſt the two Houſes of Parliament here; and thoſe *Scotiſh* Forces which came over, were not ſent for.

We know of no Perſons who have returned into *Ireland* ſince the Ceſſation, except ſuch as were Agents for the procuring thereof, and divers principal Rebels who preſumed to addreſs themſelves unto His Majeſty at *Oxford*, and were there countenanced.

It is probable that ſome might endeavour to alienate the hearts of the Officers of the Army there from the two Houſes, whereby their ſervice againſt the Rebels might be interrupted.

To that particular of the Subſcriptions of the Officers, and of the Committee ſent into *Ireland*, and of the diverſions of Moneys alleged, and of the Copies of Letters given us by your Lordſhips, without the Names of thoſe who ſubſcribed them, we have already given your Lordſhips a full and clear Anſwer; but have not received ſatisfaction concerning the denial of the Lord *Wharton*'s Commiſſion, whereby the Service of that Kingdom was much prejudiced.

It is ſo farre from being made appear that His Majeſties *Engliſh* Proteſtant Subjects in *Ireland* could not ſubſiſt without a Ceſſation, that the contrary is undeniable, and that His Majeſties Proteſtant Subjects there, both *Engliſh* and *Scotiſh*, who have oppoſed that Ceſſation, have ſubſiſted, and do ſtill ſubſiſt; and we are ſorry to find any inclination to continue that Ceſſation, which whenſoever made, will be eſteemed by all good Proteſtants a countenancing of that bloody Rebellion.

We do inſiſt upon our former Demands concerning *Ireland*; and doubt not but thoſe being granted, notwithſtanding our preſent miſerable Diſtractions here, we

ſhall (by the bleſſing of God) bring thoſe bloody Rebels to a ſpeedy and juſt puniſhment, and ſettle that unhappy Kingdom in their due Obedience to His Majeſty and the Crown of *England*.

Their other Paper.

22. *Feb.*

CLXXVIII. IT is not poſſible for us to give a more clear Anſwer then we have done, to ſhew that there can no ſuch Inconvenience follow upon confirming the Ordinance of the 11. of *April* by Act of Parliament as your Lordſhips do imagine; it being deſired that the Treaty of the ſixth of *Auguſt* be in like manner confirmed, by which the Commanders of the *Scotiſh* Forces in *Ireland* are to be anſwerable to His Majeſty and the two Houſes of Parliament of *England* for their whole deportment and proceeding there; and it being deſired by the 13. Propoſition, that the proſecutions of the Warre of *Ireland* ſhould be ſettled in both Houſes of Parliament: all which taken together, it cannot follow, that upon any diſagreement between the Committees there, the Earl of *Leven* may carry on the Warre according to his own diſcretion. As for our expreſſion [*when there ſhall be a Lieutenant in* Ireland] which was uſed in Anſwer to your Lordſhips ſecond Paper of the 20. of *February*, it was to ſatisfie your Lordſhips, that there could be no interfering between the powers of the Lord Lieutenant and of the Earl of *Leven*; and ſtill we ſay, when there ſhall be a Lord Lieutenant choſen as is expreſſed in our 20. Propoſition, (for we do not admit the Marqueſs of *Ormond* to be ſo) the Commander in chief of the *Scotiſh* Army is to receive Inſtructions from him, in ſuch manner as we have laid it down in that Anſwer of ours to your Lordſhips Paper above mentioned: which will, we hope, ſatisfie your Lordſhips other Objection, that this is not to deliver over the whole Kingdom of *Ireland* into the hands of His Majeſties Subjects of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, ſeeing ſuch of that Nation as are there imployed are to be ſubordinate to the Committee of both Kingdoms, and in caſe of diſagreement, an appeal lies to the two Houſes of the Parliament of *England*, in whom the power of proſecuting the Warre is to be ſettled. And we muſt inſiſt to deſire that the Lord Lieutenant and the Judges in that Kingdom may be nominated by the two Houſes of Parliament, who have by ſad experience (to the great coſt of this Kingdom, expence of ſo much Treaſure and Blood, the loſs of many thouſand Lives there, and almoſt of that whole Kingdom from His Majeſties Obedience, and an ineſtimable prejudice to the true Proteſtant Religion) found the ill conſequence of a bad choice of perſons for thoſe great places of Truſt. Therefore for His Majeſties Honour, the good of His Service, the great advantage it will be to the reſt of His Majeſties Dominions, the great comfort to all good Chriſtians, and even an acceptable ſervice to God himſelf, for the attaining of ſo much good and the prevention of ſo much evil, they deſire to have the nomination of thoſe great Officers, that by a prudent and careful Election they may, by providing for the good of that now-miſerable Kingdom, diſcharge their Duty to God, the King, and their Country. And certainly, if it be neceſſary to reduce that Kingdom, and that the Parliament of *England* be a faithful Councel to His Majeſty, and fit to be truſted with the proſecution of that Warre, (which His Majeſty was once pleaſed to put into their hands, and they faithfully diſcharged their parts in it, notwithſtanding many practices to obſtruct their proceedings, as is ſet forth in ſeveral Declarations of Parliament) then, we ſay, your Lordſhips need not think it unreaſonable that His Majeſty ſhould ingage Himſelf to paſs ſuch Acts as ſhall be preſented to Him for raiſing Moneys and other neceſſaries for that Warre: for if the Warre be neceſſary (as never Warre was more) that which is neceſſary for the maintaining of it muſt be had, and the Parliament that doth undertake and manage it, muſt needs know what will be neceſſary, and the People of *England*, who have truſted them with their Purſe, will never begrudge what they make them lay out upon that occaſion. Nor need His Majeſty fear the Parliament will preſs more upon the Subject then is fit in proportion to the occaſion. It is true that heretofore Perſons about His Majeſty have endeavoured and prevailed

prevailed too much, in poſſeſſing Him againſt the Parliament for not giving away the money of the Subject when His Majeſty had deſired it; but never yet did His Majeſty reſtrain them from it, and we hope it will not be thought that this is a fit occaſion to begin. We are very glad to find that your Lordſhips are ſo ſenſible in your expreſſions of the Blood and Horrour of that Rebellion, and it is without all queſtion in His Majeſties Power to doe Juſtice upon it, if your Lordſhips be willing that the Ceſſation and all Treaties with thoſe bloody and unnatural Rebels be made void, and that the proſecution of the Warre be ſettled in the two Houſes of the Parliament of *England*, to be managed by the joynt advice of both Kingdoms, and the King to aſſiſt, and to doe no Act to diſcountenance or moleſt them therein. This we dare affirm to be more then a probable courſe for the remedying thoſe miſchiefs, and preſerving the remainder of His Majeſties good Subjects there. We cannot believe your Lordſhips will think it fit there can be any Agreement of Peace, any reſpite from Hoſtility, with ſuch Creatures as are not fit to live, no more then with Wolves or Tigers, or any ravenous Beaſts, deſtroyers of mankinde. And we beſeech you, do not think it muſt depend upon the condition of His Majeſties other Kingdoms to revenge or not revenge God's Quarrel upon ſuch perfidious Enemies to the Goſpel of Chriſt, who have imbrued their hands in ſo much Proteſtant blood; but conſider the Ceſſation that is made with them is for their advantage, and rather a Protection then a Ceſſation of Acts of Hoſtility, as if it had been all of their own contriving; Arms, Ammunition, and all manner of Commodities may be brought unto them; and they may furniſh themſelves, during this Ceſſation, and be aſſiſted and protected in ſo doing, that afterwards they may the better deſtroy the ſmall remainder of His Majeſties Proteſtant Subjects. We beſeech your Lordſhips in the bowels of Chriſtian Charity and compaſſion to ſo many poor Souls who muſt periſh, if the ſtrength of that raging Adverſary be not broken, and in the Name of Him who is the Prince of Peace, who hates to be at Peace with ſuch ſhedders of Blood, give not your conſents to the continuation of this Ceſſation of Warre in *Ireland*, and leſs to the making of any Peace there, till Juſtice have been fully executed upon the Actors of that accurſed Rebellion. Let not the Judgement of Warre within this Kingdom, which God hath laid upon us for our Sins, be encreaſed by ſo great a Sin as any Peace or Friendſhip with them: whatſoever becomes of us, if we muſt periſh, yet let us goe to our graves with that comfort, that we have not made Peace with the Enemies of Chriſt, yea even Enemies of mankind, declared and unreconciled Enemies to our Religion and Nation: let not our Warre be a hindrance to that Warre, for we are ſure that Peace will be a hindrance to our Peace. We deſire Warre there as much as we do Peace here: for both we are willing to lay out our Eſtates, our Lives, and all that is dear unto us in this World; and we have made Propoſitions unto your Lordſhips for both, if you were pleaſed to agree unto them. We can but look up to God Almighty, beſeech him to encline your hearts, and caſting our ſelves on him, wait his good time for the return of our Prayers in ſettling a ſafe and happy Peace here, and giving ſucceſs to our Endeavours in the proſecution of the Warre of *Ireland*.

It had been uſed by the Commiſſioners during the Treaty, that when Papers were delivered in of ſuch length, and ſo late at night that preſent particular Anſwers could not be given, by agreement between themſelves to accept the Anſwers the next day, dated as of the day before, although they were Treating of another Subject; and theſe two laſt Papers concerning Ireland *being of ſuch great length, and delivered about twelve of the clock at night, when the Treaty in time was expiring, ſo as no Anſwer could be given without ſuch conſent and agreement, therefore the King's Commiſſioners delivered in this Paper.*

22. *February.*

YOur Lordſhips cannot expect a particular Anſwer from us this night CLXXIV.
to the two long Papers concerning *Ireland*, delivered to us by your

Lordſhips about twelve of the clock this night: but ſince there are many particulars in thoſe Papers to which, if they had been before mentioned, we could have given your Lordſhips full ſatisfaction, and for that we preſume your Lordſhips are very willing to be ſatisfied in thoſe particulars which ſo highly reflect upon His Majeſty, we deſire your Lordſhips to receive the Anſwers which we ſhall prepare to thoſe Papers in the evening to morrow, dated as of this night, and we doubt not to give your Lordſhips clear ſatisfaction therein.

This deſire was not granted, nor any Paper delivered in Anſwer to it, but ſoon after the Treaty broke off.

During the Twenty dayes Treaty upon Religion, Militia, *and* Ireland, *the particular paſſages whereof are before expreſſed, ſome other paſſages did occurre concerning His Majeſties Propoſitions, and particularly for a* * Ceſſation, *and touching* His Majeſties return to *Weſtminſter after disbanding of Armies, and further time for continuing or renewing the Treaty, which do here follow. And firſt touching His Majeſties* Propoſitions, *the Kings Commiſſioners delivered in this Paper the ſecond day of the Treaty.*

* It is the ſixth of His Majeſties Propoſitions.

1. *February.*

CLXXX. See His Majeſties Propoſitions, n. 8. and the Letter from the Earl of *Eſſex*, n. 9. that their Commiſſioners ſhould have Inſtructions to Treat upon thē.

WE deſire to know whether your Lordſhips have any Inſtructions concerning His Majeſties Propoſitions, for ſettling a ſafe and well-grounded Peace; and if you have any touching the ſame, we deſire to have a ſight of them.

Their Anſwer.

1. *Feb.*

CLXXXI. WE have not yet received Inſtructions concerning His Majeſties Propoſitions, and ſhall therefore acquaint the Lords and Commons aſſembled in the Parliament of *England* with the deſires expreſſed in that Paper, who having taken thoſe Inſtructions into theiir conſideration before our coming from them, will ſend them to us in time convenient.

After, upon the third of February, *His Majeſties Commiſſioners delivered this Paper concerning His Majeſties ſixth Propoſition, for a Ceſſation of Arms.*

3. *February.*

CLXXXII. WE deſire to know whether your Lordſhips have received any Inſtructions concerning that Propoſition of His Majeſties for a Ceſſation; and if your Lordſhips have not received any, that you will endeavour to procure Authority to Treat thereupon, which we have power to doe, and conceive it very neceſſary, that during the time we are endeavouring to eſtabliſh a bleſſed and happy Peace, the iſſues of blood may be ſtopped in this miſerable Kingdom, and His Majeſties oppreſſed and languiſhing Subjects have ſome earneſt and proſpect of the Peace we are endeavouring, by God's bleſſing, to procure for them.

To this no particular Anſwer was given.

The

The King's Commiſsioners Paper.

10. *February.*

HAving now ſpent three days ſeverally upon each of your Lordſhips three Propoſitions, concerning *Religion*, the *Militia*, and *Ireland*, we deſire to know whether your Lordſhips have received any Inſtructions concerning His Majeſties Propoſitions, that we may prepare our ſelves to Treat upon them when your Lordſhips ſhall think fit. CLXXXIII.

Their Anſwer.

11. *Febr.*

WE have received Inſtructions concerning His Majeſties Propoſitions; and when the Houſes of Parliament ſhall be ſatisfied in the good Progreſs of the Treaty upon their Propoſitions concerning *Religion*, the *Militia*, and *Ireland*, they will give time for the Treaty upon thoſe Propoſitions ſent by His Majeſty. CLXXXIV.

But there was not any time given to Treat upon His Majeſties Propoſitions.

Touching further time for continuing or reviving the Treaty, and His Majeſties Return to Weſtminſter *after disbanding, theſe Papers were delivered.*

The King's Commiſsioners Paper.

14. *Feb.*

WE have this day received Directions from His Majeſty to move your Lordſhips, that you will endeavour to procure an addition of time for this Treaty after the expiration of the dayes limited for the ſame, upon the Reaſons mentioned in His Majeſties Letter, which Letter we herewith deliver to your Lordſhips. CLXXXV.

The Letter mentioned in the laſt Paper, from His Majeſty to His Commiſsioners, is this.

RIght Truſty, &c. Having received from you a particular accompt of your proceedings in the Treaty, and obſerving thereby how impoſsible it is within the dayes limited to give ſuch full Anſwers to the three Propoſitions you are now upon, as you might, if upon Conſideration had of the reſt of the Propoſitions, you could clearly ſee what fruit ſuch Anſwers will produce in order to a bleſſed Peace for the preſent, and the future good and Happineſs of this Kingdom; We have thought it fit to adviſe you, that you propoſe and deſire of the Commiſsioners with whom you Treat, that they will procure ſuch farther time to be allowed, after the expiration of the Twenty dayes, as may be ſufficient for you, upon a full underſtanding one of another upon the whole, to make ſuch a Concluſion, that all Our Subjects may reap the Benefit good CLXXXVI.

men pray for, Deliverance from theſe bloody Diſtractions, and be united in Peace and Charity: And if you think fit, you may communicate this Our Letter to them. And ſo We bid you heartily farewell.

Given at Our Court at *Oxford*, 13. *Feb.* 1644.

By His Majeſties Command.
George Digby.

To our Right Truſty, &c. the Lords and others Our Commiſſioners for the Treaty at Uxbridge.

Their Anſwer.

14. *Feb.*

CLXXXVII. CONcerning the Paper delivered by your Lordſhips for addition of time for the Treaty, we can give no other Anſwer, then that we will ſend Copies of His Majeſties Letter and of the Paper unto the Houſes of Parliament, and after ſignification of their pleaſure we will give further Anſwer.

Afterwards on the 18. *of* Feb. *they delivered this Paper.*

18. *February.*

CLXXXVIII. YOur Lordſhips may pleaſe to take notice, that in the twenty dayes appointed to Treat upon the Propoſitions concerning *Religion*, *Militia*, and *Ireland*, the firſt Thurſday and three Sundayes are not to be included.

The King's Commiſſioners Paper.

20. *February.*

CLXXXIX. BY our Paper delivered to your Lordſhips the 14th of this moneth, we moved your Lordſhips to endeavour an addition of time for this Treaty after the expiration of the dayes limited for the ſame, upon the Reaſons mentioned in His Majeſties Letter; which Letter we then delivered to your Lordſhips: whereunto your Lordſhips then returned Anſwer, that you would ſend Copies of His Majeſties Letter and of our Paper to the Houſes of Parliament, and after ſignification of their pleaſure, you would give farther Anſwer. We now deſire to know whether there may be an addition of time for this Treaty after the expiration of the dayes limited for the ſame, upon the Reaſons mentioned in His Majeſties ſaid Letter, and what time may be added.

Their Anſwer.

20. *Feb.*

CXC. YOur Lordſhips Paper of the 14. of this moneth, for an addition of time for this Treaty, together with His Majeſties Letter concerning the ſame, were ſent by us to the Houſes of Parliament, who (* as we have already acquainted your Lordſhips) have declared, That if they ſhall be ſatisfied in the good progreſs of the Treaty upon the Propoſitions concerning *Religion*, the *Militia*, and *Ireland*, they will give time for

*See their Paper before, 11. *Feb.* num. 184.

for the Treaty upon the Propoſitions by His Majeſty; but farther then this have not as yet ſignified their pleaſures unto us.

The King's Commiſſioners Paper.

20. *February.*

CXCI. HAving now ſpent 18 dayes with your Lordſhips in the Treaty upon *Religion*, the *Militia*, and *Ireland*, and beſides the preſent ſatisfaction we have given your Lordſhips in thoſe particulars, we having offered that further conſideration and order be taken therein by His Majeſty and the two Houſes of Parliament, and your Lordſhips having propoſed many important things in the ſaid ſeveral particulars to be framed, ſettled and diſpoſed by the two Houſes before a full Agreement can be eſtabliſhed; we propoſe to your Lordſhips, whether the two dayes remaining may not be beſt ſpent towards the ſatisfying your Lordſhips in thoſe three Propoſitions, and the procuring a ſpeedy bleſſed Peace, upon finding out ſome expedient for *His Majeſties repair to Weſtminſter*, that ſo all Differences may be compoſed, and this poor Kingdom be reſtored to its ancient Happineſs and Security: and to that purpoſe, if your Lordſhips ſhall think fit, we are willing to Treat with your Lordſhips concerning the beſt means whereby (all Armies being firſt disbanded) His Majeſty may with Honour, Freedom and Safety, be preſent with His two Houſes of Parliament at *Weſtminſter*. To which two particulars, that is, firſt concerning the Disbanding all Armies, and then for His Majeſties ſpeedy repair and reſiding at *Weſtminſter* with Honour, Freedom and Safety, we ſhall (if your Lordſhips think fit) apply our ſelves; and accordingly to morrow will be ready to deliver to your Lordſhips ſome Propoſitions upon that Subject: And if your Lordſhips ſhall concurre with us herein, we hope it will be a good inducement to procure an addition of time to this Treaty, according to His Majeſties Propoſition in His late Letter to us, which we delivered to your Lordſhips.

Their Paper.

20. *Feb.*

CXCII. WE ſhall, according to mutual agreement between His Majeſty and the two Houſes of the Parliament of *England*, and the Commiſſioners for the Parliament of *Scotland*, Treat theſe two remaining dayes upon the three Propoſitions for *Religion*, the *Militia*, and *Ireland*, and ſhall be glad to receive ſatisfaction in them from your Lordſhips, as the beſt expedient for procuring a ſpeedy and bleſſed Peace, that the Armies may be disbanded, and the Happineſs of His Majeſties Preſence may again be enjoyed by thoſe who have nothing more in their prayers and endeavours, then by His Majeſties Conjunction with His Parliament to ſee all theſe ſad Differences compoſed, and theſe diſtracted Kingdoms reſtored to their Ancient Happineſs and Security: Accordingly we ſhall be ready to begin again to morrow upon the Propoſitions for *Religion*, and receive what your Lordſhips will propoſe: and being ſatisfied upon that and the other two Propoſitions, we are confident we ſhall have further time given us to Treat upon ſuch other particulars as ſhall be neceſſary for the attaining of thoſe ends we all deſire.

There was no other Anſwer given concerning His Majeſties Commiſſioners deſire to

Treat touching His Return to Westminster, *and Disbanding Armies; whereupon His Majesties Commissioners delivered this Paper.*

20. February.

CXCIII. WE conceive that the Reasons why your Lordships do not give us any Answer to our Paper concerning the Treating for the Disbanding all Armies, and for His Majesties coming to *Westminster*, may be, because you have no Authority by your Instructions so to doe, though we proposed the same to your Lordships, and do still conceive it most conducing to the conclusion of the Propositions upon *Religion*, the *Militia*, and *Ireland*, upon which we have Treated; and we therefore desire your Lordships, that you will endeavour to have your Instructions so enlarged, that we may Treat upon so important and necessary an Expedient for the publick Peace. In the mean time we shall be ready to receive whatsoever your Lordships please to propose in the business of *Religion*, presuming that if your Lordships are not satisfied with our Answer therein, in which we have applied Remedies to whatsoever hath ever been complained of as a Grievance in the present Government of the Church, that your Lordships will make it appear * that the Government by Bishops is unlawful, or that the Government you intend to introduce in the room thereof is the onely Government that is agreeable to the Word of God: either of which being made evident to us, we shall immediately give your Lordships full satisfaction in that you propose.

* See their Paper, num 68. referring to this.

The King's Commissioners Paper.

22. February.

CXCIV. BY our Paper delivered to your Lordships 1. *February*, we did desire to know whether your Lordships have any Instructions concerning His Majesties Propositions for settling a safe and well-grounded Peace; and by our Paper of the third of *Feb.* we did desire to know whether your Lordships had received any Instructions concerning that Proposition of His Majesties for a Cessation, and if your Lordships had not received any, that you would endeavour to procure authority to Treat thereupon; and by our Paper of the tenth of *Feb.* we did desire to know whether your Lordships had received any Instructions concerning His Majesties Propositions, that we might prepare our selves to Treat upon them when your Lordships should think fit; and by our Paper delivered to your Lordships 14th *Feb.* we moved your Lordships, upon Directions received from His Majesty, that you would endeavour to procure an addition of time for this Treaty after the expiration of the dayes limited for the same, upon the Reasons mentioned in His Majesties Letter, which Letter we then delivered to your Lordships; and by our Paper delivered to your Lordships the twentieth of this moneth, we moved your Lordships to endeavour an addition of time for this Treaty after the expiration of the dayes limited for the same, upon the Reasons mentioned in His Majesties said Letter, to which we have not yet received full Answer;

ſwer; nor have we yet had any notice from your Lordſhips whether the two Houſes of Parliament have given any further time for this Treaty: and having hitherto, according to the order preſcribed us, Treated onely upon the three firſt heads, of *Religion*, the *Militia*, and *Ireland*, and the twenty days expiring this day, we again deſire to know, whether there is any addition of time granted for this Treaty, our ſafe Conduct being but for two days longer.

Their Anſwer.

22. *Feb.*

CXCV. YOur Lordſhips Papers of the firſt, third, and tenth of *Feb.* whether we had any Inſtructions concerning His Majeſties Propoſitions, and power to Treat for a Ceſſation, as alſo your Papers of the 14. and 20. of *Feb.* concerning His Majeſties Letter for an addition of time to this Treaty, with your Lordſhips deſire thereupon, have been by us ſent up to both Houſes of Parliament from time to time as we received them, together with our Anſwer given to them; and in our Anſwers we have from time to time declared to your Lordſhips, that when the Houſes ſhall be ſatisfied in the good progreſs of the Treaty upon their Propoſitions concerning *Religion*, *Militia*, and *Ireland*, they will give an addition of time for the Treaty: And we do conceive, that if your Lordſhips Anſwers to our Demands concerning *Religion*, the *Militia*, and *Ireland*, had been ſuch as to have given ſatisfaction in the good progreſs of this Treaty, mutually conſented to for twenty dayes upon the ſaid Propoſitions, we ſhould have before this been enabled with power to continue the Treaty as well upon His Majeſties as the reſt of the Propoſitions. But your Lordſhips having not given full and ſatisfactory Anſwers concerning *Religion*, the *Militia*, and *Ireland*, you cannot, for the Reaſons above mentioned, expect an addition of time; neither have we received any Inſtructions to continue this Treaty longer then the twenty dayes, of which this is the laſt. And as for your Lordſhips ſafe Conduct, we conceive the three Sundays laſt paſt being not accompted any dayes of the Treaty, ſo this next Sunday is not to be eſteemed one of the two dayes allowed after the Treaty in your Lordſhips ſafe Conduct, but your Lordſhips are to have two dayes beſides this next Lords day.

The King's Commiſſioners Reply.

22. *February.*

CXCVI. WE cannot expreſs the great ſadneſs of our hearts, that all our earneſt endeavours to give your Lordſhips ſatisfaction in all particulars of this Treaty have produced no better effects towards a bleſſed Peace, which His Majeſty and we who are truſted by Him do ſo heartily pray for, and that ſo many and great offers made by us to your Lordſhips in the particulars we have Treated upon ſhould not be thought a good progreſs on our part in the ſaid Treaty, as we finde by your Lordſhips laſt Paper (to our great grief) they are not, and therefore that this muſt be the laſt day of the Treaty. We deſire your Lordſhips to conſider, that we being intruſted by His Majeſty to Treat with your Lordſhips for a ſafe and well-grounded Peace, have upon the matter of your Lordſhips Propoſitions conſented to ſo many particulars and alterations of very great importance, and that your Lordſhips, who were to Treat with us, have not abated one tittle of the moſt ſevere and rigorous of your Propoſitions,

ſitions; ſaving what you were pleaſed the laſt night to propoſe in the point of Time concerning the *Militia*; which though it ſeems to be limited to ſeven years, in truth leaves it as unlimited as it was before in your Propoſitions, for at the end of ſeven years, it muſt not be exerciſed otherwiſe then ſhall be ſettled by His Majeſty and the two Houſes of Parliament: ſo that all the Legal Power now in His Majeſty is taken away, and not reſtored after the ſeven years expired. Neither is there a full conſent to that limitation offered by your Lordſhips the Commiſsioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*. Nor have your Lordſhips offered to us any proſpect towards Peace, other then by ſubmitting totally to thoſe Propoſitions; the which if we ſhould doe, we ſhould conſent to ſuch Alterations as by conſtructions and conſequences may diſſolve the whole frame of the preſent Government, both Eccleſiaſtical and Civil, in this Kingdom. And though the particulars propoſed by your Lordſhips have by Debate appeared not onely evidently unreaſonable, but, literally conſidered, to comprehend things to be extended to Powers not intended by your ſelves; yet your Lordſhips have not been pleaſed either to reſtrain or interpret any particular in any other manner then as is ſet forth in the ſaid Propoſitions.

In the matter of *Religion* we have offered all ſuch Alterations as we conceive may give ſatisfaction to any Objections that have been or can be made againſt that Government, and have given your Lordſhips Reaſons not onely why we cannot conſent to your Lordſhips Propoſitions, but that even thoſe Propoſitions if conſented to could not be in order to a Reformation, or to the procuring the publick Peace. And we muſt deſire your Lordſhips to remember, that though you do not onely in your Covenant (which you require may be taken by His Majeſty, and injoyned to be taken by all His Subjects) undertake the Reformation in point of Government, but even in point of Doctrine too, thereby laying an imputation upon the Religion it ſelf ſo long profeſſed in this Kingdome with the generall approbation of all Reformed Churches; yet your Lordſhips have not given us the leaſt Argument, nor ſo much as intimated in your Debate the leaſt Prejudice to the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, againſt which we preſume you cannot make any colourable Objection; nor have you given us the view in particular of the Government you deſire ſhould be ſubmitted to in the place of that you propoſe to be aboliſhed: and therefore we propoſe to your Lordſhips, if the Alterations propoſed by us do not give your Lordſhips ſatisfaction, that ſo great an Alteration as the totall Abolition of a Government eſtabliſhed by Law may, for the Importance of it, and any Reformation in Doctrine, for the Scandall of it, be ſuſpended, till after the Disbanding of all Armies His Majeſty may be preſent with the two Houſes of Parliament, and calling a National Synod, may receive ſuch Advice both from the one and the other as in a matter of ſo high concernment is neceſſary; and we are moſt confident that His Majeſty will then follow the Advice which ſhall

be

be given Him. And as any Reformation thus regularly and calmly made muſt needs prove for the ſingular Benefit and Honour of the Kingdom; ſo we muſt appeal to your Lordſhips, whether the contrary, that is, an Alteration even to things though in themſelves good, can by the Principles of Chriſtian Religion be enforced upon the King or Kingdom.

In the buſineſs of the *Militia*, though your Lordſhips do not deny that the Jealouſies and apprehenſions of Danger are mutuall, and that the chief end of depoſiting the *Militia* in the hands of certain Perſons is for ſecurity againſt thoſe Jealouſies and poſſible Dangers; yet your Lordſhips inſiſt, That all thoſe Perſons to be entruſted ſhall be nominated by the two Houſes of Parliament in *England* and the Eſtates of the Parliament in *Scotland*, and that the time for that great, general and unheard-of Truſt ſhall be in ſuch manner, that though it ſeem to be limited to ſeven years, yet in truth by declaring, that after thoſe ſeven years it ſhall not be otherwiſe exerciſed then His Majeſty and the two Houſes of Parliament ſhall agree, His Majeſty may thereby be totally and for ever deveſted of the power of the Sword, without which He can neither defend Himſelf againſt Forein Invaſions or Domeſtick Inſurrections, nor execute His Kingly Office in the behalf of His Subjects, to whom He is Sworn to give Protection. And to both theſe your Lordſhips adde the introducing a Neighbour-Nation, governed by diſtinct and different Laws (though united under one Sovereign) to a great ſhare in the Government of this Kingdom. In ſtead of conſenting to theſe Changes, we have offered and propoſed to your Lordſhips, That the Perſons to be truſted with the *Militia* of the Kingdom may be nominated between us, or, if that were refuſed, that an equal number ſhall be named by you, and the other number by His Majeſty, and that half the Forts and places of ſtrength within the Kingdom ſhall be in the cuſtody of thoſe whom you think fit to be truſted therewith, and the other half in ſuch hands as His Majeſty pleaſes to commit the ſame to; and all perſons, as well thoſe nominated by your Lordſhips as by His Majeſty, to take an Oath for the due diſcharge of the ſaid Truſt: which being conſidered, as the Security is mutual, ſo neither part can be ſuppoſed to violate the Agreement, without very evident inconvenience and danger to that part who ſhall ſo violate it, the whole Kingdom being likely, and indeed obliged, to look upon whoſoever ſhall in the leaſt degree violate this Agreement as the Authors of all the Miſeries which the Kingdom ſhall thereby ſuffer. And as it is moſt reaſonable that, for this Security, His Majeſty ſhould part with ſo much of His own Power as may make Him even unable to break the Agreement which ſhould be now made by Him and on His part; ſo it is moſt neceſſary that all apprehenſion and danger of ſuch breach being over, that Sovereign power of the *Militia* ſhould revert into the proper chanel, and be, as it hath always been, in His Majeſties proper and peculiar charge. And therefore we have propoſed that the time limited for that truſt ſhould be for three

years,

years, which, by the bleſſing of God, will produce a perfect underſtanding between His Majeſty and all His People; and if there ſhould be any thing elſe neceſſary to be done in this Argument, either for power or time, that the ſame be conſidered after the ſettlement of Peace in Parliament: but whatever is now or hereafter ſhall be thought neceſſary to be done, we deſire may be ſo ſettled, that this Kingdom may depend upon it ſelf, and not be ſubject to the Laws or Advice of *Scotland*, as we think fit that *Scotland* ſhould not receive Rules or Advice from this, having offered the like for *Scotland* as for *England*.

In the buſineſs of *Ireland* your Lordſhips propoſe not onely that His Majeſty diſclaim and make void the Ceſſation made by His Royal Authority, and at the deſires of the Lords Juſtices and Councel of that Kingdom, and for the preſervation of the remainder of His poor Proteſtant Subjects there, who were in evident danger of Deſtruction both by Famine and the Sword, but alſo to put the whole managery of that Warre and diſpoſal of the Forces within that Kingdom, and conſequently the Government of that Kingdom, into the hands of the *Scots* General, to be managed by the Advice of a joynt Committee of both Kingdoms, wherein each ſhould have a Negative Voice: In Anſwer to which we have acquainted your Lordſhips with the juſt grounds of His Majeſties proceedings in the buſineſs of *Ireland*, which we are confident, being weighed without prejudice, may ſatisfie all men of His Majeſties Piety and Juſtice therein; and we are very ready and deſirous to joyn with your Lordſhips in any courſe which may probably preſerve and reſtore that miſerable Kingdom.

Having put your Lordſhips in minde of theſe particulars, as they have a general reference to the publick good of the Kingdoms, we beſeech your Lordſhips to conſider that we have this great Truſt repoſed in us by His Majeſty, and to remember how farre theſe Propoſitions trench upon His peculiar Kingly Rights, without any, or any conſiderable recompence or compenſation.

In the buſineſs of *Religion*, your Lordſhips propoſe the taking away His whole Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, His Donations and Temporalties of Biſhopricks, His firſt Fruits and Tenths of Biſhops, Deans and Chapters, in ſtead whereof your Lordſhips do not offer to conſtitute the leaſt dependence of the Clergie upon His Majeſty; and for that ſo conſiderable a part of His Revenue, you propoſe onely the Biſhops Lands to be ſettled on His Majeſty, (reſerving a power to diſpoſe even thoſe Lands as you ſhall think fit:) whereas all the Lands both of Biſhops, Deans and Chapters (if thoſe Corporations muſt be diſſolved) do undoubtedly belong to His Majeſty in His own Right.

In the buſineſs of the *Militia*, as it is propoſed, His Majeſty is ſo totally deveſted of the Regal Power of the Sword, that He ſhall be no more able either to aſſiſt any of His Allies with aid, though men were willing to engage themſelves voluntarily in that ſervice, or to defend His own Dominions from Rebellion or Invaſion, and conſequently the whole

Power

Power of Peace and Warre (the acknowledged and undoubted Right of the Crown) is taken from Him.

In the buſineſs of *Ireland*, the power of nominating His Lieutenant or Deputy, and other Officers there, of managing, directing, or in the leaſt manner of medling in that Warre, or of making a Peace, is propoſed to be taken from Him. And to adde to all theſe attempts upon His Kingly Rights, it is propoſed to bereave Him of the Power of a Father, in the Education and Marriage of His own Children, and of a Maſter, in the rewarding His own Servants. And therefore we referre it to your Lordſhips, whether it be poſsible for us, with a good Conſcience and diſcharge of the Truſt repoſed in us, to conſent to the Propoſitions made to us by your Lordſhips.

Laſtly, we muſt obſerve to your Lordſhips, that after a Warre of near four years, for which the Defence of the Proteſtant Religion, the Liberty and Property of the Subject and the Privileges of Parliament were made the cauſe and grounds, in a Treaty of Twenty days, nor indeed in the whole Propoſitions upon which the Treaty ſhould be, there hath been nothing offered to be Treated concerning the breach of any Law, or of the Liberty or Property of the Subject, or Privilege of Parliament, but onely Propoſitions for the altering a Government eſtabliſhed by Law, and for the making new Laws, by which almoſt all the old are or may be cancelled; and there hath been nothing inſiſted on of our part which was not Law, or denied by us that you have demanded as due by Law.

All theſe things being conſidered, and being much afflicted that our great hope and expectation of a Peace is for the preſent fruſtrated by your Lordſhips * Declaration, that no more time will be allowed for this Treaty, we are earneſt Suitors to your Lordſhips, that you will interpoſe with the two Houſes, to whom we believe you have tranſmitted the Anſwers delivered by us to your Lordſhips upon *Religion*, the *Militia*, and *Ireland*, that this Treaty, though for the preſent diſcontinued, may be revived, and the whole matter of their Propoſitions, and thoſe ſent to them by His Majeſty, which have not yet been Treated on, may be conſidered; and that depending that Treaty, to the end we may not Treat in Blood, there may be a Ceſſation of Arms, and that the poor People of this Kingdom, now expoſed to Plundrings and Spoils and other direfull effects of Warre, may have ſome earneſt of a bleſſed Peace. And becauſe this Treaty is now expiring, if your Lordſhips cannot give a preſent Reſolution, we deſire when you have repreſented this to the two Houſes, His Majeſty may ſpeedily receive their Anſwer.

* See their laſt Paper.

Their Anſwer.

22. *Febr.*

CXCVII. WE conceive your Lordſhips cannot in reaſon expect an Anſwer to the long Paper delivered to us very late this night at the cloſe of the Treaty, a thing of many daies labour, which we apprehend to be rather a Declaration upon the Treaty,

then any part thereof, and we could not imagine would be offered: but we cannot forbear, upon the reading thereof, to mention thus much; That it ſeems by many particulars in that Declaration, it was reſolved the Treaty ſhould end with the Twenty daies, the means to continue it being well known to be a good progreſs in the Propoſitions for *Religion*, the *Militia*, and *Ireland*, and by what we have received, we cannot find any ſatisfaction in theſe was intended to be agreed unto.

To that whereby your Lordſhips aſcribe ſo much to your own Conceſſions, we ſhall only ſay, That for *Religion* you have granted very little or nothing, but what we are already in poſſeſſion of by the Laws of this Kingdom. For the buſineſs of the *Militia*, your Lordſhips have not thought fit to conſent to any one of our Demands, but in that, as in *Religion*, have made ſome new Propoſitions of your own, which are not in any degree ſufficient for ſettling & ſecuring the Peace of the Kingdoms. As for the Propoſitions for *Ireland*, your Lordſhips have been ſo farre from affording a Conſent thereto, that you have juſtified the deſtructive Ceſſation there, and ſtrongly implied an intention to renew the ſame, and have not yielded to any part of our Propoſitions concerning that Kingdom. We ſhall repreſent your Lordſhips Papers to the Parliaments of both Kingdoms, who, upon due conſideration thereof, will doe what is farther neceſſary for the good and Peace of His Majeſties Dominions.

Beſides theſe ſeveral Deſires above mentioned from time to time for addition and enlargment of time, for continuing and prolonging the Treaty, or if diſcontinued, that it might be revived, and after a repreſentation to the Houſes, their Anſwer might be ſent to His Majeſty; in another Paper before, num. 135. *upon the Head of the* Militia, *His Majeſties Commiſſioners did propoſe, That if the Treaty might not then continue, it might be Adjourned for ſuch time as they ſhould think fit, and not totally diſſolve, but be again reſumed: which Paper is not here inſerted, to avoid repetition, being before upon the Head of the* Militia, *and to which, as to that point of Adjournment, no Anſwer was given.*

No Papers were given in to their Commiſſioners in Anſwer to the laſt-mentioned Paper, dated the 22. *of* Feb. *num.* 197. *which came in about two of the clock in the morning after; nor to that of the ſame date, num.* 135. *concerning the* Militia, *which came in with it; nor to their two laſt concerning* Ireland *of the* 22. *of* Febr. *num.* 177, *and* 178. *which came in about* 12 *of the clock that night: all which were of ſuch length, and delivered upon the cloſe of the Treaty, and thoſe which came in about two of the clock upon the departure of the Commiſſioners, that it was impoſſible to give preſent Anſwers, nor could any be given after, as part of the Treaty, without conſent, which was required by His Majeſties Commiſſioners, but not granted. Neither is any thing here inſerted in Anſwer to thoſe Papers, becauſe by the agreements between the Commiſſioners in the beginning of the Treaty, nothing was to be taken as part of the Treaty but what ſhould be put in writing. And this Relation is intended only for a Narrative of the Treaty, (conformable to the agreements) without any obſervations upon it, or additions unto it, other then neceſſary Introductions and Tranſitions for coherence, and more clear underſtanding the Paſſages of the Treaty.*

The

The Appendix.

His MAJESTIES *Meſſage from* Eveſham *of the* 4. *of* July, 1644.

To the Lords and Commons of Parliament aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*.

CHARLES R.

WE being deeply ſenſible of the Miſeries and Calamities of this Our Kingdom, and of the grievous Sufferings of Our poor Subjects, do moſt earneſtly deſire that ſome Expedient may be found out which, by the bleſsing of God, may prevent the further effuſion of blood, and reſtore the Nation to Peace; from the earneſt and conſtant endeavouring of which as no diſcouragement given Us on the contrary part ſhall make Us ceaſe, ſo no Succeſs on Ours ſhall ever divert Us. For the effecting whereof We are moſt ready and willing to condeſcend to all that ſhall be for the good of Us and Our People, whether by way of Confirmation of what We have already granted, or of ſuch further Conceſsion as ſhall be requiſite to the giving a full Aſſurance of the Performance of all our moſt real Profeſsions, concerning the maintenance of the true Reformed Proteſtant Religion eſtabliſhed in this Kingdom, with due regard to the eaſe of tender Conſciences, the juſt Privileges of Parliament, and the Liberty and Property of the Subject, according to the Laws of the Land; as alſo by granting a general Pardon, without or with Exceptions, as ſhall be thought fit. In order to which bleſſed Peace, We do deſire and propound to the Lords and Commons of Parliament aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*, That they appoint ſuch and ſo many Perſons as they ſhall think fit, ſufficiently authorized by them, to attend Us at Our Army, upon ſafe Conduct, to come and return, (which We do hereby grant) and conclude with Us how the Premiſſes, and all other things in queſtion betwixt Us and them, may be fully ſettled; whereby all unhappy miſtakings betwixt Us and Our People being removed, there may be a preſent Ceſſation of Arms, and, 1.

as ſoon as may be, a total Disbanding of all Armies, the Subject have his due, and We be reſtored to Our Rights. Wherein if this Our Offer ſhall be accepted, there ſhall be nothing wanting on Our part which may make Our People ſecure and happy.

Given at Our Court at *Eveſham* the 4. of *July*, 1644.

His MAJESTIES *Meſſage from* Taveſtock *of the* 8. *of* September, 1644.

To the Lords and Commons of Parliament aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*.

CHARLES R.

II. IT having pleaſed God in ſo eminent a manner lately to bleſs Our Armies in theſe parts with ſucceſs, We do not ſo much joy in that Bleſsing for any other conſideration, as for the hopes We have that it may be a means to make others lay to heart, as We do, the Miſeries brought and continued upon Our Kingdom by this unnatural Warre, and that it may open your ears and diſpoſe your mindes to embrace thoſe offers of Peace and Reconciliation which have been ſo often and ſo earneſtly made unto you by Us, and from the conſtant and fervent endeavours of which We are reſolved never to deſiſt. In purſuance whereof We do, upon this occaſion, conjure you to take into conſideration Our (too-long-neglected) Meſſage of the fourth of *July* from *Eveſham*, which We again renew unto you; and that you will ſpeedily ſend Us ſuch an Anſwer thereunto, as may ſhew unto Our poor Subjects ſome light of a Deliverance from their preſent Calamities by a happy Accommodation; toward which We do here engage the Word of a King, to make good all thoſe things which We have therein promiſed, and really to endeavour a happy concluſion of this Treaty. And ſo God direct you in the wayes of Peace.

Given at Our Court at *Taveſtock* the 8. of *September*, 1644.

The

The Bill for Aboliſhing Epiſcopacy.

iii.

WHereas the Government of the Church of *England* by Arch-biſhops, Biſhops, their Chancellours and Commiſſaries, Deans, Deans and Chapters, Arch-deacons, and other Eccleſiaſtical Officers depending upon the Hierarchy, hath by long experience been found to be a great impediment to the perfect Reformation and growth of Religion, and very prejudicial to the Civil State and Government of the Kingdom; Be it therefore Enacted by the King's moſt Excellent Majeſty, and the Lords and Commons in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, and by the Authority of the ſame, that from and after the fifth day of *November* in the year of our Lord one thouſand ſix hundred fourty and three, there ſhall be no Arch-biſhop, Biſhop, Chancellour or Commiſſary of any Arch-biſhop or Biſhop, nor any Dean, Sub-dean, Dean and Chapter, or Arch-deacon, nor any Chancellour, Chaunter, Treaſurer, Sub-treaſurer, Succentor or Sacriſt, of any Cathedral or Collegiate Church, nor any Prebendary, Canon, Canon-Reſidentiary, Petty-Canon, Vicar Choral, Choriſters, old Vicars or new Vicars, of or within any Cathedral or Collegiate Church, or any other their Officers, within this Church of *England* or Dominion of *Wales*; and that from and after the ſaid fifth day of *Novemb.* the Name, Title, Dignity, Juriſdiction, Office and Function of Arch-biſhops, Biſhops, their Chancellours and Commiſſaries, Deans, Sub-deans, Deans and Chapters, Arch-deacons, Canons and Prebendaries, and all Chaunters, Chancellours, Treaſurers, Sub-treaſurers, Succentors and Sacriſts, and all Vicars Choral and Choriſters, old Vicars and new Vicars, and every of them, and likewiſe the having, uſing or exerciſing of any Power, Juriſdiction, Office or Authority by reaſon or colour of any ſuch Name, Title, Dignity, Office or Function, within this Realm of *England* or Dominion of *Wales*, ſhall thenceforth ceaſe, determine, and become abſolutely void, and ſhall be aboliſhed out of this Realm and the Dominion of *Wales*, any Uſage, Law or Statute to the contrary in any wiſe notwithſtanding. And that from and after the ſaid fifth day of *November*, no Perſon or Perſons whatſoever, by virtue of any Letters Patents, Commiſſion, or other Authority derived from the Kings Majeſty, His Heirs or Succeſſors, ſhall uſe or exerciſe any Juriſdiction Eccleſiaſtical within this Realm, or Dominion of *Wales*, but ſuch and in ſuch manner as ſhall be appointed and eſtabliſhed by Act of Parliament. And that all Counties Palatine, Mannors, Lordſhips, Caſtles, Granges, Meſſuages, Mills, Lands, Tenements, Meadows, Leaſues, Paſtures, Woods, Rents, Reverſions, Services, Parks, Annuities, Franchiſes, Liberties, Privileges, Immunities, Rights, Rights of Action and of Entrie, Intereſts, Titles of Entrie, Conditions, Commons, Courts-Leet and Courts-Baron, and all other Poſſeſſions and Hereditaments whatſoever, of what nature or quality ſoever they be, or whereſoever they lie or be, (other then Impropriations, Parſonages appropriate, Tithes, Oblations, Obventions, Penſions, Portions of Tithes, Parſonages, Vicarages, Churches, Chappels, Advowſons, Nominations, Collations, Rights of Patronage and Preſentation,) which now are, or lately were, of or belonging unto any Arch-biſhop, Biſhop, Arch-biſhoprick or Biſhoprick, or any of them, or which they or any of them held or injoyed in right of their ſaid Arch-biſhoprick or Biſhoprick reſpectively, ſhall by the Authority of Parliament be veſted, adjudged and deemed to be, and ſhall be in the very real and actual poſſeſſion and ſeiſin of the Kings Majeſty, His Heirs and Succeſſors; and He ſhall have, hold, poſſeſs and enjoy the ſame, to Him, His Heirs and Succeſſors, without any Entrie or other Act whatſoever: and that the Kings Majeſty, His Heirs and Succeſſors, His and their Leſſees, Farmers and Tenants, ſhall hold and injoy the ſame diſcharged and acquitted of payment of Tithes, as freely, and in as large, ample and beneficial * means to all intents and purpoſes, as any Arch-biſhop or Biſhop at any time or times within the ſpace of two years laſt paſt held or injoyed, or of right ought to have held or injoyed the ſame. Provided nevertheleſs, and be it enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, that all Leaſes, Grants, Gifts, Letters Patents, Conveyances, Aſſurances, or Eſtates whatſoever, hereafter to be made by

† * manner

the Kings Majeſty, His Heirs or Succeſſors, of any the Mannors, Lands, Tenements, Hereditaments, which in or by this Act ſhall come, or be limited, or diſpoſed of unto His Majeſty, His Heirs or Succeſſors, (other then for the term of one and twenty years, or three Lives, or ſome other term of years determinable upon one, two or three Lives, and not above, from the time as any ſuch Leaſe or Grant ſhall be made or granted, whereupon the accuſtomed yearly Rent or more ſhall be reſerved and payable yearly during the ſaid term) and whereof any former Leaſe is in being, not to be expired, ſurrendred or ended within three years after the making of any ſuch new Leaſe, ſhall be utterly void and of none effect, to all intents, conſtructions and purpoſes, any clauſe or words of (*non obſtante*) to be put in any ſuch Patent, Grant, Conveyance or Aſſurance, and any Law, Uſage, Cuſtome, or any thing in this Act to the contrary in any wiſe notwithſtanding. And be it further Enacted and Ordained, that all Impropriations, Parſonages appropriate, Tithes, Oblations, Obventions, Portions of Tithes, Parſonages, Vicarages, Churches, Chappels, Advowſons, Nominations, Collations, Rights of Patronage and Preſentation, which now are or lately were belonging unto any Arch-biſhop or Biſhop, Arch-biſhoprick or Biſhoprick, and all Mannors, Caſtles, Lordſhips, Granges, Meſſuages, Mills, Lands, Tenements, Meadows, Paſtures, Woods, Rents, Reverſions, Services, Parſonages appropriate, Tithes, Oblations, Obventions, Penſions, Portions of Tithes, Parſonages, Vicarages, Churches, Chappells, Advowſons, Nominations, Rights of Patronage and Preſentation, Parks, Annuities, Franchiſes, Liberties, Privileges, Immunities, Rights, Rights of Action and of Entrie, Intereſts, Titles of Entrie, Conditions, Commons, Courts-Leet and Courts-Baron, and all other Poſſeſſions and Hereditaments whatſoever, of what nature or quality ſoever they be, or whereſoever they lie or be, which now are, or lately were, of or belonging to any Sub-dean, Dean, Dean and Chapter, Arch-deacon, Chaunter, Chancellor, Treaſurer, Sub-treaſurer, Succentor, Sacriſt, Prebendary, Canon, Canon Reſidentiary, Petty-Canon, Vicars Choral, Choriſters, old Vicars and new Vicars, or any of them, or any of the Officers of them, or any of them which they held or injoyed in right of their ſaid Dignities, Churches, Corporations, Offices or Places reſpectively, ſhall by Authority of this preſent Parliament be veſted, adjudged and deemed to be, and ſhall be in the very real and actual poſſeſſion and ſeiſin of Sir *William Roberts* Knight, *Thomas Atkins*, Sir *John Wollaſton*, *John Warner*, *John Towes*, Aldermen of the City of *London*, *John Packer* Eſquire, *Peter Malbourne* Eſquire; and they ſhall have, hold, poſſeſs and enjoy the ſame to them, their Heirs and Aſſignes, without any Entrie or other Act whatſoever, and that for themſelves, their Leſſees, Farmers and Tenants, diſcharged and acquitted of Payment of Tithes, as freely, and in as large, ample and beneficial manner, to all intents and purpoſes, as any of the Perſons or Corporations, whoſe Offices or Places are taken away by this Act, at any time or times within the ſpace of two years now laſt paſt held or enjoyed, or of right ought to have held or enjoyed, the ſame. In truſt and confidence nevertheleſs, and to the intent and purpoſe, that they, the ſaid Sir *William Roberts* Knight, *Thomas Atkins*, Sir *John Wollaſton*, *John Warner*, *John Towes*, Aldermen of the City of *London*, *John Packer* Eſquire, *Peter Malbourne* Eſquire, and the Survivors and Survivor of them, his and their Heirs and Aſſignes, ſhall ſatisfie and pay unto all and every Arch-biſhop, Biſhop, Dean, Sub-dean, Arch-deacon, Chaunter, Chancellour, Treaſurer, Sub-treaſurer, Succentor, Sacriſt, Prebendary, Canon, Canon Reſidentiary, Pettie-Canon, Vicars Choral, Choriſters, old Vicars and new Vicars, and other Officers and perſons belonging unto, or now imployed in or about the ſaid Cathedral or Collegiate Churches, ſuch yearly Stipends and Penſions, for ſo long time and in ſuch manner, as by the Lords and Commons in Parliament aſſembled ſhall be ordered, directed and appointed; and ſhall diſpoſe of all and ſingular the aforeſaid Mannors, Lands, Tithes, Appropriations, Advowſons, Tenements, Hereditaments, and other the Premiſſes, and of every part and parcel thereof, and of the Revenues, Rents, Iſſues and Profits thereof, to the uſes, intents and purpoſes above and hereafter expreſſed, (that is to ſay) for a competent maintenance for the ſupport of ſuch a number of Preaching Miniſters for the ſervice of every Cathedral and Collegiate Church,

Church, and His Majeſties free Chappel of *Windſor*, as by the Lords and Commons ſhall be ordered and appointed, and likewiſe for the maintenance of Preaching Miniſters throughout the Kingdom of *England*, Dominion of *Wales*, and Town of *Barwick*, in ſuch places where ſuch maintenance is wanting, and for a proportionable allowance for and towards the reparation of the ſaid Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, in ſuch manner and form, and to ſuch perſons, and for ſuch other good uſes, to the advancement of true Religion and the maintenance of Piety and Learning, as by this or any other Act or Acts of Parliament now or hereafter to be made ſhall be ſet down or declared. And be it further Enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, that all Leaſes, Gifts, Grants, Conveyances, Aſſurances and Eſtates whatſoever hereafter to be made by the ſaid Sir *William Roberts* Knight, *Thomas Atkins*, Sir *John Wollaſton*, *John Warner* *John Towes*, Aldermen of the City of *London*, *John Packer* Eſquire, *Peter Malbourne* Eſquire, the Survivors and Survivor of them or the greater part of them, his and their Heirs and Aſſigns, of any the Mannors, Lands, Tenements or Hereditaments which in or by this Act ſhall come, or be limited, or diſpoſed of unto the ſaid Sir *William Roberts* Knight, *Thomas Atkins*, Sir *John Wollaſton*, *John Warner*, *John Towes*, Aldermen of the City of *London*, *John Packer* Eſquire, *Peter Malbourne* Eſquire, (other then for the term of one and twenty years, or three Lives, or ſome other term of years determinable upon one, two or three Lives, and not above, from the time as any ſuch Leaſe or Grant ſhall be made or granted, whereupon the accuſtomed yearly Rent or more ſhall be reſerved and payable yearly during the ſaid term) whereof any former Leaſe is in being, and not to be expired, ſurrendred or ended within three years after the making of ſuch Leaſe, ſhall be utterly void and of none effect, to all intents, conſtructions and purpoſes, any thing in this Act to the contrary in any wiſe notwithſtanding. Provided nevertheleſs, where no Leaſe hath been heretofore made, nor any ſuch Rent hath been reſerved or payable of any the Lands, Tenements or Hereditaments, in this Act limited, or diſpoſed of unto the ſaid Sir *William Roberts* Knight, *Thomas Atkins*, Sir *John Wollaſton*, *John Warner*, *John Towes*, Aldermen of the City of *London*, *John Packer* Eſquire, *Peter Malbourne* Eſquire, that in ſuch caſe it ſhall be lawful for the ſaid Sir *William Roberts* Knight, *Thomas Atkins*, Sir *John Wollaſton*, *John Warner*, *John Towes*, Aldermen of the City of *London*, *John Packer* Eſquire, *Peter Malbourne* Eſquire, the Survivors and Survivor of them or the greater part of them, his and their Heirs, to make any Leaſe or Eſtate for the term of one and twenty years, or three Lives, or ſome other term of years determinable upon one, two or three Lives, and not above, taking ſuch Fine as they in their Judgements ſhall conceive indifferent, and reſerving a reaſonable Rent, not being under the third part of the clear yearly value of the Lands, Tenements or Hereditaments contained in ſuch Leaſe. And it is further Declared to be the true intent and meaning of this Act, That all and every the Leſſees, Farmors and Tenants of all and every the ſaid Perſons and Corporations, whoſe Offices or Places are taken away by this Statute, now having, holding, or enjoying any Eſtate, Term or Intereſt, in poſſeſſion by himſelf, his under-Tenants or Aſſignes, of or in any Mannors, Lands, Tenements, Appropriations or other Hereditaments whatſoever, ſhall and may be preferred in the taking and renewing of any Eſtates, Leaſes or Grants of any ſuch Mannors, Lands, Tenements or Hereditaments, before any other Perſon, the ſaid Leſſees, Farmors or Tenants, or other Parties intereſſed as aforeſaid, deſiring the ſame, and giving ſuch Fines, Rents and other conſiderations for the ſame as by the ſaid Sir *William Roberts* Knight, *Thomas Atkins*, Sir *John Wollaſton*, *John Warner*, *John Towes*, Aldermen of the City of *London*, *John Packer*, *Peter Malbourne*, Eſquires, or the Survivors or Survivor of them or the major part of them, his or their Heirs or Aſſignes, ſhall be thought and held juſt and reaſonable. Provided alſo, and be it enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, that all and ſingular Revenues, Rents, Iſſues, Fees, Profits, Summes of Money, and Allowances whatſoever, as have heretofore been and now ought to be paid, diſpoſed, or allowed unto, or for the maintenance of any Grammar-School or Scholars, or for or towards the Reparation of any Church, Chappel, High-way, Cauſey, Bridge, School-houſe, Alms-houſe, or other

charitable uſe, payable by any the Corporations or Perſons whoſe Offices or Places are taken away by this Act, or which are chargeable upon, or ought to iſſue out of, or be paid for or in reſpect of the ſaid Premiſſes, or any of them, ſhall be and continue to be paid, diſpoſed and allowed, as they were and have been heretofore, any thing in this preſent Act to the contrary thereof notwithſtanding. And to the intent and purpoſe the Parliament may be certainly and clearly informed of the Premiſſes, to the end the ſame may be diſtributed, applied and imployed to and for ſuch pious and godly uſes and purpoſes as is intended and herein declared, Be it Ordained and Enacted, that the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of *England* for the time being, ſhall, by virtue of this Act, have full Power and Authority, and is hereby required, to award and iſſue forth ſeveral Commiſſions under the Great Seal of *England* into all and every the Counties and Cities within the Kingdom of *England* and Dominion of *Wales*, to be directed unto ſuch and ſo many Perſons as by the Lords and Commons in this preſent Parliament aſſembled ſhall be nominated, aſſigned and appointed, thereby authorizing and requiring them, or any five or more of them, and giving them full Power and Authority by the Oaths of good and lawful men, as by all other good and lawful wayes and means, to inquire and find out what Mannors, Caſtles, Lordſhips, Granges, Meſſuages, Lands, Tenements, Meadows, Leaſues, Paſtures, Woods, Rents, Reverſions, Services, Parſonages appropriate, Tithes, Oblations, Obventions, Penſions, Portions of Tithes, Vicarages, Churches, Chappels, Advowſons, Nominations, Preſentations, Rights of Patronage, Parks, Annuities, and other Poſſeſſions and Hereditaments whatſoever, of what nature or quality ſoever they be, lying and being within every ſuch County or City, not hereby limited, or diſpoſed of unto His Majeſty, do belong or appertain unto all, every, or any ſuch Arch-biſhop, Biſhop, Dean, Sub-dean, Dean and Chapter, Arch-deacon, Chaunter, Chancellour, Treaſurer, Sub-treaſurer, Succentor, Sacriſt, Prebendary, Canon, Canon Reſidentiary, Petty-Canon, Vicar Choral, Choriſter, old Vicar or new Vicar, in right of their ſaid Dignities, Churches, Corporations, Offices or Places reſpectively, and what and how much of the ſame is in poſſeſſion, and the true yearly value thereof, and what and how much thereof is out in Leaſe, and for what Eſtate, and when and how determinable, and what Rents, Services and other Duties are reſerved and payable during ſuch Eſtate, and alſo the true yearly value of the ſame as they are now worth in Poſſeſſion, as alſo what Rents, Penſions, or other Charges, or other ſummes of money are iſſuing, due or payable out of any the Mannors, Lands or Premiſſes, and to make an exact and particular ſurvey thereof, and to take and direct, and ſettle ſuch courſe for the ſafe cuſtody and keeping of all Charters, Evidences, Court-Rolls and Writings whatſoever belonging unto all or any the Perſons, Dignities, Churches, Corporations, Offices and Places, or concerning any the Mannors, Lands, Tenements, Hereditaments, or other Premiſſes before mentioned, as in their diſcretion ſhall be thought meet and convenient; and of all and ſingular their doings and proceedings herein, fairly written, and ingroſs'd in Parchment, to make Return and Certificate into the Court of Chancery. And to this further intent and purpoſe, that ſpeedy care and courſe may be taken for providing of a competent maintenance for ſupply and encouragement of Preaching Miniſters in the ſeveral Pariſhes within the Kingdom of *England* and Dominion of *Wales*, Be it likewiſe Ordained and Enacted, that the ſame Commiſſioners and Perſons, authorized as above ſaid, ſhall have full power and authority by the Oaths of good and lawful men, as by all other good ways and lawful means, to enquire and find out the true yearly value of all Parſonages and Vicarages Preſentative, and all other Spiritual and Eccleſiaſtical Benefices and Livings unto which any Cure of Souls is annexed, lying and being within ſuch Counties and Cities, and of all ſuch particularly to enquire and certifie into the Court of Chancery what each of them are truly and really worth by the year, and who are the preſent Incumbents or Poſſeſſors of them, and what and how many Chappels belonging unto Pariſh-Churches are within the limits of ſuch Counties and Cities within which they are directed and authorized to enquire, and how the ſeveral Churches and Chappels are ſupplied by Preaching Miniſters, that ſo courſe

may

may be taken for providing both for Preaching and of maintenance, where the ſame ſhall be found to be needful and neceſſary. Provided alwayes that this Act, or any thing therein contained, ſhall not extend to any College, Church, Corporation, Foundation, or Houſe of Learning in either of the *Univerſities* within this Kingdom. And the ſaid Sir *William Roberts*, *Thomas Atkins*, Sir *John Wollaſton*, *John Warner*, *John Towes*, Aldermen of the City of *London*, *John Packer* and *Peter Malbourne*, Eſquires, and the Survivors and Survivor of them, or the greater part of them, his and their Heirs and Aſſigns, are hereby directed and authorized to give and allow unto ſuch Officers as by them ſhall be thought fitting and neceſſary for keeping of Courts, collecting of Rents, Surveying of Lands, and all other neceſſary imployments in and about the Premiſſes, and unto the Commiſſioners authorized by this Act, and ſuch others as ſhall be neceſſarily imployed by them, all ſuch reaſonable Fees, Stipends, Salaries and Summes of Money as in their diſcretion ſhall be thought juſt and convenient. And the ſaid Sir *William Roberts* Knight, *Thomas Atkins*, Sir *John Wollaſton*, *John Warner*, *John Towes*, Aldermen of the City of *London*, *John Packer* and *Peter Malbourne*, Eſquires, the Survivors and Survivor of them, his and their Heirs and Aſſignes, of their ſeveral Receipts, Imployments, Actions and Proceedings ſhall give an accompt, and be accomptable unto the Lords and Commons in Parliament, or ſuch Perſon or Perſons as from time to time by both Houſes of Parliament ſhall be nominated and appointed in ſuch manner, and with ſuch Power, Privilege and Juriſdiction, to hear and determine all matters concerning ſuch Accompts, as by both Houſes of Parliament ſhall from time to time be thought neceſſary to be given them, and not elſewhere, nor otherwiſe. Saving to all and every Perſon and Perſons, Bodies Politick and Corporate, their Heirs and Succeſſors, and the Heirs and Succeſſors of them and every of them, (other then ſuch Perſon or Perſons, Bodies Politick and Corporate, whoſe Offices, Functions and Authorities are taken away and aboliſhed by this Act, as to any Eſtate, Right, Title or Intereſt which they or any of them claim to have or hold in right of their ſaid Churches, Dignities, Functions, Offices or Places, and other then the Kings Majeſty, His Heirs and Succeſſors, as Patrons, Founders or Donors; and all and every other Perſon and Perſons, Bodies Politick and Corporate, as may claim any thing as Patrons, Founders or Donors) all ſuch Right, Title, Intereſt, Poſſeſſion, Rents, charge-Rent, Service, Annuities, Offices, Penſions, Portions, Commons, Fees, Profits, Claims and Demands, either in Law or Equity, whatſoever; and all and ſingular ſuch Leaſes for Years, Life or Lives, as were before the twentieth day of *January*, in the year of our Lord one thouſand ſix hundred fourty two, made unto them or any of them by any the Perſons or Corporations above named, according to the Laws and Statutes of this Realm, and warranted by the ſame, and all ſuch Leaſes and Eſtates as having been heretofore made, have been eſtabliſhed or ſettled by any Judgement or Decree in any of the Courts at *Weſtminſter*, and have been accordingly enjoyed, and all duties and profits whatſoever which they or any of them have or may claim, or of right ought to have of, in, to, or out of any the ſaid Mannors, Lands or Premiſſes whatſoever, or any part or parcel thereof, in ſuch ſort, manner, form and condition, to all intents, conſtructions and purpoſes, as if this Act had never been made.

The

The Articles of the late Treaty, of the Date Edenburgh, *the* 29. *of* Novemb. 1643.

Die Mercurii, 3. Januarii, 1643.

MDCXLIII. IV. *Articles of the Treaty agreed upon betwixt the Commiſsioners of both Houſes of the Parliament of* England, *having Power and Commiſsion from the ſaid Honourable Houſes, and the Commiſsioners of the Convention of the Eſtates of the Kingdom of* Scotland, *authorized by the Committee of the ſaid Eſtates, concerning the ſolemn League and Covenant, and the Aſsiſtance demanded in purſuance of the Ends expreſſed in the ſame.*

IV. WHereas the two Houſes of the Parliament of *England*, out of a juſt and deep ſenſe of the great and imminent Danger of the true Proteſtant Religion, in regard of the great Forces of Papiſts, Prelates, Malignants and their Adherents, raiſed and imployed againſt the conſtant Profeſſors thereof in *England* and *Ireland*, thought fit to ſend their Commiſsioners unto the Kingdom of *Scotland*, to Treat with the Convention of Eſtates and generall Aſſembly there concerning ſuch things as might tend to the preſervation of Religion, and the mutuall good of both Nations, and to that end, to deſire a more near and ſtrict Union betwixt the Kingdoms, and the Aſſiſtance of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, by a conſiderable Strength to be raiſed and ſent by them into the Kingdom of *England*; and whereas upon a Conſultation held betwixt the Commiſsioners of the Parliament of *England*, the Committees of the Convention of Eſtates, and General Aſſembly, no means was thought ſo expedient to accompliſh and ſtrengthen the Union, as for both Nations to enter into a ſolemn League and Covenant, and a form thereof drawn and preſented to the two Houſes of Parliament of *England*, the Convention of Eſtates, and General Aſſembly of *Scotland*, which hath accordingly been done, and received their reſpective Approbation; and whereas the particulars concerning the Aſſiſtance deſired by the two Houſes of the Parliament of *England* from their Brethren of *Scotland* were delivered in by the *Engliſh* Commiſsioners, *Auguſt* the 19. to the Convention of Eſtates, who did thereupon give power to their Committee to conſider and debate further with the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners of what other Propoſitions might be added or concluded, whereby the Aſſiſtance deſired might be made more effectual and beneficial, and in purſuance thereof theſe Propoſitions following were conſidered of and debated by the Committee and Commiſsioners aforeſaid, to be certified with all convenient ſpeed to the two Houſes of the Parliament of *England* and the Convention of Eſtates of *Scotland*, by their reſpective Committees and Commiſſioners, to be reſpectively taken into their conſideration, and proceeded with as they ſhould finde cauſe; which being accordingly done, and theſe enſuing Propoſitions approved, agreed and concluded of by the Houſes of the Parliament of *England* and the Committee of the Eſtates of *Scotland* reſpectively, and power by them given to their reſpective Committees and Commiſſioners formally to agree and conclude the ſame, as may appear by the Votes of both Houſes dated the firſt of *November*, and the Order of the Committee bearing date the ſeventeenth of *November:* We the ſaid Commiſſioners and Committees, according to their Votes and Orders, do formally conclude and agree upon theſe Articles following, and in confirmation thereof do mutually ſubſcribe the ſame.

1. It is agreed and concluded, that the Covenant repreſented to the Convention of Eſtates and General Aſſembly of *Scotland*, and ſent to both Houſes of the Parliament of *England*, in the ſame form as it is now returned from the two Houſes of the Parliament of *England* to their Brethren of *Scotland*, and allowed by the Committee of Eſtates and Commiſſioners of the General Aſſembly, be ſworn and ſubſcribed by both Kingdoms, as a moſt near Tye and Conjunction between them, for

for their mutual defence againſt the Papiſts and Prelatical Faction and their Adherents in both Kingdoms, and for purſuance of the Ends expreſſed in the ſaid Covenant.

2. That an Army to this purpoſe ſhall be levied forthwith, conſiſting of eighteen thouſand Foot *effectivè*, and two thouſand Horſe and one thouſand Dragooners *effectivè*, with a ſuteable Train of Artillery, to be ready at ſome general Rendezvous near the Borders of *England*, to march into *England* for the purpoſes aforeſaid with all convenient ſpeed: the ſaid Foot and Horſe to be well and compleatly Armed, and provided with Victualls and Pay for fourty dayes; and the ſaid Train of Artillery to be fitted in all points ready to march.

3. That the Army be commanded by a General appointed by the Eſtates of *Scotland*, and ſubject to ſuch Reſolutions and Directions as are and ſhall be agreed and concluded on mutually between the two Kingdoms, or by Committees appointed by them in that behalf, for purſuance of the Ends above mentioned.

4. That the Charge of levying, arming, and bringing the ſaid Forces together furniſhed, as alſo the fitting the Train of Artillery in readineſs to march, be computed and ſet down according to the ſame Rates as if the Kingdom of *Scotland* were to raiſe the ſaid Army for themſelves and their own Affairs: All which for the preſent is to be done by the Kingdom of *Scotland* upon Accompt, and the Accompt to be delivered to the Commiſſioners of the Kingdom of *England*; and when the Peace of the two Kingdoms is ſettled, the ſame to be repay'd or ſatisfied to the Kingdom of *Scotland*.

5. That this Army be likewiſe pay'd as if the Kingdom of *Scotland* were to imploy the ſame for their own occaſions, and toward the defraying thereof (it not amounting to the full moneths pay) ſhall be Monethly allowed and pay'd the ſumme of thirty thouſand pounds *ſterling* by the Parliament of *England*, out of the Eſtates and Revenues of the Papiſts, Prelates, Malignants and their Adherents, or otherwiſe; and in caſe the ſaid thirty thouſand pounds Monethly, or any part thereof, be not pay'd at the time when it ſhall become due and payable, the Kingdom of *England* ſhall give the Publick Faith for the paying of the remainder unpay'd, with all poſſible ſpeed, allowing the rate of eight pounds *per centum* for the time of the performance thereof. And in caſe that notwithſtanding the ſaid Monethly ſumme of thirty thouſand pounds pay'd as aforeſaid, the States and Kingdom of *Scotland* ſhall have juſt cauſe to demand further ſatisfaction of their Brethren of *England* when the Peace of both Kingdoms is ſettled, for the pains, hazard, and charges they have undergone in the ſame, they ſhall by way of Brotherly aſſiſtance have due recompence made unto them by the Kingdom of *England*; and that out of ſuch Lands and Eſtates of the Papiſts, Prelates, Malignants and their Adherents, as the two Houſes of the Parliament of *England* ſhall think fit; and for the aſſurance thereof, the Publick Faith of the Kingdom of *England* ſhall be given them.

6. And to the end the ſaid Army in manner aforeſaid may be enabled and prepared to march, the Kingdom of *England* is to pay in ready money to their Brethren of *Scotland*, or ſuch as ſhall have power from the Eſtates of that Kingdom, the ſumme of one hundred thouſand pounds *ſterling*, at *Leith* or *Edenburgh*, with all convenient ſpeed, by way of advance, before-hand; which is to be diſcounted back again unto the Kingdom of *England* by the Kingdom of *Scotland*, upon the firſt Monethly allowance which ſhall grow due to the *Scotiſh* Army, from the time they ſhall make their firſt entrance into the Kingdom of *England*.

7. That the Kingdom of *Scotland*, to manifeſt their willingneſs to their utmoſt ability to be helpful to their Brethren of *England* in this common Cauſe, will give the Publick Faith of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, to be joyntly made uſe of with the Publick Faith of the Kingdom of *England*, for the preſent taking up of two hundred thouſand pounds *ſterling*, in the Kingdom of *England* or elſewhere, for the ſpeedy procuring of the ſaid hundred thouſand pounds *ſterling* as aforeſaid, as alſo a conſiderable ſumme, for the ſatisfying in good proportion the Arrears of the *Scotiſh* Army in *Ireland*.

8. That no Ceſſation, nor any Pacification or Agreement for Peace whatſoever, ſhall

ſhall be made by either Kingdom, or the Armies of either Kingdom, without the mutual Advice and Conſent of both Kingdoms, or their Committees in that behalf appointed, who are to have full Power for the ſame, in caſe the Houſes of the Parliament of *England* or the Parliament or Convention of Eſtates of *Scotland* ſhall not ſit.

9. That the Publick Faith of the Kingdom of *Scotland* ſhall be given to their Brethren of *England*, that neither their entrance into nor their continuance in the Kingdom of *England* ſhall be made uſe of to any other ends then are expreſſed in the Covenant, and in the Articles of this Treaty; and that all matters of difference that ſhall happen to ariſe between the Subjects of the two Nations ſhall be reſolved and determined by the mutual Advice and Conſent of both Kingdoms, or by ſuch Committees as for this purpoſe ſhall be by them appointed, with the ſame Power as in the precedent Article.

10. That in the ſame manner and upon the ſame conditions as the Kingdom of *Scotland* is now willing to aide and aſſiſt their Brethren of *England*, the Kingdom of *England* doth oblige themſelves to aide and aſſiſt the Kingdom of *Scotland*, in the ſame or like caſes of ſtreights and extremities.

11. Laſtly, it is agreed and concluded, that during the time that the *Scotiſh* Army ſhall be imployed, as aforeſaid, for the defence of the Kingdom of *England*, there ſhall be fitted out as men of Warre eight Ships, whereof ſix ſhall be of Burthen betwixt one hundred and twenty and two hundred Tunne, the other between three and four hundred Tunne, whereof two ſhall be in lieu of the two Ships appointed by the *Iriſh* Treaty: all which ſhall be maintained at the charge of the Kingdom of *England*, to be imployed for the defence of the Coaſt of *Scotland*, under ſuch Commanders as the Earl of *Warwick* for the time of his being Admiral ſhall nominate, with the approbation of the Committees of both Kingdoms; which Commanders ſhall receive from the ſaid Earl general Inſtructions, that they do from time to time obſerve the Directions of the Committees of both Kingdoms.

The Ordinance for calling the Aſſembly of Divines.

An Ordinance of the Lords and Commons in Parliament, for the calling of an Aſſembly of Learned and Godly Divines and others, to be conſulted with by the Parliament, for the ſettling of the Government and Liturgy of the Church of England, *and for vindicating and clearing of the Doctrine of the ſaid Church from falſe Aſperſions and Interpretations.*

V. WHereas amongſt the infinite Bleſſings of Almighty God upon this Nation, none is or can be more dear unto us then the purity of our Religion, and for that as yet many things remain in the Liturgy, Diſcipline and Government of the Church, which do neceſſarily require a further and more perfect Reformation then as yet hath been attained; and whereas it hath been declared and reſolved by the Lords & Commons aſſembled in Parliament, that the preſent Church-government by *Arch-biſhops*, *Biſhops*, their *Chancellours*, *Commiſſaries*, *Deans*, *Deans and Chapters*, *Arch-deacons*, and other Eccleſiaſtical Officers depending upon the *Hierarchy*, is evil and juſtly offenſive and burthenſome to the Kingdom, a great impediment to Reformation and growth of Religion, and very prejudicial to the State and Government of this Kingdom, and that therefore they are reſolved that the ſame ſhall be taken away, and that ſuch a Government ſhall be ſettled in the Church as may be moſt agreeable to God's Holy Word, and moſt apt to procure & preſerve the Peace of the Church at home, and nearer agreement with the Church of *Scotland* and other reformed Churches abroad, and for the better effecting hereof, and for the vindicating and clearing of the Doctrine of the Church of *England* from all falſe Calumnies and Aſperſions, it is thought fit and neceſſary

to

to call an Assembly of Learned, Godly and Judicious Divines, who, together with some Members of both the Houses of Parliament, are to consult and advise of such matters and things touching the premisses as shall be proposed unto them by both or either of the Houses of Parliament, and to give their Advice and counsel therein to both or either of the said Houses, when and as often as they shall be thereunto required: Be it therefore ordained by the Lords and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, That all and every the persons hereafter in this present Ordinance named, that is to say, *Algernon* Earl of *Northumberland*, *William* Earl of *Bedford*, *Philip* Earl of *Pembroke* and *Montgomery*, *William* Earl of *Salisbury*, *Henry* Earl of *Holland*, *Edward* Earl of *Manchester*, *William* Lord Viscount *Say and Seal*, *Edward* Lord Viscount *Conway*, *Philip* Lord *Wharton*, *Edward* Lord *Howard* of *Escr.* *John Selden* Esquire, *Francis Rous* Esquire, *Edmund Prideaux* Esquire, Sir *Henry Vane* Knight senior, *John Glyn* Esquire Recorder of *London*, *John White* Esq. *Bulstrode Whitelock* Esquire, *Humphry Salway* Esquire, M. Serjeant *Wild*, *Oliver Saint-John* Esquire His Majesties Sollicitor, Sir *Benjamin Rudyard* Knight, *John Pym* Esquire, Sir *John Clotworthy* Knight, *John Maynard* Esquire, Sir *Henry Vane* Knight junior, *William Pierrepont* Esquire, *William Wheeler* Esquire, Sir *Thomas Barrington* Knight, *Walter Young* Esquire, Sir *John Evelin* Knight, *Herbert Palmer* of *Ashwel* Bachelor in Divinity, *Oliver Bowles* of *Sutton* Bachelor in Divinity, *Henry Wilkinson* of *Waddesdon* Bachelor in Divinity, *Thomas Valentine* of *Chalfont-Giles* Bachelor in Divinity, Doctor *William Twisse* of *Newbury*, *William Raynor* of *Egham*, Master *Hannibal Gammon* of *Maugan*, M. *Jasper Hicks* of *Lawrick*, D. *Joshua Hoyle* late of *Dublin* in *Ireland*, *William Bridges* of *Yarmouth*, *Thomas Wincop* of *Ellesworth* Doctor in Divinity, *Thomas Goodwin* of *London* Bachelor in Divinity, *John Ley* of *Budworth* in *Cheshire*, *Thomas Case* of *London*, *John Pyne* of *Bereferrers*, Master *Whidden* of *Mooreton*, D. *Richard Love* of *Ekington*, D. *William Gouge* of Blackfriers *London*, D. *Ralph Brownrigge* Bishop of *Exceter*, D. *Samuel Ward* Master of *Sidney* College, *John White* of *Dorchester*, *Edward Peal* of *Compton*, *Stephen Marshall* of *Finchingfield* Bachelor in Divinity, *Obadiah Sedgewick* of *Cogshall* Bachelor in Divinity, M. *Carter*, *Peter Clark* of *Carnaby*, *William Mew* of *Estington* Bachelor in Divinity, *Richard Capel* of *Pitchcomb*, *Theophilus Bathurst* of *Overton-Watervile*, *Phil. Nye* of *Kimbolton*, D. *Brocket Smith* of *Barkway*, D. *Cornelius Burges* of *Watford*, *John Green* of *Pencomb*, *Stanley Gower* of *Brampton-Bryan*, *Francis Taylor* of *Yalding*, *Tho. Wilson* of *Otham*, *Antho. Tuckney* of *Boston* Bachelor in Divinity, *Thomas Coleman* of *Bliton*, *Charles Herle* of *Winwick*, *Richard Herrick* of *Manchester*, *Richard Cleyton* of *Showel*, *George Gibbs* of *Ayleston*, D. *Calibut Downing* of *Hackney*, *Jeremy Boroughs* of *Stepney*, *Edmund Calamy* Bachelor in Divinity, *George Walker* Bachelor in Divinity, *Joseph Caryll* of *Lincolns*-Inne, *Lazarus Seaman* of *London*, D. *John Harris* Warden of *Winchester*-College, *George Morley* of *Mildenhall*, *Edward Reynolds* of *Branston*, *Thomas Hill* of *Tichmarsh* Bachelor in Divinity, D. *Robert Saunderson* of *Boothby-Pannell*, *John Foxcroft* of *Gotham*, *John Jackson* of *Marsk*, *William Carter* of *London*, *Thomas Thoroughgood* of *Massingham*, *John Arrowsmith* of *Lynne*, *Robert Harris* of *Hanwel* Bachelor in Divinity, *Robert Cross* of *Lincoln*-College Bachelor in Divinity, *James* Archbishop of *Armagh*, D. *Matthias Styles* of Saint *George Eastcheap London*, *Samuel Gibson* of *Burley*, *Jeremiah Whitaker* of *Stretton*, D. *Edmund Stanton* of *Kingston*, D. *Daniel Featly* of *Lambeth*, *Francis Coke* of *Yoxhal*, *John Lightfoot* of *Ashley*, *Edward Corbet* of *Merton* College *Oxon*, *Samuel Hildersham* of *Felton*, *John Langley* of *Westuderley*, *Christopher Tisdale* of *Uphusborn*, *Thomas Young* of *Stow-market*, *John Phillips* of *Wrentham*, *Humphrey Chambers* of *Claverton* Bachelor in Divinity, *John Conant* of *Lymington* Bachelor in Divinity, *Henry Hall* of *Norwich* Bachelor in Divinity, *Henry Hutton*, *Henry Scuddir* of *Colingborne*, *Thomas Baylie* of *Manningford-Bruce*, *Benjamin Pickering* of *East-Hoateley*, *Henry Nye* of *Clapham*, *Arthur Sallaway* of *Seaverneston*, *Sydrach Simpson* of *London*, *Anthony Burgess* of *Sutton-Coldfield*, *Richard Vines* of *Calcot*, *William Greenhill* of *Stepney*, *William Moreton* of *Newcastle*, *Richard Buckley*, D. *Thomas Temple* of *Battersey*, *Simeon Ashe* of Saint *Brides*, M. *Nicholson*, *Thomas Gataker* of *Rotherhithe* Bachelor in Divinity, *James Weldy* of *Sylatten*, D. *Christo-*

ſtopher Paſhley of *Hawarden*, *Henry Tozer* Bachelor in Divinity, *William Spurſtow* of *Hampden* in Com. *Bucks*, *Francis Cheynel* of *Oxon*, *Edward Ellis* of *Gilsfield* Bachelor in Divinity, D. *John Hacket* of Saint *Andrews Holborne*, *Samuel de la Place*, *John de la March*, *Matthew Newcomen* of *Dedham*, *William Lyford* of *Sherborn* in Com. *Dorſet*, M. *Carter* of *Dynton* in Com. *Bucks*, *William Lance* of *Harrow* in *Middleſex*, *Thomas Hodges* of *Kenſington* in Com. *Middleſex*, *Andreas Perne* of *Wilby* in Com. *Northampton*, D. *Thomas Weſtfield* of S. *Bartholomew le great London* Biſhop of *Briſtol*, D. *Henry Hammond* of *Penſhurſt* in *Kent*, *Nicholas Prophet* of *Marlborough* in Com. *Wilts*, *Peter Sterry* of *London*, *John Erle* of *Biſhopſton* in Com. *Wilts*, M. *Gibbon* of *Waltham*, *Henry Painter* of *Exceter* Bachelor in Divinity, M. *Michelthwaite* of *Cherry-burton*, D. *John Wincop* of S. *Martins* in the Fields, M. *Price* of *Paul's* Church in *Convent-Garden*, *Henry Wilkinſon* junior Bachelor in Divinity, D. *Richard Holdſworth* Maſter of *Emanuel* College in *Cambridge*, M. *William Duning* of *Coldaſton*, and ſuch other perſon and perſons as ſhall be nominated and appointed by both Houſes of Parliament, or ſo many of them as ſhall not be letted by ſickneſs or other neceſſary impediment, ſhall meet and aſſemble, and are hereby required and enjoyned upon ſummons ſigned by the Clerks of both Houſes of Parliament, left at their ſeveral reſpective dwellings, to meet and aſſemble themſelves at *Weſtminſter*, in the Chappel called King *Henry* the Seventh's Chappel, on the firſt day of *July* in the year of our Lord one thouſand ſix hundred fourty three; and after the firſt meeting, being at leaſt of the number of fourty, ſhall from time to time ſit and be removed from place to place, and alſo that the ſaid Aſſembly ſhall be diſſolved in ſuch manner, as by both Houſes of Parliament ſhall be directed: and the ſaid perſons, or ſo many of them as ſhall be ſo aſſembled or ſit, ſhall have Power and Authority, and are hereby likewiſe enjoyned, from time to time during this preſent Parliament, or untill further order be taken by both the ſaid Houſes, to conferre and treat amongſt themſelves of ſuch matters and things touching and concerning the Liturgy, Diſcipline and Government of the Church of *England*, or the vindicating and clearing of the Doctrine of the ſame from all falſe Aſperſions and Miſconſtructions, as ſhall be propoſed unto them by both or either of the ſaid Houſes of Parliament, and no other, and to deliver their Opinions and Advices of or touching the matters aforeſaid, as ſhall be moſt agreeable to the Word of God, to both or either of the ſaid Houſes, from time to time, in ſuch manner and ſort as by both or either of the ſaid Houſes of Parliament ſhall be required, and the ſame not to divulge by Printing, writing or otherwiſe, without the conſent of both or either Houſe of Parliament. And be it further Ordained by the Authority aforeſaid, that *William Twiſſe* Doctor in Divinity ſhall ſit in the Chair as Prolocutor of the ſaid Aſſembly: and if he happen to die, or be letted by ſickneſs or other neceſſary impediment, then ſuch other perſon to be appointed in his place as ſhall be agreed on by both the ſaid Houſes of Parliament. And in caſe any difference of Opinion ſhall happen among the ſaid perſons ſo aſſembled, touching any the matters that ſhall be propoſed to them as aforeſaid, that then they ſhall repreſent the ſame, together with the Reaſons thereof, to both or either of the ſaid Houſes reſpectively, to the end ſuch further direction may be given therein as ſhall be requiſite in that behalf. And be it further Ordained by the Authority aforeſaid, that for the charges and expences of the ſaid Divines and every of them in attending the ſaid ſervice, there ſhall be allowed unto every of them that ſhall ſo attend, during the time of their ſaid attendance, and for ten dayes before and ten dayes after, the ſumme of four ſhillings for every day, at the charges of the Commonwealth, at ſuch time and in ſuch manner as by both Houſes of Parliament ſhall be appointed. And be it further Ordained, that all and every the ſaid Divines, ſo as aforeſaid required and enjoyned to meet and aſſemble, ſhall be freed and acquited of and from every offence, forfeiture, penalty, loſs or damage, which ſhall or may ariſe or grow by reaſon of any non-reſidence, or abſence of them or any of them from his or their, or any of their Church, Churches or Cures, for or in reſpect of their ſaid attendance upon the ſaid Service, any Law or Statute of Non-reſidence, or other Law or Statute enjoyning their attendance upon their reſpective Miniſteries or Charges, to the contrary thereof

thereof notwithſtanding. And if any of the perſons before named ſhall happen to dye before the ſaid Aſſembly ſhall be diſſolved by Order of both Houſes of Parliament, then ſuch other perſon or perſons ſhall be nominated and placed in the room and ſtead of ſuch perſon and perſons ſo dying, as by both the ſaid Houſes ſhall be thought fit and agreed upon: and every ſuch perſon or perſons ſo to be named ſhall have the like Power and Authority, Freedom and acquital to all intents and purpoſes, and alſo all ſuch Wages and allowances for the ſaid ſervice, during the time of his or their attendance, as to any other of the ſaid perſons in this Ordinance is by this Ordinance limited and appointed. Provided alwaies that this Ordinance, or any thing therein contained, ſhall not give unto the perſons aforeſaid or any of them, nor ſhall they in this Aſſembly aſſume to exerciſe any Juriſdiction, Power or Authority Eccleſiaſtical whatſoever, or any other Power then is herein particularly expreſſed.

The Votes or Orders delivered with it.

Die Mercurii, 5. *Julii*, 1643.

ORdered by the Lords and Commons in Parliament aſſembled, That it ſhall be propounded to the Aſſembly to morrow at their meeting, to take into their Conſideration the Ten firſt Articles of the 39. Articles of the Church of *England*, to free and vindicate the Doctrine of them from all Aſperſions and falſe Interpretations. VI.

Jovis, 6. Julii, 1643.

Some general Rules for the Aſſembly, directed by the Lords and Commons in Parliament aſſembled.

1. THat two Aſſeſſors be joyned to the Prolocutor, to ſupply his place in caſe of Abſence or Infirmity.

2. Two Scribes to be appointed to ſet down all proceedings, and theſe to be Divines, who are not Members of the Aſſembly, *viz.* Mr *Henry Robrough*, and Mr *Adoniram Byfield*.

3. Every Member at his firſt entrance into the Aſſembly ſhall make a ſerious and ſolemn Proteſtation, not to maintain any thing but what he believes to be Truth, and to embrace Truth in ſincerity when diſcovered to him.

4. No Reſolution to be given upon any Queſtion on the ſame day wherein it is firſt Propounded.

5. What any man undertakes to prove as neceſſary, he ſhall make good out of the Scriptures.

6. No man to proceed in any diſpute after the Prolocutor hath enjoyned him ſilence, unleſs the Aſſembly deſire he may goe on.

7. No man to be denied to enter his Diſſent from the Aſſembly, and his Reaſons for it, in any point, after it hath firſt been debated in the Aſſembly; and thence (if the diſſenting party deſire it) to be ſent to the Houſes of Parliament by the Aſſembly, (not by any particular Man or Men in a private way) when either Houſe ſhall require it.

8. All things agreed on and prepared for the Parliament to be openly read and allowed in the Aſſembly, and then offered as the Judgement of the Aſſembly, if the major part aſſent: Provided that the Opinion of any Perſons diſſenting and the Reaſons urged for it be annexed thereunto (if the Diſſenters require it) together with the Solutions (if any were) given in the Aſſembly to thoſe Reaſons.

Jovis, 6. *Julii*, 1643.

I *A.B.* do ſeriouſly and ſolemnly * in the preſence of Almighty God, that (in this Aſſembly whereof I am a Member) I will not maintain any thing in matters of Doctrine, but what I think in my Conſcience to be Truth, or in point of Diſcipline, but

* proteſt

but what I ſhall conceive to conduce moſt to the Glory of God, and the good and Peace of his Church.

Veneris, 15. *Sept.* 1643.

ORdered by the Lords and Commons in Parliament aſſembled, That it be referred to the Aſſembly of Divines, to ſet forth a Declaration of the Reaſons and Grounds that have induced the Aſſembly to give their Opinions, that this Covenant may be taken in point of Conſcience.

Eodem Die.

ORdered by the Lords and Commons in Parliament aſſembled, That it be referred to the Committee formerly appointed to Treat with the *Scotch* Commiſſioners, to Treat with them about the manner of taking the Covenant in both Kingdoms.

Mercurii, 22. *Auguſt.* 1643.

ORdered by the Lords and Commons in Parliament aſſembled, That it be propounded to the Aſſembly of Divines, to conſider of the Doctrine of the Nine next Articles of the 39 Articles of the Church of *England*, to clear and vindicate the ſame from all Aſperſions and falſe Interpretations.

The Articles of the ſixth of Auguſt, 1642.

Articles of the Treaty, concerning the Reducing of the Kingdom of Ireland *to the Obedience of the Kings Majeſty and Crown of* England, *agreed upon between the Commiſsioners for* Scotland, *authorized by His Majeſty and the Parliament of that Kingdom, and the Commiſsioners for* England, *authorized by His Majeſty and the Parliament of that Kingdom, at* Weſtminſter, *the ſixth day of* Auguſt, 1642.

VII. FIrſt, The *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners, out of the ſenſe of that Duty which the Kingdom of *Scotland* owes to His Majeſty, and the true Affection they bear towards the Kingdom of *England*, being willing to contribute their beſt aſſiſtance for the ſpeedy relief of thoſe diſtreſſed parts in *Ireland* which lye neareſt the Kingdom of *Scotland*, have in the name of that Kingdom made offer of ten thouſand men to be imployed in that Service; and for a further Teſtimony of their Zeal to His Majeſties Service, and Brotherly reſpect to the Kingdom of *England*, have declared, that the Kingdom of *Scotland* will upon their own Charge levy and tranſport theſe men.

Secondly, Becauſe the Kingdom of *Scotland* are to ſend over with their Army the number of ſix thouſand Muskets and four thouſand Pikes, with ſuch Cannon and Ammunition as ſhall be fitting for the ſervice, it is agreed, that four thouſand Muskets and two thouſand Pikes ſhall be preſently ſent by the Kingdom of *England* into the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and delivered at *Leith*; as alſo that the reſidue of the ſaid ten thouſand Arms and ten thouſand Swords and Belts ſhall be delivered there at the firſt of *Auguſt* next; and that as many Cannon and Field-Pieces of the ſame bore, weight and metal, ſhall be carried into *Scotland* upon their demand, as they ſhall tranſport into *Ireland* for the ſervice of that Kingdom: and that the ſaid whole Arms and Ammunition ſhall remain in *Scotland* until the return of the *Scotiſh* Army from *Ireland*; at which time the ſame ſhall be reſtored to the Kingdom of *England*, the Kingdom of *Scotland* receiving ſatisfaction for ſuch of their Arms and Ammunition as ſhall be ſpent or loſt in the ſervice of *Ireland*. As alſo that there ſhall be preſently ſent over from *England*, and delivered to the *Scotiſh* Army in *Ireland*, for the defence of the Province of *Ulſter*, ſix pieces of Demy-Cannon of the Ball of four and twenty pound weight, with their Equipage.

Thirdly, it is agreed, That there ſhall be two Ships of Warre preſently ſent by the Kingdom of *England* to *Lochryan*, *Lamalach*, *Port-Patrick*, or *Air*, to guard and waft over

over the *Scotiſh* Souldiers; and that the ſaid Ships ſhall attend at the Ports in *Ireland*, for ſerving the *Scotiſh* Army in going and returning betwixt the Coaſts, and keeping the Paſſages clear, as they ſhall receive Orders from the chief Commanders of the *Scotiſh* Army for the time being, according to Inſtructions received or to be received by the Maſter of theſe Ships from the Lord Admiral, or Commiſſioners of the Admiralty for the time being, to that purpoſe.

Fourthly, it is agreed, That there ſhall be levied and furniſhed by the Kingdom of *England* ten Troops of ſufficient and well-armed Horſemen, conſiſting of ſixty in a Troop beſides the Officers; and that there ſhall be a Commiſſary-General, a Serjeant-Major, and a Quarter-maſter appointed over them, which ſhall joyn and remain with the Body of the *Scotiſh* Foot, and ſhall receive and obey the Orders and Inſtructions of the Commanders of the *Scotiſh* Army; and that there ſhall be preſently advanced the ſumme of twelve hundred pounds ſterling, for the levying of a Troop of one hundred Horſemen in *Scotland*, beſides the Officers, to be a Guard to the General of the *Scotiſh* Army.

Fifthly, it is agreed, That the Commanders and Souldiers of the *Scotiſh* Army ſhall have ſuch Pay reſpectively as the Commanders and Souldiers of the *Engliſh* Army have, according to a Liſt preſently agreed upon by the Commiſſioners of both Kingdoms; as alſo that the Officers of that Army ſhall have ſuch allowance for their Wagons as is contained in the ſaid Liſt.

Sixthly, it is agreed, That the Towns and Caſtle of *Carickfergus* and *Colrane* ſhall be put into the hands of the *Scotiſh* Army, to be places for their Magazines and Garriſons, and to ſerve them for Retreat upon occaſion; and that the Magiſtrates and Inhabitants thereof ſhall be ordained to carry themſelves to the Commanders of the ſaid Army as is fitting and ordinary in ſuch Caſes; and that the ſaid Towns and Caſtle ſhall remain in the *Scots* hands until the Warre ſhall end, or that they ſhall be diſcharged of that ſervice: Like as the Commiſſioners for the Kingdom of *Scotland* do promiſe in the Publick Faith of that Kingdom, to re-deliver the ſaid Towns and Caſtle to any having Commiſſion from the King and Parliament of *England*; as alſo the Commiſſioners for the Kingdom of *England* do promiſe in the name and on the Publick Faith of that Kingdom, that Payment ſhall be made to the Kingdom of *Scotland* and their Army of all dues that ſhall ariſe upon this preſent Treaty, and that when the *Scotiſh* Army imployed in the ſervice of *Ireland* ſhall be diſcharged, they ſhall be disbanded by Regiments, and no leſſer proportions, and ſo many of them payed off as ſhall be disbanded, and the reſidue kept in pay till they be diſbanded.

Seventhly, it is agreed, That the Towns of *Carickfergus* and *Colrane* ſhall by the Kingdom of *England* be with all expedition provided with Victuals neceſſary for Souldiers either in Garriſons or Expeditions, according to a Liſt to be agreed on and ſubſcribed by the Commiſſioners of both Kingdoms; and that ſuch quantities thereof as the *Scotiſh* Army ſhall have occaſion to uſe, ſhall be ſold unto them and bought by them at the ſeveral Prices contained in the aforeſaid Liſt: and alſo that the ſaid Towns of *Carickfergus* and *Colrane* ſhall be provided by the Kingdom of *England* with Powder, Ball, Match, and other Ammunition for the ſervice of the ſaid Army, conform to the particular Liſt to be condeſcended unto by both Commiſſioners; and that Carts and Wagons ſhall be provided by the Kingdom of *England*, for carrying of Ammunition for the uſe of the ſaid Army in Marches; as alſo that there ſhall be Gun-Smiths, Carpenters, and one or two Enginiers appointed to attend the Army, and that hand-Mills ſhall be provided to ſerve the Companies in Marches.

Eighthly, it is agreed, That the Kingdom of *England* ſhall depoſite two thouſand pounds *Engliſh* money in the hands of any to be appointed by the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners, to be diſburſed upon accompt, by warrant of the General of their Army, upon Fortifications, Intelligences and other Incidents, ſo that there be not above the ſumme of two thouſand pounds in a year impreſted upon theſe occaſions, without particular and ſpecial Warrant from the Parliament of *England*; as alſo that there ſhall be depoſited two thouſand and five hundred pounds *Engliſh*, to

be disburſed upon Accompt, for the providing of a thouſand Horſes for the Carriage of the Artillery, the Baggage and Victuall of their Army, and for Dragooners upon occaſion: and likewiſe that the *Scotiſh* Army, during the time of the Warre, ſhall have power to take up ſuch Horſes in the Countrey as be neceſſary for the uſes aforeſaid.

Ninthly, it is agreed, That the Inhabitants of the Towns and Villages in the Province of *Ulſter*, and in any other Province of *Ireland* where the *Scotiſh* Army ſhall be by it ſelf, for the time ſhall receive Orders from the *Scotiſh* Commanders, and ſhall bring in Victuals for Money in an orderly way, as ſhall be directed by them, with Proviſion of Oates, Hay and Straw, and ſuch other Neceſſaries; and that the Countrey-People ſhall riſe and concurre with the *Scotiſh* Troops when the Commanders thereof ſhall finde it for the good of the Service, and ſhall receive Orders and Directions from the ſaid Commanders of the *Scotiſh* Army.

Tenthly, it is agreed, That the ſaid ten thouſand men to be ſent out of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, ſhall goe in the way and order of an Army under their own General and ſubaltern Officers; and the Province of *Ulſter* is appointed unto them, wherein they ſhall firſt proſecute the Warre as in their Judgement they ſhall think moſt expedient for the Honour of the King and Crown of *England*; and that the Commanders of the ſaid Army ſhall have power to give Conditions to Towns, Caſtles and Perſons which ſhall render and ſubmit themſelves, as ſhall be moſt expedient for the Service according to the courſe of Warre. Provided no Toleration of the *Popiſh* Religion be granted, nor any condition made touching or concerning any of the Rebels Lands, and that the Commanders of the *Scotiſh* Army ſhall be anſwerable for their whole deportment and proceedings to His Majeſty and the two Houſes of the Parliament of *England* onely, but ſhall from time to time give an accompt thereof to His Majeſty, the two Houſes of the Parliament of *England*, and to the chief Governour or Governours of *Ireland* for the time being. That ſuch Towns and Places as ſhall be recovered from the Rebels by the *Scotiſh* Army, ſhall be at the diſpoſing of the Commanders thereof, during their abode for that Service in thoſe parts where ſuch Towns and Places are. And if it ſhall be found for the good of the Service that the *Scotiſh* Army ſhall joyn with the Kings Lieutenant of *Ireland* and his Army, in that caſe the General of the *Scotiſh* Army ſhall onely cede to the Kings Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and receive in a free and honourable way Inſtructions from him, or in his abſence from the Lord Deputy or any other who ſhall have the chief Government of that Kingdom for the time by authority derived from the Crown of *England*, and ſhall precede all others, and that he onely ſhall give Orders to the Officers of his own Army; and that the Armies ſhall have the right and left hand, Van and Reare, Charge and Retreat, ſucceſſively, and ſhall not mixe in Quarterings nor Marchings; and when it ſhall be found fit to ſend Troops out of either Army, that the Perſons to be ſent out of the *Scotiſh* Army ſhall be commanded out by their own General, the Lieutenant of *Ireland* preſcribing the number, which ſhall not exceed the fourth part of the whole Foot of the *Scotiſh* Army, nor of the Horſe appointed to joyn therewith, whereunto they ſhall return when the Service is done. And that no Officer of the *Scotiſh* Army ſhall be commanded by one of his own Quality; and if the Commanders of the Troops ſo ſent out of either Army be of one Quality, that they command the Party by turns. And it is nevertheleſs provided, that the whole *Scotiſh* Army may be called out of the Province of *Ulſter*, and the Horſes appointed to joyn with them, by His Majeſties Lieutenant of *Ireland*, or other chief Governour or Governours of that Kingdom for the time being, if he or they ſhall think fit, before the Rebellion be totally ſuppreſſed therein.

Eleventhly, it is agreed, That the *Scotiſh* Army ſhall be entertained by the *Engliſh* for three moneths, from the twentieth of *June* laſt, and ſo along after, untill they be diſcharged; and that they ſhall have a moneths Pay advanced when they are firſt muſtered in *Ireland*, and thereafter ſhall be duely paid from moneth to moneth; and that there ſhall be one Muſter-maſter appointed by the *Engliſh* Muſter-maſter General, to make ſtrict and frequent Muſters of the *Scotiſh* Army; and that what Companies of men ſhall be ſent out of *Scotland* within the compaſs of

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the ten thouſand men, ſhall be paid upon their Muſters in *Ireland*, although they make not up compleat Regiments.

Twelfthly, it is agreed, That the *Scotiſh* Army ſhall receive their diſcharge from the King and Parliament of *England*, or from ſuch Perſons as ſhall be appointed and authorized by His Majeſty and both Houſes of Parliament for that purpoſe; and that there ſhall be a moneths warning before-hand of their disbanding; which ſaid diſcharge and moneths warning ſhall be made known by His Majeſty and them to the Councel of *Scotland*, or the Lord Chancellour, a moneth before the diſcharging thereof; and that the Common Souldiers of the *Scotiſh* at their diſmiſſion ſhall be allowed fourteen dayes Pay for carrying of them home.

Thirteenthly, it is provided and agreed, That at any time after the three moneths now agreed upon for the entertainment of the *Scotiſh* Army ſhall be expired, and that the two Houſes of Parliament, or ſuch Perſons as ſhall be authorized by them, ſhall give notice to the Councel of *Scotland*, or to the Lord Chancellour there, that after one month from ſuch notice given the ſaid two Houſes of Parliament will not pay the ſaid *Scotiſh* Army now in *Ireland* any longer, then the ſaid two Houſes of Parliament ſhall not be obliged to pay the ſaid Army any longer then during the ſaid moneth, any thing in this Treaty contained to the contrary notwithſtanding.

The Ordinances of the 9. *of* March, *and* 11. *of* April.

Die Sabbati, 9. *Martii*, 1643.

Reſolved upon the Queſtion by the Lords and Commons in Parliament aſſembled, viii.

THat he who doth or ſhall command in chief over the ſaid Army by joynt Advice of both Kingdoms, ſhall alſo command the reſt of the *Britiſh* Forces in *Ireland*; and for the further managing of that Warre, and proſecuting the Ends expreſſed in the Covenant, that the ſame be done by joynt Advice with the Committees of both Kingdoms.

Die Jovis, 11. *April*. 1644.

Reſolved upon the Queſtion by the Lords and Commons in Parliament aſſembled,

THat the Earl of *Leven*, Lord General of the *Scots* Forces in *Ireland*, (being now by the Votes of both Houſes agreed to be Commander in chief over all the Forces, as well *Britiſh* as *Scots*, according to the Fourth Article of the reſult of the Committees of both Kingdoms paſſed both Houſes) be deſired with all convenient ſpeed, by the Advice of the ſaid Committees, to appoint and nominate a Commander in chief under his Excellency over the ſaid Forces, to reſide with them upon the place.

Reſolved, &c.

THat Committees be nominated and appointed by the joynt Advice of both Kingdoms, of ſuch numbers and Qualities as ſhall be by them agreed on, to be ſent with all convenient ſpeed to reſide with the ſaid Forces, and inabled with all ample Inſtructions by the joynt Advice of both Kingdoms for the Regulating of the ſaid Forces, and the better carrying on of that Warre.

The Letter of the Lords Juſtices and Councel of Ireland *to the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons in* England, 4. April 1643. *a Duplicate whereof (the Original being ſent to* Weſtminſter) *was by them ſent to Maſter Secretary* Nicholas *for his Majeſty.*

SIR,

IX. OUR very good Lord, the Lord Marqueſs of *Ormond*, having in his March in his laſt Expedition conſulted ſeveral times with the Commanders and Officers of the Army in a Councel of Warre, and ſo finding that ſubſiſtence could not be had abroad for the Men and Horſes he had with him, or for any conſiderable part of them, it was reſolved by them, that his Lordſhip with thoſe Forces ſhould return hither, which he did on the ſix and twentieth of *March.*

In his return from *Roſſe* (which, in the caſe our Forces ſtand, he found ſo difficult to be taken in, as although our Ordnance made a breach in their Walls, it was found neceſſary to deſert the Siege) he was encountred by an Army of the Rebels, conſiſting of about ſix thouſand Foot and ſix hundred and fifty Horſe well armed and horſed; yet it pleaſed God ſo to diſappoint their counſels and ſtrength, as with thoſe ſmall Forces which the Lord Marqueſs had with him, being of fighting men about two thouſand five hundred Foot, and five hundred Horſe not well armed, and for the moſt part weakly horſed, (and thoſe as well Men as Horſes much weakned by lying in the fields ſeveral nights in much cold and rain, and by want of mans-meat and horſe-meat) the Lord Marqueſs obtained a happy and glorious deliverance and Victory againſt thoſe Rebels, wherein were ſlain about three hundred of them, and many of their Commanders and others of Quality, and divers taken Priſoners, and amongſt thoſe Priſoners Colonel *Cullen* a Native of this City, who being a Colonel in *France*, departed from thence, and came hither to aſſiſt the Rebels, and was Lieutenant-General of their Army in the Province of *Leinſter*; and the Rebels Army were totally routed and defeated, and their Baggage and Munition ſeized on by His Majeſties Forces, who lodged that night where they had gained the Victory; and on our ſide about twenty ſlain in the fight, and divers wounded.

We have great cauſe to praiſe God, for magnifying his Goodneſs and Mercy to His Majeſty and this His Kingdom ſo manifeſtly, and indeed wonderfully, in that Victory.

However, the Joy due from us upon ſo happy an occaſion is, we confeſs, mingled with very great Diſtraction here in the apprehenſion of our Unhappineſs to be ſuch, as although the Rebels are not able to overcome

come His Majeſties Army, and devour His other good Subjects here as they deſire, yet both His Army and good Subjects are in danger to be devoured by the wants of needful Supplies forth of *England*. For, as we formerly ſignified thither, thoſe Forces were of neceſsity ſent abroad to try what might be done for ſuſtaining them in the Countrey, ſo as to keep them alive until Supplies ſhould get to us; but that deſigne now failing, thoſe our hopes are converted into aſtoniſhment, to behold the unſpeakable Miſeries of the Officers and Souldiers for want of all things, and all thoſe Wants made the more unſupportable in the want of Food, whileſt this City (being all the help we have) is now too apparently found to be unable to help us, as it hath hitherto done, and divers Commanders and Officers in the Army do now ſo farre expreſs their ſenſe of their Sufferings, (which indeed are very great and grievous) as they declare that they have little hope to be ſupplied by the Parliament, and preſs with ſo great importunity to be permitted to depart the Kingdom, as it will be extreme difficult to keep them here.

By our Letters of the three and twentieth of *March*, we ſignified thither the unſupportable burthen laid on this City, for Victualling thoſe of the Army left here when the Lord Marqueſs with the Forces he took with him marched hence; which burthen is found every day more heavy then other, in regard of the many Houſe-keepers thereby daily breaking up houſe, and ſcattering their Families, leaving ſtill fewer to bear the burthen. We alſo by thoſe Letters, and by our Letters of the five and twentieth of *February*, advertiſed thither the high danger this Kingdom would incurre, if the Army ſo ſent abroad ſhould by any diſtreſs or through want be forced back hither again before our relief of Victualls ſhould arrive forth of *England*.

When we found that thoſe men were returning back hither, although we were (and are ſtill) full of Diſtraction, conſidering the diſmall conſequences threatned thereby in reſpect of our Wants, yet we conſulted what we could yet imagine feaſible that we had not formerly done, to gain ſome Food for thoſe men; and found, that to ſend them or others abroad into the Countrey we cannot, in regard we are not able to advance Money for procuring the many requiſites incident to ſuch an Expedition. In the end therefore we were enforced to fix on our former way, and ſo to ſee who had any thing yet left him untaken from him to help us: and although there are but few ſuch, and ſome of them poor Merchants, whom we have now by the Law of Neceſsity utterly undone, and diſabled from being hereafter helpful to us in bringing us in Victualls or other needfull Commodities; yet were we forced to wreſt their Commodities from them. And certainly there are few here of our ſelves or others, that have not felt their parts in the enforced rigour of our proceedings towards preſerving the Army; ſo as what with ſuch hard dealing, no leſs grievous to us to doe then it is heavy to others to ſuffer, and by our deſcending (againſt our hearts) farre below the Honour and Dignity of that Power we repreſent here under His Royal Majeſty,

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we have with unſpeakable difficulty prevailed ſo as to be able to finde Bread for the Souldiers for the ſpace of one moneth.

We are now expelling hence all Strangers, and muſt inſtantly ſend away for *England* thouſands of poor deſpoiled *Engliſh*, whoſe very eating is now unſupportable to this place.

And now again and finally, we earneſtly deſire, (for our Confuſions will not now admit the writing of many more Letters, if any) that His Majeſty and the *Engliſh* Nation may not ſuffer ſo great, if not irrecoverable, prejudice and Diſhonour, as muſt unavoidably be the conſequence of our not being relieved ſuddenly; but that yet (although it be even now at the point to be too late) ſupplies of Victualls and Munition in preſent be haſtened hither to keep life until the reſt may follow, there being no Victuall in the ſtore, nor will there be a hundred barrells of Powder left in the ſtore when the out-Garriſons (as they muſt be inſtantly) are ſupplied, and that remainder, according to the uſuall neceſſary expence, beſides extraordinary accidents, will not laſt above a moneth. And the reſidue of our Proviſions muſt alſo come ſpeedily after, or otherwiſe *England* cannot hope to ſecure *Ireland*, or ſecure themſelves againſt *Ireland*, but in the loſs of it muſt look for ſuch Enemies from hence as will perpetually diſturb the Peace of His Majeſty and His Kingdom of *England*, and annoy them by Sea and Land, as we often formerly repreſented thither: which Miſchiefs may yet be prevented, if we be yet forthwith enabled from thence with means to overcome this Rebellion.

We hope that a courſe is taken there for haſtening hither the proviſions of Arms and Munition mentioned in the docquet ſent with our Letters of the twentieth of *January*, and the ſix hundred Horſes which we then moved might be ſent hither for recruits, and that the ſeven thouſand eight hundred fourſcore and thirteen pounds three ſhillings for Arms to be provided in *Holland* (beſides thoſe we expect in *London*) hath been paid to *Anthony Tierens* in *London*, or to *Daniel Wibrants* in *Amſterdam*; and if that Summe had been paid as we at firſt deſired, we might well have had thoſe Proviſions arrived here by the tenth of *March*, as we agreed: however we now deſire that that Money, if it be not already pay'd, may be yet pay'd to Mr *Tierens* in *London*, or Mr *Wibrants* in *Amſterdam*, that ſo thoſe Proviſions may arrive here ſpeedily, which (conſidering that Summer is now near at hand) will be very neceſſary, that when our ſupplies of Victualls, Munition, Cloaths, Money, and other Proviſions ſhall arrive, we may not in the publick Service here looſe the benefit and advantage of that ſeaſon. And ſo we remain, from His Majeſties Caſtle of *Dublin*, 4. *April* 1643.

POST-SCRIPT.

As we were ready to ſigne this Diſpatch, we received at this Board a Paper ſigned by ſundry Officers of the Army, now here at *Dublin*, which is in ſuch a Style, and threatens ſo much Danger, as we hold neceſſary to

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ſend a Copy thereof here incloſed; whereby ſtill appears the high neceſſity of haſtening away Money for them and the reſt of the Officers, and Victualls for the Souldier, without which it will be impoſſible to contain them from breaking out into Mutiny.

The Letter incloſed.

My Lords,

AT our firſt entrance into this unhappy Kingdom, we had no other deſigne then by our Swords to aſſert and vindicate the Right of His Majeſty, which was here moſt highly abuſed, to redreſs the Wrongs of His poor Subjects, and to advance our own particulars in the proſecution of ſo honeſt undertakings. And for the firſt of theſe, we do believe they have ſince our coming over ſucceeded pretty well: but for the laſt, which concerns our ſelves, that hath fallen out ſo contrary to our expectations, that in ſtead of being rewarded, we have been prejudiced; in ſtead of getting a Fortune, we have ſpent part of one; and though we behave our ſelves never ſo well abroad, and perform the actions of honeſt men, yet we have the reward of Rogues and Rebells, which is, Miſery and Want, when we come home. Now (my Lords) although we be brought to ſo great an exigence, that we are ready to rob and ſpoil one another; yet to prevent ſuch outrages, we thought it better to try all honeſt means for our ſubſiſtence before we take ſuch indirect courſes. Therefore if your Lordſhips will be pleaſed to take us timely into your conſiderations, before our urgent Wants make us deſperate, we will, as we have done hitherto, ſerve your Lordſhips readily and faithfully: But if your Lordſhips will not finde a way for our Preſervations here, we humbly deſire we may have leave to goe where we may have a better Being; and if your Lordſhips ſhall refuſe to grant that, we muſt then take leave to have our recourſe to that firſt and primary Law which God hath endued all men with, we mean the Law of Nature, which teacheth all men to preſerve themſelves.

The Letter of the Lords Juſtices and Councel of Ireland *to His* MAJESTY, *of the* 11. *of* May, 1643.

May it pleaſe Your moſt Excellent MAJESTY,

AS ſoon as we Your Majeſties Juſtices entred into the charge of this Government, we took into our conſideration at this Board the ſtate of Your Army here, which we finde ſuffering under unſpeakable Extremities of Want of all things neceſſary to the ſupport of their Perſons or maintenance of the Warre; here being no Victualls, Cloaths, or other Proviſions requiſite towards their ſuſtenance, no Money to provide them of any thing they want, no Arms in Your Majeſties Stores to ſupply their many defective Arms, not above forty Barrels of Powder in Your Stores, no ſtrength of ſerviceable Horſes being now left here, and

and thoſe few that are, their Arms for the moſt part loſt or unſerviceable, no Ships arrived here to guard the Coaſts, and conſequently no ſecurity rendred to any that might (on their private Adventures) bring in Proviſions of Victuals, or other neceſſaries, towards our ſubſiſtence, and finally, no viſible means by Sea or Land of being able to preſerve for You this Your Kingdom, and to render deliverance from utter Deſtruction to the remnant of Your good Subjects yet left here.

We finde that Your Majeſties late Juſtices and this Board have often and fully by very many Letters advertiſed the Parliament in *England* of the extremities of Affairs here, and beſought relief with all poſsible importunity, which alſo have been fully repreſented to Your Majeſty, and to the Lord Lieutenant, and Mr Secretary *Nicholas*, to be made known to Your Majeſty: and although the Winds have of late for many dayes (and often formerly) ſtood very fair for acceſsions of Supply forth of *England* hither, and that we have ſtill with longing expectations hoped to finde Proviſions arrive here in ſome degree anſwerable to the neceſsities of Your Affairs; yet now (to our unexpreſsible grief) after full ſix moneths waiting, and much longer patience and long ſuffering, we find all our great Expectations anſwered in a mean and inconſiderable quantity of Proviſions, (*viz.*) threeſcore and fifteen barrells of Butter, and fourteen Tunne of Cheeſe, being but the fourth part of a ſmall Veſſels loading, which was ſent from *London*, and arrived here on the fifth day of this Moneth, which is not above ſeven or eight dayes Proviſion for that part of the Army which lies in *Dublin* and the out-Garriſons thereof; no Money or Victuals (other then that inconſiderable proportion of Victuall) having arrived in this place, as ſent from the Parliament of *England*, or from any other forth of *England*, for the uſe of the Army, ſince the beginning of *November* laſt.

We have (by the Bleſsing of God) been hitherto proſperous and ſucceſsful in Your Majeſties Affairs here; and ſhould be ſtill hopefull, by the Mercy of God, under the Royal Directions of Your Sacred Majeſty, to vindicate Your Majeſties Honour, and recover Your Rights here, and take due Vengeance on theſe Traitours for the innocent blood they have ſpilt, if we might be ſtrengthened and ſupported therein by needful Supplies forth of *England*: but theſe Supplies having hitherto been expected to come from the Parliament of *England*, (on which if Your Majeſty had not relied, we are aſſured You would in Your high Wiſdom have found out ſome other means to preſerve this Your Kingdom) and ſo great and apparent a failer having hapned therein, and all the former and late long-continuing Eaſterly Winds bringing us no other Proviſions then thoſe few Cheeſes and Butter, and no advertiſements being brought us of any future ſupply to be ſo much as in the way hither, whereby there might be any likelihood that conſiderable means of ſupport for Your Majeſties Army might arrive here in any reaſonable time, before we be totally ſwallowed up by the Rebels, and Your Kingdom by them wreſted from You; we finde

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our ſelves ſo diſappointed of our hopes from the Parliament, as muſt needs trench to the utter loſs of the Kingdom, if Your Majeſty in Your high Wiſdom ordain not ſome preſent means of preſervation for us.

And conſidering, that if now by occaſion of that unhappy and unexpected failing of ſupport from thence, we ſhall be leſs ſucceſsfull in Your Services here againſt the Rebels then hitherto (whileſt we were enabled with ſome means to ſerve You) we have been, the ſhame and diſhonour may, in common conſtruction of thoſe that know not the inwards of the cauſe, be imputed to us, and not to the failings that diſabled us; and conſidering principally and above all things the high and eminent truſt of Your Affairs here, depoſited with us by Your Sacred Majeſty, we may not forbear, in diſcharge of our Duty, thus freely and plainly to declare our humble apprehenſions, to the end Your Majeſty thus truly underſtanding the terribleneſs of our Condition, may finde out ſome ſuch means of ſupport to preſerve to Your Majeſty and Your Royal Poſterity this Your Ancient and Rightful Crown and Kingdom, and derive Deliverance and Safety to the Remnant of Your good Subjects yet left here, as in Your Excellent Judgement You ſhall find to be moſt for Your Honour and Advantage.

And ſo praying to the King of Kings to guide and direct You for the beſt in this high and important Cauſe, and in all other Your Counſels and Actions, we humbly remain, from Your Majeſties Caſtle of *Dublin*, the 11th day of *May*, 1643.

Your Majeſties moſt Loyall and moſt
Faithfull Subjects and Servants.

His MAJESTIES *Anſwers to certain Papers delivered in to His Commiſſioners at* Uxbridge *upon the Cloſe of the Treaty; One concerning the* Militia, *and two concerning* Ireland.

See them in the Narrative, num. 136, 177, & 178.

To which (being long, and coming in ſo near the breaking up of the Treaty) no Anſwers could then be given.

HAving received an account of the paſſages of the late Treaty from Our Commiſsioners, We cauſed a Narrative thereof to be made and publiſhed; wherein, beſides the neceſſary Connexions, there is nothing ſet down but what paſſed in Writing: But becauſe their laſt Paper upon the Subject of the

Militia, and two last Papers concerning *Ireland*, were delivered upon the close of that Treaty; although We conceive the Answers given in the Papers formerly delivered by Our Commissioners are abundantly sufficient to give satisfaction to those also; yet because there may be a want of memory in some, and of observation in others, who shall read that Narrative, to bring home and apply the former Answers of Our Commissioners to those Papers, and because they seem to expect Answers, which (the Treaty being determined) cannot be given by Our Commissioners, and to vindicate Our Self from many passages scattered in those Papers, particularly reflecting upon Our Person and Royal Authority, We have thought fit, for the further satisfaction of all Our good People, to make these ensuing Answers.

And first to that * Paper concerning the *Militia*.

* See it in the Narrative, num. 136.

WHosoever shall observe the passionate expressions in the close of this Paper, (wherein *they do most earnestly desire Our Commissioners, as they tender the deplorable Estate of these bleeding Kingdoms, the settling Religion, Our Honour, and the composing these miserable Distractions, to give full and clear Answers to the Demands concerning the* Militia) might very well believe, that they who so importunately demanded would as willingly have received an Answer. But when it shall be considered that this Paper was not delivered in till after two of the clock in the morning upon the breaking off the Treaty, when they had denied any further time to treat, or to receive any Papers dated as within the time of the Treaty, (as formerly was mutually done, and this very Paper of theirs delivered in truth upon the 23. was received as dated the 22. of *February*) it will be most apparent they kept it as a Reserve to be purposely and by design delivered so as it should remain unanswered.

For the matter of that Paper; They say, they *have by their Answers satisfied the several Questions proposed to them by Our Commissioners touching the* Militia. It was necessary they should have done so, that it being proposed to Us to part with so great a Trust as the power of the Sword, and to put it wholly out of Our own hands,

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We might know how, and to whom, and for what time, and upon what terms We parted with it. But We will look back upon some of their Answers, that it may appear what they are.

Our Commissioners desired to know, who the Commissioners should be in whose hands the Forces both by Sea and Land should be entrusted, and whether We might except against such persons, and name others in their places of known Affections to Religion and Peace. To that part of the Question, Whether We might except against the Persons, they made no Answer. To the other part, requiring who the Commissioners should be, they answered, *That the Commissioners were to be named for* England *by the two Houses, and for* Scotland *by the Estates of the Parliament there*: whereas the Question was not, Who should name those Commissioners; but, Who they were that should be named, a thing most necessary for Us to know, before We entrusted them with so great a Power. See the Narrative, n. 77. num. 78.

Our Commissioners desired to know, Whether the *Militia* of *London* should be independent and not subordinate to those Commissioners. They answered, *It appeared by the Propositions, the same was to be ordered in such manner as should be agreed on by both Houses.* Which was no Answer to the Question, though likewise necessary to be known, the *Militia* of *London* being so great and of such importance. num. 80. num. 81.

Our Commissioners desired to know, What Authority the Commissioners nominated by the Estates of the Parliament of *Scotland* were to have in the *Militia* and settling of all Forces by Sea and Land in this Kingdom, and what influence the Advices and Orders from the Estates of that Parliament should have upon this Kingdom. They answered, *That might be fully satisfied by the Propositions concerning the* Militia. And though Our Commissioners desired it, they could get no other Answer from them in writing. num. 105, & 107. num. 106, 107, 112.

Our Commissioners desired to know, What Jurisdiction they intended the Commissioners of both Kingdoms should have, by the power given to them to hear and determine all differences that might occasion the breach of the Articles of the Peace, and by what Law they should proceed to hear and determine the same. They answered, *That the Commissioners were to proceed in such manner as* num. 109. num. 110.

was expressed in the Propositions. Whereas the Propositions express no more then what is contained in the words of the Question. And
num.111. being further pressed to an Answer, they answered, *That the matter of the Jurisdiction of the Commissioners was expressed in the Propositions*; and for the manner of exercising of it, and by what Law they should proceed, *The same was to be settled by the two Houses of the Parliament of* England *and the Estates of the Parliament of* Scotland *respectively.* This being no Answer, and a full and direct Answer being
num.113, 115. required to these Questions, the Answer given was, *That they referred themselves therein to their former Answers.*

num.116. Our Commissioners desired to see the Act of the late Treaty for the settling of the Garrison of *Barwick*, of the 29. of *November* 1643. (being made betwixt the two Houses and those of *Scotland*, without Our Privity) as relating to the business of the *Militia*: They
num.117. answered, *It was not then to be Treated on, but was reserved to its proper time*; and Our Commissioners could never see it.

num.118. Our Commissioners desired to know, Whether by the joynt Power mentioned in the Propositions to be given to the Commissioners for both Kingdomes, to preserve the Peace between the Kingdoms, and the King, and every one of them, they intended any other then Military power for suppressing Forces onely; which Question was asked, because in the Proposition there are two distinct Clauses, one whereby they have that Power to preserve the Peace, the other whereby they have Power to suppress Forces. In
num.119. answer to this they referre Our Commissioners to the Propositions.

That these Answers (though made to Questions arising upon the doubtful expressions in their Propositions) referring to the Propositions themselves, or to what was not then, but was after to be settled by the two Houses, are not satisfactory Answers to those Questions, is most evident. But We do not wonder they were unwilling We should see the clear drift of those Propositions, the ill consequence whereof (which hereafter appears) We are willing to believe most of those who agreed unto them did not at first apprehend.

They say, *They marvel why it should be insisted on, that the Commissioners for the* Militia *should not be nominated by the two Houses onely, and*

that

that We, who were to be equally secured, should name * *none, since this Power was not to be exercised till a Peace concluded upon the Treaty, and then We had been secured by the Laws of the Kingdom, and by the Duties and Affections of Our Subjects.* We think it farre more matter of wonder (since it is confessed that We, and such Our Loyal Subjects who have faithfully and constantly adhered to Us, were equally to be secured) that they would allow Us no security at all, but to put Our selves wholly upon them, who even afterwards in this Paper deny Our Just Power of the *Militia*, and of making Peace and Warre, and might with much more colour hereafter doe so, if by Our Consent that Power should be once, though for a time onely, put wholly into their hands. It is true, the Laws of the Land and the Hearts of the People are the best security for a Prince, that He shall enjoy what belongs to Him: But it is as true, that the Laws of the Land and the Love of the Prince towards His People are likewise their best security, that they shall enjoy what belongeth to them. It is a mutual confidence each in other that secures both: but this is to be understood in calm and quiet times. The present Distempers have bred mutual Jealousies: and if they think it not at this time reasonable wholly to trust the Laws and Us concerning their security, but require the Power of the *Militia*, in which they have no Right; much less is it reasonable that We should wholly trust them concerning Our security, who avowedly bear Arms against Us: but if for the love of Peace We are content for a time to part with this great Power, which is Our known Right, it is reasonable that We should have the nominating of some of those who should be trusted with it. Yet on Our part We were well content to repose Our selves in that security they mention, if the two Houses would likewise have relied upon the same security of the Laws and Affections of the People, to which they so much pretend: But though it was offered that We should return to Our two Houses, whereby all Armies being Disbanded, both they and We might have been restored to the Laws, and guarded by those Affections of the People, yet that was not admitted. They say, *This Power of the* Militia *was not to be exercised till after a Peace*; but they do not remember it is to be agreed on before a Peace, and proposed in order to a Peace: and We might with as much Rea-

* These are their words, but seem to be mistaken, for Our Commissioners alwaies insisted, We should name some of them.

See Our Commissioners Paper, touching Our Return to the two Houses, after Disbanding of Armies, num. 191.

son (and farre more Justice, in respect of Our undoubted Right over the *Militia* of this Kingdom) have insisted upon the sole nomination of the Commissioners, because their Power was not to be exercised till a Peace concluded, as they for that cause to have excluded Us from the nomination of an equal number, and assumed that Power wholly to themselves, not affording Us so much as the liberty to except against any of them. And whereas they say these Commissioners for the *Militia have a Rule prescribed, and being removable and lyable for any miscarriage to a severe punishment, cannot doe any thing to Our prejudice, contrary to the Trust reposed in them*: If they had such a Rule (which yet by their Propositions and Papers We cannot finde, having by generall and indefinite terms an unlimited Power given to them) it proves they should not, not that they would not break it. He that hath Power (as these Commissioners would have the greatest that ever Subjects had) and Will to abuse that Power, may extend and interpret the Rule prescribed him as he shall please himself. And therefore since out of Our ardent desire of Peace, We were content to part with this Power, We had reason to require, that at least some of those who should execute it might be such whom We Our selves should nominate and could trust.

For that which is said, That *if the Commissioners had been severally chosen, the memory of these unnatural Divisions must needs have been continued, and probably being severally named, they would have acted dividedly according to severall Interests, and the Warre thereby might be more easily revived*: It is apparent, the memory of the Warre must as much continue where any Commissioners are named at all, as where they are named by either Party, since by putting that Power into their hands it is put out of the proper Chanel. But it is not the memory of a past Warre that is dangerous, but such a remembrance of it as is joyned with a desire or inclination to revive it. And if it were probable, as is alleged, that if the Commissioners were partly chosen by Us and partly by them, that being severally named, they would have acted dividedly according to several Interests; it would be much more probable, that being wholly named by them, they would have acted onely according to their Interest, and so on Our part, in stead of an equal Security, We must have been contented

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with what Laws and Conditions they would have impoſed. But We ſhall again remember, that the offer on Our part was to name ſuch *againſt whom there could be no juſt Exception, if the Perſons were named equally betwixt us.* It was likewiſe offered, *That thoſe Commiſſioners ſhould take an Oath for the true diſcharge of their Truſt; that We Our ſelves were willing to take an Oath to obſerve the Articles of the Treaty; and that all Perſons of any immediate Truſt by Offices or attendance upon Us, and all others whom they ſhould nominate, ſhould take the like Oath, and with ſuch penalties, that whoſoever ſhould infringe the Agreement, ſhould be accounted moſt pernicious Enemies to Us and the Kingdomes.* And if this way of mutual nomination were not approved, there was another propoſed, that the Perſons ſhould be nominated between Our Commiſsioners and theirs, by whoſe mutual conſent it might well have been hoped ſuch perſons might have been named, in whom We and they might have confided. But to this no Anſwer hath been vouchſafed, nor could any thing ſatisfie concerning the *Militia*, unleſs, without knowing who the Perſons were who ſhould be entruſted, We ſhould with an implicite Faith in Perſons whom We did not know put that Power into their hands. num. 130.

They ſay, that though by their Propoſitions the Commiſsioners were to continue without any limitation of time, *yet they have ſince propoſed a time of ſeven years.* We know not that they have, during the whole Treaty, in any one particular receded from inſiſting on their Demands as they are ſet down in their Propoſitions *in terminis.* And in this point though they ſeem to reduce the time, which in their Propoſitions was indefinite, to a certainty, to which yet the *Scotiſh* Commiſsioners have not abſolutely agreed, the alteration is more in ſhew then in deed, and rather to the heightning then abating their Demands. For whereas they have limited the time to ſeven years, yet it is with an additional Clauſe, That after thoſe ſeven years it was to be executed as We and they ſhould agree, and not otherwiſe: ſo that though the Commiſsioners ſhould have the Power but for ſeven years, yet We ſhould not have it after thoſe ſeven years, nor at any time, unleſs they and We could agree in it: ſo much would they have gained by this ſeeming compliance in point of limitation of this Power to a time, though not to that time of three years which We propoſed. num. 131. See num. 132.

But they justifie the Reasonablenes of it: for whereas Our Com-
num. 130. missioners in their Paper (to which this of theirs is applied as an Answer) tell them, that if the time for this Power be unlimited, *We and Our Posterity shall for ever part with Our peculiar Regall Power of being able to resist Our Enemies or protect Our good Subjects, and with that undoubted and never-denied Right of the Crown to make Warre and Peace, or ever more to have Jurisdiction over Our own Navy and Fleet at Sea,* (the Command thereof being also a part of this great Power
num. 136. to be given to these Commissioners:) they answer plainly, *They cannot admit of this peculiar Regall Power, which Our Commissioners mention, to reside in Us, concerning the* Militia, *and to make Peace and Warre, or that it is otherwise to be exercised then by Authority from Us and both Houses of Parliament of* England *and the Estates of the Parliament of* Scotland *respectively.* We approve of their ingenuity, that now at the breaking off of the Treaty, they tell Us in plain terms what they mean: Though the Common-Law-books and Records of Parliament have mentioned, that the sole Power of protecting the Subjects belongs to the King, and that He alone hath Power to make Peace and Warre; though it hath been the language of former Parliaments, even of the last Parliament, and at the beginning of this Parliament, *That the Power of Peace and Warre is in the King; but if He will have Money from His Subjects to maintain the Warres, He must have their Consents*; and though the universal consent and common opinion heretofore hath gone accordingly: yet they cannot admit thereof as to have been Our Right (for the Answer is made to the assertion concerning Our Right.) And not admitting it, it seems their Oaths of Allegeance and Supremacy, to defend Our Crown and Dignity, and to assist and defend all *Jurisdictions*, *Privileges* and *Authorities* belonging to Us, oblige them not. And as they do not admit this Power in Right to have been in Us alone for the time past, so neither will they admit it for the time to come, in Us or Our Successors, to be able to resist Our Enemies or protect Our Subjects, or to make Peace or Warre, but it must be *by Authority from Us and the two Houses, and the Estates of the Parliament of* Scotland, *respectively.* They are to be associated in these Regal Powers, and the Scepter and the Sword may in Pictures or Statues, but are not in deed to be in the Kings hand alone. Upon these grounds, We wonder not that

they

they would have the Navy and Fleet at Sea to be put into the hands of their Commiſsioners for ſeven years, as the *Militia* for the Land, and after the ſeven years to be commanded in ſuch manner as they and We ſhould agree, and not otherwiſe; for they ſay, *the Reaſons are the ſame for them as for the* Militia *by Land.* It is a principal means, they ſay, of their ſecurity; and We cannot finde they think themſelves to have any ſecurity, if We and Our Succeſſors have any Power: But if We will part with Our Power wholly unto them, We and Our Poſterity ſhall be fully ſecured by the Affections of Our Subjects (that is, by the Lords and Commons now at *Weſtminſter*, who in their ſenſe repreſent all the People) who by themſelves during the Parliament, or, when they ſhall pleaſe to make any Receſſes, by their Commiſsioners during the Intervalls, will free Us from the burthen of the *Militia* and of Our Navy, and ſo of protecting Our Subjects, and will ſave Us the Charge of Our Navy, becauſe *it is to be principally maintained by the free gift of the Subject out of Tonnage and Poundage, and other Impoſitions upon Merchandiſe.* And having taken this care for Our Security (ſutable to all their Actions theſe three years laſt paſt) they ſay, that *for ſecurity of thoſe who have been with Us in the Warre, an Act of Oblivion is deſired to be paſſed, whereby all Our Subjects would have been put in one and the ſame condition and under the ſame protection, with ſome Exceptions mentioned in the Propoſitions.* We are not willing to mention thoſe Exceptions, by which not onely moſt of Our beſt Subjects (who have been with Us in the Warre according to their Duties) by expreſs or general terms are excepted, but all the Eſtates of ſome of them, and a great part of the Eſtates of the reſt of them, for that very cauſe, becauſe they were with Us in the Warre, are to be forfeited. As for ſecuring them by an Act of Oblivion, they have leſs cauſe to deſire it then they who propoſe it, as being more ſecured by the Conſcience of doing their Duties, and the protection of the known common Law of the Land, if it might take place, then any protection under the two Houſes or their Commiſsioners for the *Militia*: yet We were not unwilling, for the ſecurity of all Our Subjects, to have aſſented to an Act of Oblivion, being willing, as much as in Us lies, to have made up theſe Breaches, and buried the memory of theſe unhappy Diviſions.

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It was urged by Our Commissioners, that according to the literal sense of the Propositions (in the Powers given to the Commissioners for the *Militia*) *That Sheriffs and Justices of Peace, and other legal Ministers, could not raise the* Posse Comitatus, *or Forces to suppress Riots, without being liable to the interpretation of the Commissioners.* To this they answer, *That this is no part of the* Militia *to be exercised by the Commissioners, but in executing of Justice and legal Process; nor can be intended to be any disturbance, but for the preservation of the Peace.* We shall admit that to be their meaning; but it being by the Propositions made Treason in any *who shall levy any Forces without Authority or consent of the Commissioners, to the disturbance of the publick Peace*, it is apparent that the Sheriffs or Justices of Peace, if they raise any Forces to suppress any tumultuous Assembly, (which it is possible some of the Commissioners may countenance) or for executing of other legall Acts, may not onely be liable to the interpretation of being disturbers of the publick Peace, but feel the punishment of it. And whereas they say, *That the Power* (given by the Propositions to the Commissioners for the *Militia* of both Kingdoms as a joynt Committee) *for the hearing and determining Civil Actions and Differences cannot be extended further then preservation of the Articles of the Peace to be made:* We conceive that a Court being thereby allowed to them for the hearing and determining of Civil matters for the preservation of the Articles of the Peace, they may in order thereunto (upon pretence it is for the preservation of the Peace) entertain and determine any Cause or Difference they please, especially their Power by the Propositions being, *not onely to preserve the Peace*, but *to prevent the violation of the Articles of the Peace*; and having the power of the Sword in their hands, and being not tied up to any certain Law, whereby to judge, (for ought appears by their Answers to the Questions proposed by Our Commissioners) and the Common Law not being the Rule in such case, (because part of them are to be of the *Scotish* Nation) they may without controll exercise what Arbitrary Power they please.

And whereas it is insisted upon in this Paper, That an Answer be given to the fifteenth Proposition, which is, *That the Subjects be appointed to be Armed, Trained and Disciplined in such manner as both Houses*

Houſes ſhall think fit; which Our Commiſsioners thought fit to have deferred till after the Peace eſtabliſhed, and then to be ſettled by Us and the two Houſes: it is apparent, that Propoſition concerned not (that which was deſired as the end of their Propoſitions) the ſecurity for the obſervation of the Articles; and We conceive there is already ſufficient proviſion made by the Law in ſuch caſes; and if there were not, it were fit that that defect were ſupplied by Law, not to be left at large, as the two Houſes ſhould think fit, without expreſsing the manner of it, but to proceed by a Bill, wherein We might ſee before We conſented to it how Our Subjects ſhould be charged, We being as much concerned and ſenſible of the burthen to be put upon Our Subjects as the two Houſes can be, who, We are ſure, ſince they took upon them the authority of impoſing upon their fellow-Subjects without Us, have laid the heavieſt Impoſitions that ever were.

And whereas they ſay, *The ſcope of theſe their Propoſitions touching the* Militia *was to take away occaſions of future Differences, to prevent the raiſing of Arms, and to ſettle a firm and durable Peace*: If We look upon the whole frame of their *Militia* as they have propoſed it to Us, We cannot but conclude thoſe Propoſitions to be moſt deſtructive to thoſe ends. For firſt, they have propoſed it to Us (as they have ſettled it already by their Ordinance) That the whole *Militia* of *Ireland*, as well of Our *Engliſh* Subjects as *Scotiſh*, ſhall be Commanded by *Leſley* Earl of *Leven*, their *Scotiſh* General, and be managed by the joynt Advice of the *Scotiſh* and *Engliſh* Commiſsioners, and therein the *Scotiſh* as well as the *Engliſh* to have a Negative Voice, and ſo by conſequence ſubjecting the whole Government of that Kingdom to the manage of Our *Scotiſh* Subjects. And (having thus ordered the *Militia* of *Ireland*, where they will be ſure to keep Forces on Foot (for that is another part of the Propoſitions, *That We ſhall aſſent to whatſoever Acts ſhall be propoſed for Moneys for the Warre of* Ireland) which Forces ſhall be ready upon all occaſions to ſerve them) for the *Militia* and Navy of *England*, that is likewiſe to be ordered and Commanded by theſe Commiſsioners: and though We their Sovereign are denied to nominate any to be joynt-Commiſsioners, they are content to admit thoſe of *Scotland* (who, though Our Subjects, yet are ſtrangers to their Government) to a nomination of *Scotiſh* Commiſsioners

misſioners to be joyned with them. Theſe *Scotiſh* Commiſsioners in matters wherein both Kingdoms are joyntly concerned (and they may eaſily call and make what they will to be of joynt concernment) are to have a Negative Voice, ſo that the *Engliſh* can doe nothing without them, not ſo much as to raiſe Force to ſuppreſs a Commotion or prevent an Invaſion, if the *Scotiſh* Commiſsioners, though not a third part of the number of the *Engliſh*, ſay it is of joynt concernment; and in matters ſolely concerning *England*, the *Scotiſh* Commiſsioners (to a third part of the whole number of the Commiſsioners) are to reſide in *England*, and to Vote as ſingle Perſons.

Theſe Commiſsioners, as well *Scotiſh* as *Engliſh*, as they have the ſole Power of the Forces by Sea and Land, ſo they muſt have a Court in a Civil way, to hear and determine whatſoever Civil action that ſhall tend to the preſervation of the Peace, or whatſoever elſe is for the prevention of the violation of it; within which general words, and in order thereunto, they may comprehend any cauſe or thing they pleaſe. And as theſe Commiſsioners, as well *Scotiſh* as *Engliſh*, are to name all Commanders and Officers in Our Forts and Ships; ſo in the Intervalls of Parliament, leſt there ſhould be too much dependance upon Us, they are to name all the great Officers and Judges of both Our Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*.

To theſe ſo unreaſonable Propoſitions, wherein the Parliament and Subjects of *Scotland* would have ſo great an Influence and Power over the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, if (as reflecting merely upon Our ſelves, and not entertaining ſuch thoughts of Our *Scotiſh* Subjects as perhaps ſome may by the danger of ſuch a Power) We ſhould have agreed, as hoping that the good Affections of Our Subjects in *Scotland* might in time have reſtored Us to that Power which the two Houſes of *England* would take away; yet when We conſider, that We are in Conſcience obliged to maintain the Rights of Our Crown ſo farre as to be able to protect Our Subjects, and what jealouſies and heart-burnings it might probably produce betwixt Our Subjects of the two Kingdomes, what reluctancy all Our Subjects here may have when they ſhall ſee Our Power ſo ſhaken, and they muſt have ſo much dependency upon their fellow-Subjects

jects both *Engliſh* and *Scotch*, We conceive it ſo farre from being *a Remedy to the preſent Diſtempers*, (as they affirm in their Papers) that as at preſent it would alter the whole frame and conſtitution of the Government of this Kingdom, both Civil and Military, ſo in the concluſion it would occaſion the Ruine and Deſolation of all Our Kingdoms.

His MAJESTIES Anſwer to the two Papers concerning *Ireland*.

See theſe in the Narrative, num. 177, & 178.

IT hath been one of the chiefeſt deſignes of the Authors of the preſent Diſtractions, to inſinuate unto Our People, that We were either privy to the Rebellion in *Ireland*, or aſſenting to the continuance of it; and if it could not be perſonally fixed upon Our ſelf, yet to perſwade them into a belief that evil Counſellors and others prevalent with Us did encourage and aſsiſt it. By this means having a colour to raiſe Forces, and to levy Money for the ſupply of thoſe Forces, they might ſo diſpoſe of both, as under a pretence of ſuppreſsing the Rebels in *Ireland*, they might thereby alſo raiſe a Warre in *England*, for the effecting of their Ambitious and Covetous deſires in both Kingdoms. And they ſo carried on this Deſigne, that whereas out of Our earneſt deſire of the relief of Our poor Subjects in *Ireland*, and to ſhew the great ſenſe We had of their Miſeries, We had given way to ſeveral unuſual Bills for raiſing of Forces, and likewiſe to the Bill for the 400000 l. for the Adventurers and others, for raiſing of Moneys, (which Moneys by thoſe Acts were to be pay'd to particular Perſons, or otherwiſe out of the ordinary courſe, and not into Our Exchequer, as was uſuall in like caſes, thence to be iſſued for publick uſe) thoſe Supplies were diverted and imployed to feed and nouriſh a Rebellion in *England*, rather then to ſuppreſs that in *Ireland*. Thus 100000 l. of the Adventurers Money was imployed for the Earl of *Eſſex* his Army when he firſt march'd againſt Us; and that imployment of it, though contrary to the expreſs words of the Act, which are, That no part of that Money ſhall be imployed to any other purpoſe then the reducing of thoſe Rebels, was publickly juſtified by a Declaration made in the name of the Houſe of Commons

the ſixth of *September*, not long before the Battell at *Edge-hill*: and at the ſame Battell, ſeveral Regiments of Horſe and Foot raiſed for *Ireland*, under the Command of the Lord *Wharton*, Lord of *Leny*, Sir *Faithfull Forteſcue* and others, were imployed againſt Us at *Edge-hill*: the Moneys raiſed upon the Bill of 400000 l. and others have been wholly made uſe of againſt Us. And it was impoſsible, without thus working themſelves (under the ſpecious pretence of ſuppreſsing the Rebellion of *Ireland*) into the managery of that Warre, and miſapplying the aids intended for *Ireland*, to have brought this Kingdome into the bleeding and deſperate condition wherein it now languiſheth.

The Propoſitions concerning *Ireland*, as they are inſiſted upon by theſe Commiſsioners, (though in charity We ſhall hope not ſo intended by all of them) are apparently in purſuance of that original deſigne, in begetting a ſuſpicion of Our Integrity in that buſineſs of *Ireland*, and ingroſsing the managing of that Warre and the Power of that Kingdom into their hands. They would have the Ceſſation (which We have avowed to be aſſented to by Us, and adviſed as moſt neceſſary for the preſervation of that Kingdom) to tend *to the utter Deſtruction of the Proteſtants there*, and the continuance of the Ceſſation there, (though but during the Warre here) to be *a countenancing of that bloody Rebellion*; and We Our ſelves are charged *to be privy, and to give directions for the ſeiſing of ſome Proviſions* made and ſent for the ſupply of the Proteſtants in *Ireland*. In the next place, concerning the Warre there, they demand that the proſecution of that Warre be ſettled in both Houſes of Parliament, to be managed by the Advice of both Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*, (that is, a Committee of both Kingdoms, thoſe of each Kingdom to have a Negative voice) and all the Forces there to be under the Command of the *Scotch* General; the Lieutenant and other great Officers and Judges there to be nominated by both Houſes; and that We ſhould conſent to paſs all Acts to be propoſed by them for the raiſing of Moneys and other things neceſſary for the proſecution of that Warre. And notwithſtanding all the zealous and pathetical expreſsions in thoſe Papers, deſiring the continuance of that War, and the execution of Juſtice upon thoſe Rebels;

Rebels; it is not barely the prosecution of the Warre in zeal of Justice that is desired, that might be managed either by Us (whom God and the Law have entrusted solely with that Power, and whose Predecessors have alone, and without the concurrence of their Parliaments, other then by competent assistance with Moneys, suppressed great Rebellions in that Kingdom) or by fit Ministers to be appointed, upon just occasion to be removed by Us: they have not made any the least Proposition or desire to that purpose. But they insist upon such a prosecution of the Warre, wherein those who are in Arms against Us may have the sole managing of the Warre, and of Moneys to maintain that Warre, even while they are in Arms against Us. For the Cessation already made, it is apparent it was the onely visible means whereby the Kingdome was preserved, the poor Protestants there being in danger inevitably to have perished, either by Famine for want of Food, or by the Rebells for want of Ammunition, there being not above fourty Barrels of Powder there, as appears by the Letters of the Lords Justices and Councell of *Ireland* mentioned by Our Commissioners, and no supplies of Victualls or Money sent in six moneths time before those Letters (although Our Ships were then taken away from Us, and all the Forces at Sea belonging to this Kingdome were under their Command.) Neither could the not making void or declaring against that Cessation have hindered a Peace upon this Treaty, if it had been intended really on their part, it being to expire in *March*, and so before the Treaty could probably have been perfected, and there being no further Peace or Cessation made in *Ireland*. And therefore Our Commissioners did earnestly desire them to make such Propositions as were fit to be consented to, for the growth of the Protestant Religion, and the good of that Kingdom.

But in stead of such Propositions, they still except against the Cessation, and though expiring within a moneth, they insist upon their demands of *an Act of Parliament to make that Cessation void*: to which if We should have consented, as We must have rendered Our selves uncapable of being trusted at any time after, and odious abroad in breaking that Cessation, solemnly made by Our

publick Ministers of State in *Ireland*, and after consented unto by Our selves; so We must have implicitely confessed, contrary to the truth, that which they allege against the Cessation, that it was destructive to the Protestants there, and a countenancing of that bloody Rebellion, and thereby having lost the Plea of Our Innocencie, have also lost the hearts of Our People, and rendred Our selves guilty of those infamous Slanders which have been charged upon Us concerning the *Irish* Rebellion, and which some were so willing to fix upon Us, that even during this Treaty, when *Mac-guire* was impeached by them for this Rebellion, for which he was by them after executed, (though they well knew Confessions of men in his condition, in hopes of Pardon or Reprieves, are not to be credited,) he was strictly examined concerning Us (as We are credibly informed) whether or no We gave any Commission to the Rebels of *Ireland*, or any assistance to them; and if he had not absolutely denied it to his last, with more sense of Conscience in that particular then they who examined him expected, it is likely whatsoever Untruths reflecting upon Us had been forced from him, had been (as others were) published to Our disgrace. And although they long questioned the credit and truth of those Letters of the Lords Justices and Councel of *Ireland*, notwithstanding one of them being directed to the Speaker of the House of Commons was received and communicated to the House, and Ours was but a Duplicate thereof, and Copies were delivered to them of both Letters, which two of their Commissioners compared with Our Originals, and saw the Names of all the Councel-subscribers as well as the two Lords Justices, some of which Councellors were of principal estimation with themselves, and they might also have had Copies of their Names who subscribed, if they would have assured Our Commissioners, that such of them as should have come into their Quarters should not have been prejudiced by it; yet the extremity of Our poor *English* Subjects inducing that Cessation being so notorious, and that attestation thereof undeniable, they fall at last to confess and avoid them: they say, *That some who were of the Councel when those Letters were written assure them, that those Letters were written only to press for Supplies, without any intention of inducing a Cessation, neither do the Letters contain*

any

any mention of a Ceſſation. It is true, thoſe Letters do not, nor was it alleged they did mention any Ceſſation; but they preſſed for Supplies from hence, and laid open their Neceſsities to be ſuch, that it was apparent to any man (as We had alſo private advices from ſome of the Councel there, and of credit with thoſe at *Weſtminſter*) that if Supplies failed, there was no way for the preſervation of Our good Subjects there but by a Ceſſation. And theſe bleeding Wants of Our Army and good Subjects there ſo earneſtly calling for Relief, and (this Kingdom being then ingaged in the height of an unnatural Warre) Our ſelves unable to ſupply them, and no timely ſupply nor hopes of it coming from the two Houſes, what courſe leſs diſhonourable for Us, or more for the good and ſafety of the poor *Engliſh* there, could be taken, then to admit of a Treaty for a Ceſſation, which was managed by Our publick Miniſters of State there, and that Ceſſation aſſented unto as beſt for that Kingdom by the chief Officers of the Army and the Lords Juſtices and Councel of *Ireland*, before Our Approbation thereof?

They ſay, that *thoſe Neceſsities were made by a deſigne of the Popiſh and Prelaticall Party* (the Prelaticall Party muſt come in upon all turns, though none ſuffered more by the *Iriſh* Rebellion, nor were leſs advantaged by the Ceſſation, then thoſe poor Prelates) *and that at this very time when the Proteſtants were in ſuch Extremity, Proviſions ſent thither by the Parliament for their Relief were diſpoſed of and afforded to the Rebels.* The Letters of the Lords Juſtices and Councell tell us, that no Proviſions at all were ſent by the Parliament; and if they had not told it, yet this being barely affirmed, might as eaſily be denied, unleſs they had inſtanced in particular what Proviſions were ſent, and how, and when, and by whom, or to whom they were diſpoſed. But they ſay, that *at the ſame time the Officers of the Army and Garriſons, preſſing for leave to march into the Enemies Countrey to live upon them, and ſave their own ſtores; ſome could not obtain leave to goe, and thoſe who were drawn forth, had great quantities of Proviſions out with them, yet were not permitted to goe into the Enemies Countrey, but kept near* Dublin *till their Proviſions were ſpent, and then commanded back again.* They might remember, at that time (wherein they ſuppoſe this miſcarriage) the chief manage of thoſe Affairs

was in the hands of such Ministers of State, whom they did and do still rely upon; but sure those Ministers are not to be blamed, if they durst not suffer the Souldier to march farre, or stay long in the Enemies Countrey, when there was but fourty Barrels of Powder in all the Store, or if they called them back in such case when the Enemy approached.

Let such as these, or what other pretences and excuses soever, be made for not relieving *Ireland*, We are sure the chief Impediment to it was their active promoting this Rebellion in *England*: And therefore, as they made use of the Supplies both of Men and Money, provided for that Kingdom, against Us at *Edge-hill*; so from the time of that Battel (some Supplies sent before (which else perhaps had been also countermanded) arriving in *Ireland* about the time, or shortly after that Battel) they were so carefull of recruiting and supplying their Armies here, that though they received much Moneys for *Ireland*, and had at their dispossall great store of Our Ammunition, neither the one nor the other was ever after afforded to the *English* Army and Forces, or to the Protestants about *Dublin*, though the Cessation was not made till *September* following. As for those Protestants in *Munster*, *Connaught* and *Ulster*, who, they say, *opposed the Cessation, and did and do still subsist*, they were most of them of Our *Scotish* Subjects; the rest (excepting some few wrought upon by private interest or particular solicitation) were such, who being under their Power, were forced for their relief to concurre with them against it. These, indeed, as they did not suffer under so great Wants as the *English* at the time of the Cessation, as is well known, though it seem to be denied, more speciall Provisions being made for them and for their Garrisons then for the *English*, (as doth in great part appear even by the Articles of their Treaty of the sixth of *August*;) so they have since subsisted by Supplies sent from the two Houses, whereof none were suffered to partake but such as take their new Covenant, and doubly break the bonds of their Obedience and Duty, both by taking that dangerous ensnaring Oath prohibited by God and their King, and opposing Our Ministers of State there, without whose Authority (a Cessation being concluded) during that Cessation they ought not to have continued a Warre in that Kingdom. We easily believe the

Provisions

Proviſions they mention are or may be ſent for ſupply of thoſe Forces, as being a means to keep up a Party againſt Us there, and to have a Reſerve of an Army ready upon any accidents of Warre to be drawn hither againſt Us; and being alſo neceſſary for the ſatisfaction of Our *Scotiſh* Subjects (whom they muſt pleaſe) who would not be ſo forward in their ſervice without ſome good aſſurance (ſuch as is the having an Army of theirs kept on foot in *Ireland* at the charge of this Kingdom, and two of Our ſtrongeſt Towns and Caſtles there delivered to them Cautionary Towns, as We may believe *Berwick* alſo is (being denied the ſight of that Treaty) and by the Command of all the *Engliſh* Forces there by the General of the *Scots*) that they ſhall be well pay'd the Arrears to the Armies in both Kingdoms before they quit their Intereſt in *Ireland*. If We ſhall allow Proviſions thus imployed to be for the preſervation of the *Engliſh* Proteſtants in *Ireland*, We may believe they have repay'd the 100000 l. taken up of the Adventurers money; and yet thus to re-ſatisfie this money, admitting it be current ſatisfaction for the Debt, can be no ſatisfaction or excuſe for the former Diverſion.

But ſince they cannot excuſe themſelves for this Diverſion of the Adventurers money, nor of the other moneys raiſed for *Ireland*, nor of the imploying the Forces raiſed for that Kingdom under the Command of the Lord *Wharton* againſt Us at *Edge-hill*, which they deny not; they fall to recriminate Us.

They ſay, *They have mentioned particulars of Proviſions for* Ireland, (beſides thoſe few Cloaths taken near *Coventry*, which being formerly anſwered by Our Commiſsioners, they do not again urge) *aſſerted to be ſeiſed not without Our own knowledge and directions, as they were informed.* This they had formerly alleged, and Our Commiſsioners had anſwered (as We do now) that they have inſtanced no particulars at all of any ſuch Proviſions ſeiſed. And whereas they ſay, that *Our forbearance to ſeiſe ſome Proviſions* (which Our Commiſsioners alleged in Our greateſt Wants We forbore to take, though they lay in Magazines within Our own Quarters, but took order to ſend away into *Ireland*,) *was no excuſe for ſeiſing others*; they miſapply that to be an excuſe, which was alleged as an evidence that We ſeiſed none, ſince We might in Our great Want have ſeiſed thoſe, if We had been minded to have ſeiſed any.

They ſay again, *the Service of that Kingdom was much prejudiced by denying the Lord* Wharton's *Commiſſion, of which they have not received ſatisfaction.* To this it hath been already anſwered, that thoſe Forces were raiſed for him before any Commiſsion demanded from Us, and that the Commiſsion for him propoſed to Us was, to have been independent of the Lieutenant of that Kingdom; Cauſes (though not ſatisfactory to them yet) ſufficient in themſelves to juſtifie Our refuſall. But beſides theſe, it is apparent the Army which was brought down againſt Us was then raiſing, that the Lord *Wharton* was one of the moſt active in it; and We had cauſe to be confident (nor did he fail Us therein) that what Forces he ſhould raiſe for *Ireland* he would imploy againſt Us in *England*: neither did that Service depend upon the Lord *Wharton*, other able Officers were appointed over thoſe Forces, whom (if they had as much affected that Service as the Perſon of the Lord *Wharton*) they might have truſted with the Tranſport of them to *Ireland*, where others of more Experience and fitter for Conduct then the Lord *Wharton* might have taken the charge of them. They ſay further, That it was *one end for which the Ceſſation was made, that the Forces might be brought hither to Us out of* Ireland, *and imployed againſt the two Houſes.* The bleeding Neceſsities of the poor *Engliſh* there (which have been mentioned, and whereof they cannot but be convinced) will beſt ſpeak the cauſe of that Ceſſation; and the ſight of thoſe Souldiers half ſtarved when they came over, having neither Cloaths to their Backs nor ſo much as Shoes to their Feet, nor any Pay to provide either, will witneſs the neceſsity of bringing them over, when there was no ſubſiſtance for them in *Ireland*, nor uſe for them there during the Ceſſation. And for making uſe of them here, how can they quarrel at Our imploying Our own *Engliſh* Souldiers, who ſhould otherwiſe have disbanded, when they make uſe of an Army of *Scots* againſt Us?

They have been told that they brought over out of *Ireland* the Earl of *Leven*, their General, and divers *Scotiſh* Officers, (which they deny not;) and that before the *Engliſh* Forces brought over, they attempted the bringing once the *Scotiſh* Forces in *Ireland*, as likewiſe divers *Engliſh* Officers there, into this Kingdom: to which all the Anſwer given is, *that the* Scotiſh *Forces which came over were*

not

not ſent for. Which as it denies not what is objected, ſo neither can it excuſe their not ſending them back to the ſervice of *Ireland*, and imploying them here in an unnatural Rebellion againſt Us.

But whatſoever their own acts or failings have been in this buſineſs of *Ireland*, and though apparently the Neceſsities which cauſed the Ceſſation were occaſioned by the two Houſes, yet rather then they ſhall be guilty of the blame and neglect therein, Our People muſt be made to believe that either there were no ſuch Neceſsities, or when that is ſo apparent, then that thoſe Neceſsities were deſigned and contrived by a Popiſh and Prelatical party prevalent with Us, and the Supplies denied and ſtopped by Our ſelf, and ſo that it is reaſonable for them to preſs and inſiſt (as they do with much fervour in their laſt Paper concerning *Ireland*) upon their Demands for the ſettling of the proſecution of the Warre in themſelves or the *Scots*, excluding Us, and that there ſhall be no further Ceſſation or Peace made there, (though the Warre ſhould continue here;) to have the nomination of the Lieutenant and all the great Officers there; and to have Us bound up to aſſent to whatſoever Acts they ſhall propoſe for Moneys or other neceſſaries for the proſecution of that Warre: and if We agree not to theſe Propoſitions, We are like to be charged *with countenancing of that bloody Rebellion.*

And therefore, though the unreaſonableneſs of thoſe Propoſitions hath been fully lay'd open by Our Commiſsioners in their Paper, yet becauſe this of theirs is framed in Anſwer to thoſe, and the fervency and fluencie of their expreſſions may make impreſſions on thoſe who do not warily weigh the matter, We ſhall examine what new inforcements they bring to make good thoſe Demands.

The proſecution of the Warre there, though it be demanded (generally) in the 13. Propoſition to be ſettled in both the Houſes of the Parliament of *England*, to be managed by the joynt Advice of both Kingdoms; yet according to their 17. Propoſition it is to be ordered *according to the Ordinance of the* 11. *of April* 1644. which is alſo propoſed to be *enacted.* By that Ordinance the *Scotiſh* General *Leven* is to command all the Forces in *Ireland*, both *Engliſh* and *Scotiſh*, and that Warre is to be managed by a *joynt Committee*, to be named

med by the two Houſes of *England* and the Eſtates of the Parliament of *Scotland*; and the Committees of each Kingdom is to have a *Negative voice*. They inſiſting to have the proſecution of the Warre thus ſettled, Our Commiſsioners anſwered, *That this was in effect to deliver the Kingdom of* Ireland *into the hands of Our Subjects of* Scotland, *and neither agreeable to the rules of Honour or Prudence.* That it was *unreaſonable*, if the Warre continued here, that We by Our conſent to Act of Parliament for the managing of that Warre, and raiſing Moneys for that purpoſe, ſhould put ſo great Power into their hands who during theſe Troubles may turn that Power againſt Us. And laſtly, that if the Diſtractions continued here, the Forces and Wealth of this Kingdom would be ſo imployed at home, that the proſecution of that Warre to the ſubduing of the Rebels was impoſſible, but probably might be deſtruction of the remainder of Our good Subjects.

For the Power given to Our *Scotiſh* Subjects in that Kingdom, Our Commiſsioners urged, that General *Leven* being to Command all the Forces in *Ireland*, and the Committee of *Scotland* having a Negative voice, upon difference of opinion that Warre muſt either ſtand ſtill to the Ruine of Our Subjects there, or be carried as the Earl of *Leven* pleaſed, whoſe Power was not bounded by any reference to Us or Our Lieutenant of *Ireland*, no nor to the Houſes of *England*. And though it had been anſwered, that in caſes of diſagreement betwixt the Committee, the two Houſes might proſecute the Warre, obſerving the Treaty of the ſixth of *Auguſt*, and the Ordinance of the 11. of *April*; yet by referring to that Ordinance, (which is deſired to be Enacted) and by that Ordinance the Power being thereby put into the Earl of *Leven* and that Committee without mention of the two Houſes, it was apparent the Earl of *Leven* would not be bound to obſerve the Directions of the Houſes of *England* by themſelves.

But they Reply in this laſt Paper of theirs, *That as the Ordinance of the* 11. *of* April 1644. *ſo the Treaty of the* 6. *of* Auguſt 1642. *is deſired to be confirmed, by which the Commander of the* Scotiſh *Forces in* Ireland *was to be anſwerable to Us and the two Houſes of the Parliament of* England *for his whole deportment.* But this is apparently no Anſwer at all: for this Treaty of the 6. of *Auguſt* binds not the Committee

mittee who are to manage that Warre, and relates to the *Scotiſh* General as General of the *Scots* only; the other of *April* 1644. being later in time, giving him power alſo as Commander in chief over the *Engliſh* Forces in *Ireland*; and according to this later he is to receive his Orders from the Committee, without reference to Us or the two Houſes, neither can the two Houſes be hereby brought in to have Command over this *Scotiſh* General or Committee more then Our ſelves, whom they intend wholly to exclude. Yet We cannot but obſerve even upon theſe Articles of the Treaty of the ſixth of *Auguſt*, how little cauſe there is to expect this *Scotiſh* Generall will manage that Warre for the good of this Kingdom, who being by thoſe Articles to be anſwerable *to Us* as well as to the two Houſes (for then though the ſame Deſign was on foot, yet their outward pretences were ſomewhat more modeſt then now they are) did without directions from Us leave his Charge in *Ireland*, to bring an Army into *England* againſt Us. Well, they ſay at laſt, they had (by the 13. Propoſition) deſired the proſecution of the Warre to be ſettled in the two Houſes, and ſo taking all together, that the Earl of *Leven* cannot manage that Warre according to his own diſcretion: But We muſt remember them, the Propoſition is not barely to ſettle the proſecution of the Warre in the two Houſes, but to ſettle it in the two Houſes *to be managed by the joynt Advice of both Kingdoms*, and that joynt Advice is by a joynt Committee, according to the Ordinance of the 11. of *April*, in which Committee they confeſs thoſe of *Scotland* have a Negative voice, and by the laſt part of the 17. Propoſition, *the Warre of* Ireland *is to be ordered according to that Ordinance.*

But they ſay, *The* Scotiſh *Commander is to receive Orders from the Lieutenant of* Ireland, *if a Lord Lieutenant ſhall be choſen by the two Houſes* (for a Lieutenant nominated by Us is not allowed by them to give Orders to the *Scotiſh* General.) This indeed (though not warranted by their Propoſitions, upon which nevertheleſs they inſiſt) yet being admitted in this latitude might ſeem to give ſome Power to the two Houſes over the *Scotch* General in the manage of the Warre, as giving the Lieutenant ſuch a Power, and by conſequence the two Houſes, who have power over this Lieutenant. But they ſay not generally, that he ſhall receive Inſtructions from the

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Lieutenant, but *that he ſhall receive Inſtructions from the Lieutenant in ſuch manner as they have ſet down in their Paper of the* 20. *of* February, that is, *when it ſhall be neceſſary for the good of that Service that he and the Commander in chief of the* Scotiſh *Army joyn*: but how ſhall it be for the Service that he joyn with him, when he ſhall command no Forces with which he may joyn, the *Scotch* General being by the Ordinance of the 11. of *April* to command all the Forces whatſoever in *Ireland*? But admit them to have joyned; then the *Scotch* General is to receive Inſtructions from the Lieutenant, *according to the Orders which ſhall be given by the Commiſſioners of both Kingdoms*, ſo, and no otherwiſe. Still the caſe is the ſame: The *Scotiſh* General is not bound to obey any Orders but ſuch as ſhall come mediately or immediately from the Committee of both Kingdoms. And (whatſoever evaſions and diſguiſes are made to cover it from Our Peoples Eyes) the *Scotiſh* Committee being an equal number, and having an equal ſhare in the Counſels, and their General having the Command of all the Forces; it is apparent, the whole Power over that Kingdom is in effect to be transferred to them.

But ſhould We admit that theſe Propoſitions did not give ſo great power in *Ireland* to Our Subjects of *Scotland*, yet how ſhould it be imagined that We ſhould put the proſecution of this Warre in the two Houſes in ſuch manner as is inſiſted on by them, ſo long as they maintain a Rebellion againſt Us in this Kingdom? It is not denied but by their Authority divers Forces raiſed, and the Moneys levied for *Ireland*, were imployed againſt Us in *England*; and upon the ſame pretences that they made uſe of thoſe aides (becauſe (as they allege in their Declaration upon that Subject) *that the ſubſiſtence of* Ireland *depended upon their welfare here*) they may ſtill make uſe of ſuch Power as ſhall be given them for the manage of that Warre and raiſing Moneys for that purpoſe, againſt Us in *England*. Neither if a Peace ſhould be concluded here, could We aſſent that the proſecution of the Warre ſhould be ſettled in the two Houſes, excluding Our ſelves, as they intend it by thoſe words, *the King not to moleſt them therein*. Queen *Elizabeth* managed the Warre in *Ireland* ſolely, when the two Houſes were ſitting, and excluded them. Though We inſiſt not upon that Example, We ſhould be wanting to the Truſt We have received from God, and that care

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of Our Subjects which lies upon Us (and of which We are to give Him an account) to exclude Our ſelf. They themſelves know, great Bodies are not ſo fit to carry on the Warre as a few; and therefore they have in a manner given up their power in this unhappy Warre at home to their State-Committee, whoſe Reſolutions are rather brought to them for Countenance and Execution, then for Debate and Deliberation.

They tell us, *The Parliament of* England *is a faithfull Councell to Us, and that We have truſted them with the proſecution of that Warre, and they faithfully diſcharged their parts in it.* We wiſh, though We are willing to be ſilent in it, that yet the Ruines and Deſolations of this Kingdom would not ſpeak to Poſterity what Counſellors thoſe are who have deveſted Us of Our Revenue, Arms, Ships, Power, and even the ſecurity of Our Perſon, who have Armed Our Subjects here, who have brought in the *Scots* into this Kingdom, to the tearing up the bowels of it, who have infamouſly libelled againſt Us and Our Conſort, who have threatned to depoſe Us, and impeached Her of Treaſon; and who thoſe are who have denied Peace to this miſerable Kingdom, unleſs We would conſent to their unreaſonable deſtructive Propoſitions, overturning the whole frame of Government both in Church and State. They ſay, and it is true, *We truſted them with the Proſecution of that Warre*: and how faithfully they diſcharged it, We will not again repeat: but We never truſted them ſo as to exclude Our ſelves, as they now ſuppoſe; and if We had relied more on the Judgements and Advice of Our Privy Councell, and leſs on theirs, neither that nor this Kingdom had been in the condition they now are. It was their interpoſition and Advice which hindered the tranſportation of the Army of *Iriſh* Natives out of that Kingdom into *Spain* (even to Our diſ-reputation abroad, who had agreed with the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadour to ſend them over, and he, in confidence of Our performance, had diſburſed money for their tranſport:) and had they been tranſported (their ſtay as it provoked them, ſo it emboldening and ſtrengthening the other *Iriſh*) We are confident the flames of that Rebellion would never have broken forth at all, or at moſt have been ſo ſmall as might ſuddenly have been extinguiſhed. It was their Advice that ſtaid Our going over thither in Perſon, which probably might have ſtopped

the rage of that Warre, and, by the Blessing of God, would have saved the effusion of much blood which was since shed in that Kingdom. It was their unseasonable Declarations at the beginning of the Rebellion (before the old *English* and other Papists had engaged themselves with the Rebels of *Ulster*) of making it a Warre of Religion, and against that connivence which had been used in that Kingdom ever since the Reformation, and tending to make it a National Quarrel, and to eradicate the whole stock of the *Irish* (which they now pursue by giving no Quarter to those few of that Nation in *England* who never were in that Rebellion, but according to their Duty assist Us their Sovereign) which made the Rebellion so general; whereas otherwise the old *English*, as in former times (though Papists) would have joyned against those Rebels. When We had offered in *December* 1641. that 10000 Voluntiers should be raised presently in *England* for the service of *Ireland*, if the House of Commons would declare they would pay them; in stead thereof, in *January* following Propositions were made for the transporting the *Scots* into *Ireland*, and We were advised by the two Houses, to give the Command and keeping of the Town and Castle of *Carickfergus* to the *Scotish*, who were to be transported thither, and pay'd by this Kingdom: to which We returned Answer, *That we did not approve the same, as prejudicial to the Crown of* England *and the Service intended, and implying too great trust for auxiliary Forces*; yet afterwards, because We perceived the insisting upon it would breed a great delay in the necessary supply of that Kingdom, We did admit of the Advice of the Parliament in that particular, (and since, by the Articles of the sixth of *August* 1642. (which though said to be made by Commissioners authorized by Us and the Parliament of *England*, We never were made acquainted with them, till upon this Treaty almost three years after) both the Towns and Castles of *Carickfergus* and *Colrane* are left with them as Cautionary.) The consequence whereof was such, that though the Service of *Ireland* was little advanced, or the poor *English* Protestants relieved by it, and this Kingdom drained to pay those (whose great arrears growing upon that Agreement must be pay'd out of Lands in *Ireland* where they have so good footing already, or of Our good

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Subjects in *England*, according to their other Propoſitions) by this means the *Scotiſh* having an Army there, under colour of ſupplying them, Our Arms and Ammunition were ſent into *Scotland* for the ſupply of another Army to be brought into *England*; and the countenance of that Army in *Ireland*, as it gave encouragement to ſome of Our *Scotiſh* Subjects, ſo it over-awed others, and was a means, without any the leaſt provocation to thoſe Our ungratefull Subjects, of bringing of another Army into this Kingdom, where they ſtill remain, to the utter Ruine of many of Our good Subjects, and the probable Deſtruction of the whole Kingdome. And laſtly, it was upon their Advice in *February* 1641. (ſhortly after thoſe Propoſitions tendred for tranſporting the *Scots* into *Ireland*) that We agreed, that the Rebels Lands ſhould be ſhared amongſt the Adventurers, and the Rebels to have no Pardons; though We then expreſly declared, *We did it merely relying upon their Wiſdome, without further examining*, (what We in Our particular Judgement were perſwaded) *whether that courſe might not retard the reducing of that Kingdom, by exaſperating the Rebels, and rendring them deſperate of being received into grace if they ſhould return to their Obedience.* And it is moſt apparent that thoſe Propoſitions, and the Act drawn upon them, wherein alſo a further Clauſe (not obſerved by Us, but paſſed, as conceiving that Act had wholly purſued the Propoſitions) was inſerted, *That every perſon who ſhould make, enter into, or take any Compact, Bond, Covenant, Oath, Promiſe or Agreement, to introduce or bring into the ſaid Realm of* Ireland *the Authority of the See of* Rome *in any caſe whatſoever, or to maintain or defend the ſame, ſhould forfeit his Lands and Goods*, (as in caſe of Rebellion) were great cauſes not onely of provoking, but increaſing and encouraging the Rebels; who having no pretence before for that horrid Rebellion, had now ſome colour to make it a matter of Religion, and ſo to make their application to Forein Princes, and to negotiate with them for delivering that Kingdom into their hands. We profeſs Our averſion from their Religion and hatred to their Rebellion: but though We think them worſe Chriſtians becauſe they are Rebels, We think them not worſe Rebels becauſe they are Papiſts: A Proteſtant Rebel in the ſame degree of Rebel-

lion hath farre more to anſwer, as having more light, and it being more expreſsly againſt the Religion he profeſſeth, whereof it hath heretofore been a Maxime (though it be now taken for Apocryphal doctrine) *Not to take up Arms againſt their Prince upon any pretence whatſoever.* And as We have endeavoured by Our Perſonal example and otherwiſe, ſo We ſhall ſtill continue by all good means to propagate the Proteſtant Religion: but We are farre from that *Mahumetane* Doctrine, that We ought to propagate Our Religion by the Sword. And though We ſhall be moſt willing to hearken to the Advice of Our People aſſembled in a free Parliament; yet We ſhould be wanting to the Truſt that God hath repoſed in Us, and Our uſe of that Reaſon with which He hath endowed Us, if We ſhould wholly give up that Kingdom to be managed ſolely by their Counſels, ſecluding Our ſelves from all Intereſt therein, eſpecially when We conſider that which Experience hath taught Us, if they have the ſole Power of that Warre (by which all the Souldiers and Commanders being to be nominated and pay'd, removed and advanced by them, the neceſſary application (paſsing by Us) muſt be made to ſuch as are powerfull with them) how eaſie a matter it will be for a prevalent Faction (if they ſhall have a minde to demand other things hereafter not fit to be granted) again to bring over an Army raiſed and payed by them into this Kingdom, eſpecially ſo much compoſed of Our *Scotiſh* Subjects. And whereas they deſire further *the nomination of the Lord Lieutenant and other great Officers and Judges in that Kingdome*, (which they alſo deſire in this of *England*) they cannot but know, that it muſt of neceſſity take away all dependency upon Us and application to Us, when the power to reward thoſe who are worthy of publick Truſt ſhall be transferred to others, and having neither force left Us to puniſh nor power to reward, We ſhall be in effect a titular contemptible Prince. We ſhall leave all Our Miniſters to the known Laws of the Land, to be tried and puniſhed according to thoſe Laws if they ſhall offend; but We cannot conſent to put ſo great a Truſt and Power out of Us: and We have juſt cauſe to conceive, that notwithſtanding all their ſpecious pretences, this deſire of nomination of thoſe great Officers is but a cloke to cover the Ambition of thoſe who having been

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the Bouteſeus of this Rebellion, deſire to advance themſelves and their own Faction. And to that which is ſaid, that Our *bad choice of Our Lieutenants of* Ireland *was the loſs of many thouſand Lives there, and almoſt of the whole Kingdom from Our Obedience*: they cannot but witneſs who know that Kingdom, that during the Government there by Lieutenants of Our Choice, that Kingdom enjoyed more Plenty and Peace then it ever had ſince it was under ſubjection to the Crown of *England*; Traffick by Sea and Trade by Land encreaſed, values of Land improved, Shipping multiplied beyond belief; never was the Proteſtant Religion more advanced, nor the Proteſtant protected in greater ſecurity againſt the Papiſts. And We muſt remember them, that that Rebellion was begun when there was no Lieutenant there, and when the Power and Government which had been formerly uſed in that Kingdom was queſtioned and diſgraced, when thoſe in the Parliament there by whom that Rebellion was hatched were countenanced in their complaints and proſecution.

But they are not content to demand all the Power over *Ireland*, and the nomination of all Officers, but We muſt alſo engage Our ſelf to *paſs ſuch Acts as ſhall be preſented to Us for raiſing of Moneys and other neceſſaries for that Warre*. Our former readineſs to paſs Acts for *Ireland*, becauſe they were adviſed by the two Houſes, (when they were apparently prejudicial to Our ſelf, and contrary to Our own Judgement) might ſufficiently ſatisfie them We would make no difficulty to conſent to ſuch Acts as ſhould be for the good of that Kingdom: but they have been already told it was unreaſonable to make a general engagement, before We ſaw the Acts whether reaſonable or no, and whether *thoſe other neceſſaries may not in truth comprehend what is not onely unneceſſary, but very inconvenient*. But the People, they ſay, *who have truſted them with their Purſe, will never begrudge what they make them lay out upon that occaſion*. The two Houſes indeed were entruſted that Our Subjects ſhould not be charged without them, but they never were ſolely truſted by Our Subjects with a power to charge them; the care that no preſſure in that or any other kinde ſhould be upon Our Subjects is principally in Us, without whoſe Conſent (notwithſtanding the late contrary and unexampled practice) no ſuch Charge can or ought to be levied, and We ought not to give that Conſent but where it is viſibly for the good of Our

Kingdoms; which upon such an unbounded power of raising Moneys may fall out otherwise, especially in so unusual a case as this, where those who must have the sole manage of the Warre shall have the sole command of the Purse, without any check or controll upon them. But they say again, *We have heretofore been possessed against the Parliament, for not giving away the Money of the Subject when We had desired it, but never yet did We restrain them from it.* It is true, We had no great cause heretofore to restrain the two Houses from giving the Subjects Money to Us, having found more difficulty to obtain from them three or four Subsidies, then they have met with in raising so many Millions. But Our People cannot think themselves well dealt with by Us, if We shall consent to put an unlimited power of raising what Moneys they please in those Persons who have drained more wealth from them in four years, then We believe all the Supplies given to the Crown in 400 years before have amounted unto.

In the last place, We wish every man to consider how the Rebels in *Ireland* can be reduced by War, whilst these unhappy Distractions continue here, whilst contrary Forces and Armies are raised in most parts of this Kingdom, and the blood of Our People is spilt like water upon the ground, whilst the Kingdom is wasted by Souldiers and the People exhausted by maintaining them, and (as if this Kingdom were not sufficient to destroy it self) whilst an Army of *Scots* is brought into the bowels of this Kingdom, and maintained at the charge of it; whilst this Kingdom labours under such a War, how is it possible that a considerable supply of men or money can be sent into *Ireland*?

To this with much fervour of expression they say, *It must not depend upon the condition of Our other Kingdoms to revenge God's Quarrell upon such perfidious Enemies to the Gospel of Christ, who have embrewed their hands in so much Protestant blood; that the Cessation is for their advantage, Arms and Ammunition and all manner of Commodities may be brought to them; that it is not fit there be any agreement of Peace or respite from Hostility with such creatures as are not fit to live, more then with Wolves or Tigers, or any ravenous Beasts, destroyers of mankinde.*

We are most sensible of the blood and horrour of that Rebellion, and would be glad that either a Peace in this Kingdom or any other

other Expedient might furniſh Us with means and power to doe Juſtice upon it. If this cannot be, We muſt not deſperately expoſe Our good Subjects to their Butchery without means or poſsibility of protection. God will in His due time revenge His Own Quarrell: in the mean time His Goſpel gives Us leave in caſe of War to ſit down, and caſt up the coſt, and eſtimate Our power to goe through with it; and in ſuch caſe where prudence adviſeth, it is lawfull to propoſe conditions of Peace, though the Warre otherwiſe might juſtly be purſued. And ſurely, as a Ceſſation in *Ireland* may be ſome advantage to the Rebels, as all Ceſſations in their nature are to both parts, they having thereby time and liberty to procure Arms and Ammunition to be brought to them: ſo it is not only for the advantage, but neceſſary preſervation of Our good Subjects there, whoſe bleeding Dangers call for Our bowels of Charity and Compaſſion, by ſuſpending the rage of the Adverſary by this Ceſſation, till means may be found to turn their hearts, or to diſable their Malice from purſuing their Cruelty, to the utter Ruine of that Remainder of Our good Subjects there; it being more acceptable to God and man to preſerve a few good men from deſtruction, then to deſtroy a multitude, though in the way of Juſtice: and perhaps a Ceſſation may bring ſome of thoſe Rebels to reflect upon their Offences, and to return to their Duty: all are not in the ſame degree of guilt, all were not authors of nor conſenting to the Cruelties committed; ſome were inforced to comply with, or not reſiſt their proceedings; ſome were ſeduced upon a belief the Nation was deſigned to be eradicated, and the Warre not againſt the Rebellion only, but their Religion. The Warre deſtroyes all alike without diſtinction, (even innocent Children have ſuffered, not by the Rebels only) and all are not Tigers or Wolves: there may be grounds of Mercy to ſome, though no ſeverity be exceſsive towards others. However, We cannot deſire the deſtruction even of the worſt of thoſe *Iriſh* Rebels, ſo much as We do the preſervation of the poor *Engliſh* remaining there; but ſhould make choice rather to ſave the Rebels for preſerving the lives of thoſe poor Proteſtants, then deſtroy them to ruine the Rebels. And therefore exceeding ſtrange it is to Us, and We are ſorry to finde, that any *Engliſh*-men (who have ſeen this their Native Country heretofore

(even in Our time) flouriſhing beyond moſt of the Kingdoms and Churches in the world, and now moſt hideous and deformed, weltring in the blood of her own Children, and, if this Warre continue, like to be a perpetual ſpectacle of Deſolation,) ſhould expreſs, that *they deſire Warre in* Ireland *as much as they do Peace here*, no more valuing the ſparing of *Engliſh* blood here then they do the effuſion of the blood of the Rebels in *Ireland*. They ſay, indeed, *they are willing to lay out their Eſtates and Lives both for the Warre in* Ireland *and Peace in this Kingdom*; but withall they ſay, *they have made Propoſitions for both, if Our Commiſſioners would agree to them.* Theſe are the Conditions they offer, neither Peace is to be had here without agreeing to their Propoſitions, nor that Warre in *Ireland* to be managed but according to thoſe Propoſitions, ſuch Propoſitions as apparently tend to the Ruine of the Church, to the ſubverſion of all Our Power, to the ſetting up a new frame of popular Government, to the deſtruction of Our Loyal and true-hearted Subjects; Propoſitions which aſſociate Our Subjects of *Scotland* in their Counſels and Power, and inveſt them in a great ſhare of the Government and Wealth of this Kingdom, and render both the Wealth and Power of *Ireland* to be at their command. Theſe Propoſitions they inſiſt upon, and for the obtaining theſe they are reſolved to engage *the Lives and Eſtates* of Our poor People in this unnatural Rebellion. But We truſt God Almighty will open the Eyes and the Hearts of Our People, not to aſsiſt them any longer againſt Us in the ſhedding innocent blood in this Warre. And We caſt Our ſelves on Him, waiting His good time for the reſtoring the Peace of Our Kingdoms, and Our deliverance from theſe Troubles, which at length We are aſſured He will give unto Us.

MESSAGES

MESSAGES,
PROPOSITIONS,
AND TREATIES FOR PEACE:
WITH DIVERS
RESOLUTIONS
AND
DECLARATIONS
THEREUPON.

MDC XLV. VI. VII. VIII.

His MAJESTIES *Meſſage to both Houſes, from* Oxford, Decemb. 5. 1645.

For the Speaker of the Houſe of Peers *pro tempore.*

CHARLES R.

HIS Majeſty being deeply ſenſible of the continuation of this bloody and unnatural Warre, cannot think Himſelf diſcharged of the Duty He owes to God, or the Affection and regard He hath to the preſervation of His People, without the conſtant application of His earneſt Endeavours to finde ſome Expedient for the ſpeedy ending of theſe unhappy Diſtractions, if that may be; doth therefore deſire, That a ſafe Conduct may be forthwith ſent for the Duke of *Richmond*, the Earl of *Southampton*, *John Aſhburnham* and *Jeffrey Palmer* Eſquires, and their Attendants, with Coaches, Horſes, and other Accommodations for their Journey to *Weſtminſter*, during their ſtay there, and return when they ſhall think fit; whom His Majeſty intends to ſend to the Lords and Commons aſſembled in the Parliament of *England* at *Weſtminſter*, and the Commiſsioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*, furniſhed with ſuch Propoſitions as His Majeſty is confident will be the foundation of a happy and well-grounded Peace.

Given at the Court at *Oxford*, the fifth of *December*, 1645.

The Letter of the two Speakers.

For Sir *Thomas Glemham* Governour of *Oxford.*

Sir,

WE have received your Letter of the 5. of this inſtant *December*, with His Majeſties incloſed, and have ſent back your Trumpet by command of both Houſes, who will with all convenient ſpeed return an Anſwer to His Majeſty, and reſt,

Your Loving Friends,

Grey of *Wark*, Speaker of the Houſe of Peers *pro tempore.*
William Lenthal, Speaker of the Houſe of Commons.

His

His MAJESTIES *Meſſage to both Houſes in purſuance of the former.*

From Oxford, Dec. 15. 1645.

For the Speaker of the Houſe of Peers *pro tempore.*

CHARLES R.

HIS Majeſty cannot but extremely wonder, that after ſo many expreſsions on your part of a deep and ſeeming ſenſe of the Miſeries of this afflicted Kingdom, and of the Dangers incident to His Perſon during the continuance of this unnatural Warre, your many great and ſo often repeated Proteſtations, that the raiſing of theſe Armes hath been only for the neceſſary defence of God's true Religion, His Majeſties Honour, Safety and Proſperity, the Peace, Comfort and Security of His People, you ſhould delay a ſafe Conduct to the Perſons mentioned in His Majeſties Meſſage of the fifth of this inſtant *December*, which are to be ſent unto you with Propoſitions for a well-grounded Peace: a thing ſo farre from having been at any time denied by His Majeſty, whenſoever you have deſired the ſame, that He believes it hath been ſeldome (if ever) practiſed among the moſt avowed and profeſſed Enemies, much leſs from Subjects to their King. But His Majeſty is reſolved that no Diſcouragements whatſoever ſhall make Him fail of His part in doing His uttermoſt endeavours to put an end to theſe Calamities, which, if not in time prevented, muſt prove the Ruine of this unhappy Nation; and therefore doth once again deſire, that a ſafe Conduct may be forthwith ſent for thoſe Perſons expreſſed in His former Meſſage: and doth therefore conjure you, as you will anſwer to Almighty God in that Day when He ſhall make inquiſition for all the Blood that hath and may yet be ſpilt in this unnatural Warre, as you tender the preſervation and eſtabliſhment of the true Religion, by all the Bonds of Duty and Allegiance to your King, or Compaſſion to your bleeding and unhappy Country, and of Charity to your ſelves, that you diſpoſe your hearts to a true ſenſe, and imploy all your faculties in a more ſerious Endeavour together with His Majeſty, to ſet a ſpeedy end to

theſe

theſe waſting Diviſions; and then He ſhall not doubt but that God will yet again give the Bleſsing of Peace to this diſtracted Kingdom.

Given at the Court at *Oxford*, the fifteenth of *December*, 1645.

His MAJESTIES *Meſſage to both Houſes, with Propoſitions.*

From Oxford, Dec. 26. 1645.

For the Speaker of the Houſe of Peers *pro tempore*, to be communicated to the two Houſes of Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, and the Commiſsioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*.

CHARLES R.

NOtwithſtanding the ſtrange and unexpected Delays (which can be precedented by no former times) to His Majeſties two former Meſſages, His Majeſty will lay aſide all Expoſtulations, as rather ſerving to loſe time, then to contribute any remedy to the evils which (for the preſent) do afflict this diſtracted Kingdom: Therefore, without further Preamble, His Majeſty thinks it moſt neceſſary to ſend theſe Propoſitions this way, which He intended to do by the Perſons mentioned in His former Meſſages; though He well knows the great diſadvantage which Overtures of this kind have, by the want of being accompanied by well-inſtructed Meſſengers.

His Majeſty conceiving that the former Treaties have hitherto proved ineffectual, chiefly for want of Power in thoſe Perſons that Treated, as likewiſe becauſe thoſe from whom their Power was derived (not poſsibly having the particular informations of every ſeveral Debate) could not give ſo clear a Judgment as was requiſite to ſo important a buſineſs; if therefore His Majeſty may have the engagement of the two Houſes at *Weſtminſter*, the Commiſsioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*, the Maior, Aldermen, Common-Councel and *Militia* of *London*, of the chief Commanders in Sir *Thomas Fairfax*'s Army, as alſo of thoſe in the *Scots* Army, for His Majeſties free and ſafe coming to and abode in *London* or *Weſtminſter*

(with ſuch of His Servants now attending Him, and their Followers, not exceeding in all the number of 300.) for the ſpace of fourty days, and after the ſaid time for His free and ſafe repair to any of His Garriſons of *Oxford*, *Worceſter* or *Newark*, (which His Majeſty ſhall nominate at any time before His going from *London* or *Weſtminſter*) His Majeſty propounds to have a Perſonal Treaty with the two Houſes of Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, and the Commiſsioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*, upon all matters which may conduce to the reſtoring of Peace and Happineſs to theſe miſerably-diſtracted Kingdoms; and to begin with the three Heads which were Treated on at *Uxbridge*. And for the better clearing of His Majeſties earneſt and ſincere intentions of putting an end to theſe unnatural Diſtractions, (knowing that point of ſecurity may prove the greateſt obſtacle to this moſt bleſſed Work) His Majeſty therefore declares, That He is willing to commit the great Truſt of the *Militia* of this Kingdom, for ſuch Time and with ſuch Powers as are expreſt in the Paper delivered by His Majeſties Commiſsioners at *Uxbridge* the ſixth of *February* laſt, to theſe Perſons following, *viz.* the Lord Privy-Seal, the Duke of *Richmond*, the Marqueſs of *Hartford*, the Marqueſs of *Dorcheſter*, the Earl of *Dorſet* Lord Chamberlain, the Earl of *Northumberland*, the Earl of *Eſſex*, Earl of *Southampton*, Earl of *Pembroke*, Earl of *Salisbury*, Earl of *Mancheſter*, Earl of *Warwick*, Earl of *Denbigh*, Earl of *Chicheſter*, Lord *Say*, Lord *Seymour*, Lord *Lucas*, Lord *Lexington*, M. *Denzill Hollis*, M. *Pierrepont*, M. *Henry Bellaſsis*, M. *Richard Spencer*, Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, M. *John Aſhburnham*, Sir *Gervaſe Clifton*, Sir *Henry Vane* junior, M. *Robert Wallop*, M. *Thomas Chichely*, M. *Oliver Cromwell*, M. *Philip Skippon*; ſuppoſing that theſe are Perſons againſt whom there can be no juſt exception. But if this doth not ſatisfie, then His Majeſty offers to name the one half, and leave the other to the election of the two Houſes of Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, with the Powers and Limitations before mentioned.

Thus His Majeſty calls God and the World to witneſs of His ſincere Intentions and reall Endeavours for the compoſing and ſettling of theſe miſerable Diſtractions, which He doubts not but, by the Bleſsing of God, will ſoon be put to a happy Concluſion, if this His Majeſties offer be accepted; otherwiſe He leaves all the World

to

to judge who are the continuers of this unnatural Warre. And therefore He once more conjures you by all the bonds of Duty you owe to God and your King, to have ſo great a Compaſsion on the bleeding and miſerable eſtate of your Countrey, that you joyn your moſt ſerious and hearty endeavours with His Majeſty, to put a happy and ſpeedy end to theſe preſent Miſeries.

Given at the Court at *Oxford*, the 26. of *December*, 1645.

The Anſwer of both Houſes to His MAJESTIES *two former Meſſages of the* 5. *and* 15. *of* Decemb. *brought by Sir* Peter Killegrew, Dec. 27.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

THE Lords and Commons aſſembled in the Parliament of *England* at *Weſtminſter* have received Your Letters of the fifth and fifteenth of this inſtant *December*, and having, together with the Commiſſioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*, taken the ſame into their ſerious conſideration, do humbly return this Anſwer.

They have in all their Actions manifeſted to Your Majeſty and the World their ſincere and earneſt deſires, that a ſafe and well-grounded Peace might be ſettled in Your three Kingdoms; and for the obtaining ſo great a Bleſſing ſhall ever pray to God, and uſe their utmoſt endeavours; and beſeech Your Majeſty to believe, that their not ſending a more ſpeedy Anſwer hath not proceeded from any intention to retard the means of putting an end to theſe preſent Calamities by a happy Peace, but hath been occaſioned by the Conſiderations and Debates neceſſary in a buſineſs of ſo great importance, wherein both Kingdoms are ſo much concerned.

As to Your Majeſties deſire of a ſafe Conduct for the coming hither of the Duke of *Richmond*, the Earl of *Southampton*, *John Aſhburnham* and *Jeffrey Palmer* Eſquires, with Propoſitions to be the foundation of a happy and well-grounded Peace; they finding that former Treaties have been made uſe of for other Ends, under the pretence of Peace, and have proved dilatory and unſucceſsful, cannot give way to a ſafe Conduct according to Your Majeſties deſire: But both Houſes of the Parliament of *England* having now under their Conſideration Propoſitions and Bills for the ſettling of a ſafe and well-grounded Peace, which are ſpeedily to be communicated to the Commiſſioners of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, do reſolve, after mutual agreement of both Kingdomes, to preſent them with all ſpeed to Your Majeſty.

Weſtminſter the 25. *Decemb.* 1645.

Grey of *Wark*, Speaker of the Houſe of Peers *pro tempore*.
William Lenthal, Speaker of the Houſe of Commons.

His MAJESTIES *Gracious Anſwer to both Houſes, ſent by Sir* Peter Killegrew, Dec. 29.

For the Speaker of the Houſe of Peers *pro tempore*, to be communicated to the two Houſes of Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, and the Commiſsioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*.

CHARLES R.

ALthough the Meſſage ſent by Sir *Peter Killegrew* may juſtly require an expoſtulatory Anſwer, yet His Majeſty layes that aſide, as not ſo proper for His preſent Endeavours; leaving all the World to judge, whether His Propoſition for a Perſonal Treaty, or the flat denial of a ſafe Conduct for Perſons to begin a Treaty, be greater ſignes of a real Intention to Peace; and ſhall now only inſiſt upon His former Meſſage of the 26. of this *December*, That upon His repair to *Weſtminſter*, He doubts not but ſo to joyn His Endeavours with His two Houſes of Parliament, as to give juſt ſatisfaction, not onely concerning the buſineſs of *Ireland*, but alſo for the ſettling of a way for the payment of the Publick Debts, as well to the *Scots* and the City of *London* as others. And as already He hath ſhewn a fair way for the ſettling of the *Militia*, ſo He ſhall carefully endeavour in all other particulars that none ſhall have cauſe to complain for want of Security, whereby juſt Jealouſies may ariſe to hinder the continuance of the deſired Peace. And certainly this Propoſition of a Perſonal Treaty could never have entred into His Majeſties Thoughts, if He had not reſolv'd to make apparent to all the World, that the Publick good and Peace of this Kingdom is farre dearer to Him then the reſpect of any particular Intereſt. Wherefore none can oppoſe this Motion, without a manifeſt demonſtration that he particularly envies His Majeſty ſhould be the chief Author in ſo bleſſed a Work, beſides the declaring himſelf a direct oppoſer of the happy Peace of theſe Nations. To conclude, whoſoever will not be aſhamed that his fair and ſpecious Proteſtations ſhould be brought to a true and publick Teſt, and thoſe who have a real ſenſe, and do truely commiſerate the Miſeries of their bleeding Country, let them ſpeedily and chearfully embrace

His

His Majeſties Propoſition for His Perſonal Treaty at *Weſtminſter*, which, by the bleſsing of God, will undoubtedly to theſe now diſtracted Kingdoms reſtore the Happineſs of a long-wiſh'd-for and laſting Peace.

Given at the Court at *Oxford*, the 29. day of *December*, 1645.

His MAJESTIES *Meſſage to both Houſes, from* Oxford, Jan. 15. 164$\frac{5}{6}$.

For the Speaker of the Houſe of Peers *pro tempore*, to be communicated to the two Houſes of Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, and the Commiſsioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*.

CHARLES R.

BUT that theſe are times wherein nothing is ſtrange, it were a thing much to be marvelled at, what ſhould cauſe this unparallel'd long detention of His Majeſties Trumpet, ſent with His Gracious Meſſage of the 26. of *December* laſt; Peace being the onely ſubject of it, and His Majeſties Perſonal Treaty the means propoſed for it. And it were almoſt as great a wonder, that His Majeſty ſhould be ſo long from inquiring after it, if that the hourly expectation thereof had not in ſome meaſure ſatisfied His Impatience. But leſt His Majeſty by His long ſilence ſhould condemn Himſelf of Careleſneſs in that which ſo much concerns the good of all His People, He thinks it high time to inquire after His ſaid Trumpeter: For ſince all men who pretend any goodneſs muſt deſire Peace, and that all men know Treaties to be the beſt and moſt Chriſtian way to procure it, and there being as little queſtion that His Majeſties Perſonal Preſence in it is the likelieſt way to bring it to a happy Iſſue; He judges there muſt be ſome ſtrange variety of accidents which cauſeth this moſt tedious Delay. Wherefore His Majeſty earneſtly deſires to have a ſpeedy Account of His former Meſſage, the ſubject whereof is Peace, and the means His Perſonal Preſence at *Weſtminſter*, where, the Government of the Church being ſettled as it was in the times of the happy and glorious Reigns of Queen *Elizabeth* and King *James*, and

full Liberty for the ease of their Consciences who will not communicate in that Service established by Law, and likewise for the free and publick use of the *Directory* (prescribed, and by Command of the two Houses of Parliament now practised in some parts of the City of *London*) to such as shall desire to use the same, and all Forces being agreed to be Disbanded, His Majesty will then forthwith (as He hath in His Message of the 29. of *December* last already offered) joyn with His two Houses of Parliament in settling some way for the payment of the publick Debts to His *Scots* Subjects, the City of *London* and others. And His Majesty having proposed a fair way for the settling of the *Militia*, which now by this long Delay seems not to be thought sufficient Security; His Majesty (to shew how really He will imploy Himself at His coming to *Westminster* for making this a lasting Peace, and taking away all Jealousies, how groundless soever) will endeavour, upon debate with His two Houses, so to dispose of it (as likewise of the business of *Ireland*) as may give to them and both Kingdoms just satisfaction; not doubting also but to give good contentment to His two Houses of Parliament in the choice of the Lord Admiral, the Officers of State and others, if His two Houses, by their ready inclinations to Peace, shall give Him encouragement thereunto.

Thus His Majesty having taken occasion by His just impatience so to explain His Intentions that no man can doubt of a happy issue to this succeeding Treaty; if now there shall be so much as a Delay of the same, He calls God and the World to witness who they are that not onely hinder, but reject this Kingdoms future Happiness: it being so much the stranger, that His Majesties coming to *Westminster* (which was first the greatest pretence for taking up Arms) should be so much as delayed, much less not accepted, or refused. But His Majesty hopes that God will no longer suffer the Malice of Wicked men to hinder the Peace of this too-much afflicted Kingdom.

Given at the Court at *Oxford*, the 15. of *January*, 1645.

The

The Anſwer of both Houſes to His MAJESTIES *two former Meſſages of the* 26. *and* 29. *of* Dec.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty;

WE your humble and loyal Subjects of both Kingdoms have received your Letters of the 26. and 29. of *December* laſt, unto which we humbly return this Anſwer:

That there hath been no Delay on our parts, but what was neceſſary in a buſineſs of ſo great a conſequence, as is expreſt in our former Letter to Your Majeſty.

Concerning the Perſonal Treaty deſired by Your Majeſty, There having been ſo much innocent blood of Your good Subjects ſhed in this Warre by Your Majeſties Commands and Commiſſions, *Iriſh* Rebels brought over into both Kingdoms, and endeavours to bring over more into both of them, as alſo Forces from Forein parts; Your Majeſty being in Arms in theſe parts, and the Prince in the head of an Army in the Weſt, divers Towns made Garriſons and kept in Hoſtility by Your Majeſty againſt the Parliament of *England*; there being alſo Forces in *Scotland* againſt that Parliament and Kingdom, by Your Majeſties Commiſſion; the Warre in *Ireland* fomented and prolonged by Your Majeſty, whereby the three Kingdoms are brought near to utter Ruine and Deſtruction: we conceive, that until ſatisfaction and ſecurity be firſt given to both Your Kingdoms, Your Majeſties coming hither cannot be convenient, nor by us aſſented unto; neither can we apprehend it a means conducing to Peace, that Your Majeſty ſhould come to Your Parliament for a few daies, with any thoughts of leaving it, eſpecially with intentions of returning to Hoſtility againſt it. And we do obſerve, That Your Majeſty deſires the Ingagement not only of Your Parliaments, but of the Lord Maior, Aldermen, Common-Councel and *Militia* of the City of *London*, the chief Commanders of Sir *Thomas Fairfax*'s Army and thoſe of the *Scots* Army, which is againſt the Privileges and Honour of the Parliaments, thoſe being joyned with them who are ſubject & ſubordinate to their Authority.

That which Your Majeſty (againſt the Freedom of the Parliaments) inforces in both Your Letters with many earneſt expreſſions, as if in no other way then that propounded by Your Majeſty the Peace of Your Kingdoms could be eſtabliſhed, Your Majeſty may pleaſe to remember, that in our laſt Letter we did declare that Propoſitions from both Kingdoms were ſpeedily to be ſent to Your Majeſty, which we conceive to be the onely way for the attaining a happy and well-grounded Peace, and Your Majeſties Aſſent unto thoſe Propoſitions will be an effectual means for giving ſatisfaction and ſecurity to Your Kingdoms, will aſſure a firm Union between the two Kingdoms, (as much deſired by each for other as for themſelves) and ſettle Religion, and ſecure the Peace of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, whereof neither is ſo much as mentioned in Your Majeſties Letter.

And in proceeding according to theſe juſt and neceſſary grounds for the putting an end to the bleeding Calamities of theſe Nations, Your Majeſty may have the glory to be a Principal Inſtrument in ſo happy a Work, and we (however miſ-interpreted) ſhall approve our ſelves to God and the World to be real and ſincere in ſeeking a ſafe and well-grounded Peace.

Weſtminſter, 13. *Jan.* 1645.

Grey of *Wark*, Speaker of the Houſe of Peers *pro tempore*.
William Lenthal, Speaker of the Houſe of Commons.

Signed in the Name and by warrant of the Commiſſioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*.

Balmerino.

His MAJESTIES *Reply to the Anſwer of both Houſes, from* Oxford, Jan. 17. 164$\frac{5}{6}$.

For the Speaker of the Houſe of Peers *pro tempore*, to be communicated to the two Houſes of Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, and the Commiſsioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*.

CHARLES R.

HIS Majeſty thinks not fit now to anſwer thoſe Aſperſions which are returned as arguments for His not admittance to *Weſtminſter* for a Perſonal Treaty, becauſe it would inforce a Style not ſuitable to His End, it being the Peace of theſe miſerable Kingdoms: yet thus much He cannot but ſay to thoſe who have ſent Him this Anſwer, That if they had conſidered what they had done themſelves in occaſioning the ſhedding of ſo much innocent Blood, by withdrawing themſelves from their Duty to Him in a time when He had granted ſo much to His Subjects, and in violating the known Laws of the Kingdom to draw an exorbitant Power to themſelves over their fellow-Subjects, (to ſay no more, to doe as they have done) they could not have given ſuch a falſe Character of His Majeſties Actions. Wherefore His Majeſty muſt now remember them, that having ſome hours before His receiving of their laſt Paper of the 13. of *Jan.* ſent another Meſſage to them of the fifteenth, wherein by divers particulars He inlargeth Himſelf to ſhew the reality of His endeavours for Peace by His deſired Perſonal Treaty (which He ſtill conceives to be the likelieſt way to attain to that bleſſed End) He thinks fit by this Meſſage to call for an Anſwer to that, and indeed to all the former: For certainly no rational man can think their laſt Paper can be any Anſwer to His former Demands, the ſcope of it being, that becauſe there is a Warre, therefore there ſhould be no Treaty for Peace. And is it poſsible to expect that the Propoſitions mentioned ſhould be the grounds of a laſting Peace, when the Perſons that ſend them will not endure to hear their own King ſpeak? But whatever the ſucceſs hath been of His Majeſties former Meſſages, or how ſmall ſoever His hopes are of a better, conſidering the high

high strain of those who deal with His Majesty, yet He will neither want Fatherly bowels to His Subjects in general, nor will He forget that God hath appointed Him for their King with whom He Treats. Wherefore He now demands a speedy Answer to His last and former Messages.

Given at Our Court at *Oxon*, this 17. of *Jan.* 1645.

His MAJESTIES *further Reply to the said Answer of both Houses*, Jan. 24.

To the Speaker of the House of Peers *pro tempore*, to be communicated to the two Houses of Parliament at *Westminster*, and to the Commissioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*.

CHARLES R.

THE procuring Peace to these Kingdoms by Treaty is so much desired by His Majesty, that no unjust Aspersions whatsoever, or any other Discouragements, shall make Him desist from doing His endeavour therein, until He shall see it altogether impossible: and therefore hath thought fitting so farre onely to make Reply to that Paper or Answer which He hath received of the 13. of this instant *Jan.* as may take away those Objections which are made against His Majesties coming to *Westminster*, expecting still an Answer to His Messages of the 15. and 17. which He hopes by this time have begotten better thoughts and resolutions in the Members of both Houses.

And first therefore, Whereas in the said last Paper it is objected as an impediment to His Majesties Personal Treaty, that much innocent Blood hath been shed in this Warre by His Majesties Commissions, &c. He will not now dispute (it being apparent to all the World by whom this Blood hath been spilt) but rather presseth that there should be no more: and to that end onely He hath desired this Personal Treaty, as judging it the most immediate means to abolish so many horrid Confusions in all His Kingdoms. And it is no Argument, to say, That there shall be no such Personal Treaty, because there have been Warrs, it being a strong inducement to have such a Treaty to put an end to the Warre.

Second-

Secondly, That there ſhould be no ſuch Perſonal Treaty, becauſe ſome of His *Iriſh* Subjects have repaired to His Aſsiſtance in it, ſeems an Argument altogether as ſtrange as the other; as always urging that there ſhould be no Phyſick, becauſe the party is ſick. And in this particular it hath been often obſerved unto them, that thoſe whom they call *Iriſh*, who have ſo expreſſed their Loyalty to their Sovereign, were indeed (for the moſt part) ſuch *Engliſh* Proteſtants as had been formerly ſent into *Ireland* by the two Houſes, impoſsibilitated to ſtay there any longer by the neglect of thoſe that ſent them thither, who ſhould there have better provided for them. And for any Forein Forces, it is too apparent that *their* Armies have ſwarmed with them, when His Majeſty hath had few or none.

And whereas, for a third impediment, it is alleged that the Prince is in the head of an Army in the Weſt, and that there are divers Garriſons ſtill kept in His Majeſties Obedience, and that there are Forces in *Scotland*; it muſt be as much confeſſed, as that as yet there is no Peace: and therefore it is deſired that by ſuch a Perſonal Treaty all theſe impediments may be removed. And it is not here amiſs to put them in minde, how long ſince His Majeſty did preſs a disbanding of all Forces on both ſides; the refuſing whereof hath been the cauſe of this Objection.

And whereas exception is taken, that there is a time limited in the Propoſition for His Majeſties Perſonal Treaty, thereupon inferring that He ſhould again return to Hoſtility; His Majeſty proteſteth that He ſeeks this Treaty to avoid future Hoſtility, and to procure a laſting Peace: and if He can meet with like inclinations to Peace in thoſe He deſires to Treat with, He will bring ſuch affections and reſolutions in Himſelf as ſhall end all theſe unhappy bloody Differences.

As for thoſe Ingagements which His Majeſty hath deſired for His Security, whoſoever ſhall call to minde the particular occaſions that enforced His Majeſty to leave His City of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, will judge His Demand very reaſonable and neceſſary for His Safety. But He no way conceiveth how the Lord Maior, Aldermen, Common-Councel and *Militia* of *London*, were either ſubject or ſubordinate to that Authority which is alleged, as knowing neither

neither Law nor practice for it: and if the two Armies be, He believes it is more then can be parallel'd by any former times in this Kingdom. Nor can His Majesty understand how His Majesties seeking of a Personal Security can be any breach of Privilege; it being likely to be infringed by hindring His Majesty from coming freely to His two Houses.

As for the Objection, that His Majesty omitted to mention the settling Religion and securing the Peace of His Native Kingdom, His Majesty declares, that He conceives that it was included in His former, and hath been particularly mentioned in His latter Message of the 15. present. But, for their better satisfaction, He again expresseth, that it was and ever shall be both His meaning and endeavour in this Treaty desired. And it seems to Him very clear, that there is no way for a final ending of such Distractions as afflict this Kingdom, but either by Treaty or Conquest: the latter of which His Majesty hopes none will have the impudence or impiety to wish for; and for the former, if His Personal assistance in it be not the most likely way, let any reasonable man judge, when by that means not only all unnecessary Delayes will be removed, but even the greatest Difficulties made easy. And therefore He doth now again earnestly insist upon that Proposition, expecting to have a better Answer upon mature consideration. And can it be imagined that any Propositions will be so effectual being formed before a Personal Treaty, as such as are framed and propounded upon a full debate on both sides? Wherefore His Majesty, Who is most concerned in the good of His People, and is most desirous to restore Peace and Happiness to His three Kingdoms, doth again instantly desire an Answer to His said former Messages, to which He hath hitherto received none.

Given at Our Court at *Oxon*, the 24. of *Jan.* 1645.

His MAJESTIES *Meſſage to both Houſes, from* Oxford, Jan. 29. 164$\frac{5}{6}$.

For the Speaker of the Houſe of Peers *pro tempore*, to be communicated to the two Houſes of Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, and the Commiſsioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*.

CHARLES R.

HIS Majeſty having received Information from the Lord Lieutenant and Councel in *Ireland*, that the Earl of *Glamorgan* hath, without His or their Directions or privity, entred into a Treaty with ſome Commiſsioners on the *Roman*-Catholick Party there, and alſo drawn up and agreed unto certain Articles with the ſaid Commiſsioners, highly derogatory to His Majeſties Honour and Royall Dignity, and moſt prejudicial unto the Proteſtant Religion and Church there in *Ireland*; whereupon the ſaid Earl of *Glamorgan* is arreſted upon ſuſpicion of High Treaſon, and impriſoned by the ſaid Lord Lieutenant and Councel, at the inſtance and by the Impeachment of the Lord *Digby*, who (by reaſon of his Place, and former Imployment in theſe Affairs) doth beſt know how contrary that Proceeding of the ſaid Earl hath been to His Majeſties Intentions and Directions, and what great prejudice it might bring to His Affairs, if thoſe Proceedings of the Earl of *Glamorgan* ſhould be any ways underſtood to have been done by the directions, liking, or approbation of His Majeſty:

His Majeſty having in His former Meſſages for a Perſonal Treaty offered to give contentment to His two Houſes in the Buſineſs of *Ireland*, hath now thought fitting, the better to ſhew His clear Intentions, and to give ſatisfaction to His ſaid Houſes of Parliament, and the reſt of His Subjects in all His Kingdoms, to ſend this Declaration to His ſaid Houſes, containing the whole truth of the buſineſs. Which is,

That the Earl of *Glamorgan* having made offer unto Him to raiſe Forces in the Kingdom of *Ireland*, and to conduct them into *England* for His Majeſties Service, had a Commiſsion to that purpoſe, and to that purpoſe onely.

That

That he had no Commission at all to Treat of any thing else without the privity and directions of the Lord Lieutenant, much less to capitulate any thing concerning Religion, or any Propriety belonging either to Church or Laity.

That it clearly appears by the Lord Lieutenant's Proceedings with the said Earl, that he had no notice at all of what the said Earl had Treated and pretended to have capitulated with the *Irish*, untill by accident it came to his knowledge.

And His Majesty doth protest, that untill such time as He had advertisement that the Person of the said Earl of *Glamorgan* was arrested and restrained, as is above-said, He never heard nor had any kind of notice that the said Earl had entred into any kind of Treaty or Capitulation with those *Irish* Commissioners; much less that he had concluded or signed those Articles, so destructive both to Church and State, and so repugnant to His Majesties publick Professions and known Resolutions.

And for the further vindication of His Majesties Honour and Integrity herein, He doth declare, That He is so farre from considering any thing contained in those Papers or Writings framed by the said Earl and those Commissioners with whom he Treated, as He doth absolutely disavow him therein, and hath given Commandment to the Lord Lieutenant and the Councel there to proceed against the said Earl, as one who, either out of falseness, presumption or folly, hath so hazarded the blemishing of His Majesties Reputation with His good Subjects, and so impertinently framed those Articles of his own head, without the Consent, Privity or Directions of His Majesty, or the Lord Lieutenant, or any of His Majesties Councel there. But true it is, that for the necessary preservation of His Majesties Protestant Subjects in *Ireland*, whose Case was daily represented unto Him to be so desperate, His Majesty had given Commission to the Lord Lieutenant to Treat and Conclude such a Peace there as might be for the safety of that Crown, the preservation of the Protestant Religion, and no way derogatory to His own Honour and publick Professions.

But to the end that His Majesties reall Intentions in this business of *Ireland* may be the more clearly understood, and to give more

ample ſatisfaction to both Houſes of Parliament and the Commiſſioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*, eſpecially concerning His Majeſties not being engaged in any Peace or Agreement there, He doth deſire, if the two Houſes ſhall admit of His Majeſties repair to *London* for a Perſonal Treaty, (as was formerly propoſed) that ſpeedy notice be given thereof to His Majeſty, and a Paſs or ſafe Conduct, with a Blank, ſent for a Meſſenger to be immediately diſpatched into *Ireland*, to prevent any accident that may happen to hinder His Majeſties Reſolution of leaving the managing of the buſineſs of *Ireland* wholly to the two Houſes, and to make no Peace there but with their Conſent; which, in caſe it ſhall pleaſe God to bleſs His endeavours in the Treaty with ſucceſs, His Majeſty doth hereby engage Himſelf to doe.

And for a further explanation of His Majeſties Intentions in His former Meſſages, He doth now Declare, That if His Perſonal repair to *London*, as aforeſaid, ſhall be admitted, and a Peace thereon ſhall enſue, He will then leave the Nomination of the Perſons to be entruſted with the *Militia* wholly to His two Houſes, with ſuch Power and Limitations as are expreſſed in the Paper delivered by His Majeſties Commiſsioners at *Uxbridge* the 6. of *Febr.* 1644. for the term of ſeven years, as hath been deſired, to begin immediately after the Concluſion of the Peace, the disbanding of all Forces on both ſides, and the diſmantling of the Garriſons erected ſince theſe preſent Troubles; ſo as at the expiration of the time before mentioned the Power of the *Militia* ſhall entirely revert and remain as before.

And for their further ſecurity, His Majeſty (the Peace ſucceeding) will be content, that *pro hac vice* the two Houſes ſhall nominate the Admiral, Officers of State and Judges, to hold their places during life, or *quamdiu ſe bene geſſerint*, which ſhall be beſt liked, to be accomptable to none but the King and the two Houſes of Parliament.

As for matter of Religion, His Majeſty doth further Declare, That by the Liberty offered in His Meſſage of the 15. preſent, for the eaſe of their Conſciences who will not communicate in the Service already eſtabliſhed by Act of Parliament in this Kingdom, He intends that all other Proteſtants, behaving themſelves peaceably

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in and towards the Civil Government, ſhall have the free exerciſe of their Religion according to their own way.

And for the total removing of all Fears and Jealouſies, His Majeſty is willing to agree, That upon the Concluſion of Peace there ſhall be a general Act of Oblivion and Free Pardon paſt by Acts of Parliament in both His Kingdoms reſpectively.

And leſt it ſhould be imagined that in the making theſe Propoſitions His Majeſties Kingdom of *Scotland* and His Subjects there have been forgotten or neglected, His Majeſty Declares, That what is here mentioned touching the *Militia*, and the naming of Officers of State and Judges, ſhall likewiſe extend to His Kingdom of *Scotland*.

And now His Majeſty having ſo fully and clearly expreſſed His Intentions and Deſires of making a happy and well-grounded Peace, if any perſon ſhall decline that Happineſs by oppoſing ſo apparent a way of attaining it, he will ſufficiently demonſtrate to all the World, his intention and deſign can be no other then the total ſubverſion and change of the ancient and happy Government of this Kingdom, under which the *Engliſh* Nation hath ſo long flouriſhed.

Given at the Court at *Oxford*, the 29. of *January*, 1645.

His MAJESTIES *Meſſage to both Houſes, from* Oxford, Feb. 26. 164$\frac{5}{6}$.

For the Speaker of the Houſe of Peers *pro tempore*, to be communicated to the two Houſes of Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, and the Commiſsioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*.

CHARLES R.

HIS Majeſty needs to make no excuſe though He ſent no more Meſſages unto you, for He very well knows He ought not to doe it, if He either ſtood upon punctilioes of Honour or His own private Intereſt; the one being already call'd in queſtion by His often ſending, and the other aſſuredly prejudg'd,

if a Peace be concluded from that He hath already offer'd, He having therein departed with many of His undoubted Rights. But nothing being equally dear unto Him to the preſervation of His People, His Majeſty paſſeth by many ſcruples, neglects and delayes, and once more deſires you to give Him a ſpeedy Anſwer to His laſt Meſſage: For His Majeſty believes it doth very well become Him (after this very long Delay) at laſt to utter His Impatience, ſince that the Goods and Blood of His Subjects cries ſo much for Peace.

Given at the Court at *Oxford*, the 26. of *Febr.* 1645.

His MAJESTIES *Meſſage to both Houſes, from* Oxford, March 23. $164\frac{5}{6}$.

For the Speaker of the Houſe of Peers *pro tempore*, to be communicated to the two Houſes of Parliament at *Weſtminſter*.

CHARLES R.

NOtwithſtanding the unexpected ſilence in ſtead of Anſwer to His Majeſties many and gracious Meſſages to both Houſes, whereby it may appear that they deſire to attain their ends by Force rather then Treaty, which may juſtly diſcourage His Majeſty from any more overtures of that kind; yet His Majeſty conceives He ſhall be much wanting to His Duty to God, and in what He oweth to the Safety of His People, if He ſhould not intend to prevent the great inconveniences that may otherwiſe hinder a ſafe and well-grounded Peace. His Majeſty therefore now propoſeth, That, ſo He may have the Faith of both Houſes of Parliament for the preſervation of His Honour, Perſon and Eſtate, and that liberty be given to all thoſe who do and have adhered to His Majeſty to goe to their own Houſes, and there to live peaceably, enjoying their Eſtates, all Sequeſtrations being taken off, without being compelled to take any Oath not enjoyned by the undoubted Laws of the Kingdom, or being put to any other moleſtation whatſoever; He will immediately disband all His Forces, and diſmantle all His

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Garriſons, and being accompanied with His Royal, not His Martial, Attendance, return to His two Houſes of Parliament, and there reſide with them. And for the better ſecurity of all His Majeſties Subjects, He propoſeth, That He with His ſaid two Houſes, immediately upon His coming to *Weſtminſter*, will paſs an Act of Oblivion and Free Pardon; and where His Majeſty will further doe whatſoever they will adviſe Him for the good and Peace of this Kingdom.

And as for the Kingdom of *Scotland*, His Majeſty hath made no mention of it here, in regard of the great loſs of time which muſt now be ſpent in expecting an Anſwer from thence; but declares, That immediately upon His coming to *Weſtminſter*, He will apply Himſelf to give them all ſatisfaction touching that Kingdom.

If His Majeſty could poſsibly doubt the ſucceſs of this Offer, He could uſe many Arguments to perſwade them to it; but ſhall only inſiſt on that great One, of giving an inſtant Peace to theſe afflicted Kingdoms.

Given at Our Court at *Oxford*, the 23. of *March*, 1645.

His MAJESTIES *Letter to the Marqueſs of* Ormond, *Lord Lieutenant of* Ireland, *from* Oxford, April 13. 1646.

CHARLES R.

RIght Truſty and entirely-Beloved Coſen and Counſellour, We greet you well. Having uſed all poſsible and Honourable means, by ſending many gracious Meſſages to the two Houſes of Parliament, wherein We have offered them all they have heretofore deſired, and deſire from them nothing but what they themſelves (ſince theſe unhappy Warres) have offered, to procure Our Perſonal Treaty with them for a ſafe and well-grounded Peace; and having, in ſtead of a dutiful and peaceable return to Our ſaid Meſſages, received either no Anſwer at all, or ſuch as argues nothing will ſatisfie them but the Ruine, not onely of Us, Our Poſterity and Friends, but even of Monarchy it ſelf; and having lately received very good Security that We, and all that do or ſhall adhere to Us, ſhall be ſafe in Our Perſons, Honours and Conſciences, in the *Scotiſh* Army, and that they ſhall really and effectually joyn with Us, and

with ſuch as will come in unto Us, and joyn with them for Our Preſervation, and ſhall imploy their Armies and Forces to aſsiſt Us to the procuring of an happy and well-grounded Peace, for the good of Us and Our Kingdoms, in the recovery of Our juſt Right: We have reſolved to put Our ſelves to the hazard of paſsing into the *Scots* Army now lying before *Newark*; and if it ſhall pleaſe God that We come ſafe thither, We are reſolved to uſe Our beſt endeavour, with their Aſſiſtance, and with the conjunction of the Forces under the Marqueſs of *Montroſſe*, and ſuch of Our well-affected Subjects of *England* as ſhall riſe for Us, to procure, if it may be, an Honourable and ſpeedy Peace with thoſe who have hitherto refuſed to give ear to any means tending thereunto. Of which Our Reſolution We held it neceſſary to give you this Advertiſement, as well to ſatisfie you, and Our Councel and loyal Subjects with you (to whom We will that you communicate theſe Our Letters) that failing in Our earneſt and ſincere endeavours by Treaty to put an end to the Miſeries of theſe Kingdoms, We eſteemed Our ſelf obliged to leave no probable Expedient unattempted to preſerve Our Crown and Friends from the Uſurpation and Tyranny of thoſe whoſe Actions declare ſo manifeſtly their Deſignes to overthrow the Laws and happy eſtabliſhed Government of this Kingdom. And now We have made known to you Our Reſolution, We recommend to your ſpecial care the diſpoſing and managing of Our Affairs on that ſide, as you ſhall conceive moſt for Our Honour and Service; being confident the courſe We have taken (though with ſome hazard to Our Perſon) will have a good influence on that Our Kingdom, and deferre, if not altogether prevent, the Rebels tranſporting of Forces from them into that Kingdom. And We deſire you to ſatisfie all Our well-affected Subjects on that ſide, of Our Princely Care of them, whereof they ſhall receive the effect as ſoon as God ſhall enable Us. We deſire you to uſe ſome means to let Us and Our Councel at *Oxon* hear frequently from you, and of your Actions and Condition there. And ſo God proſper your Loyal Endeavours.

Given at Our Court at *Oxon*, the 13. of *April*, 1646.

By His Majeſties Command,

Edward Nicholas.

His

His MAJESTIES *Meſſage to both Houſes, from* Southwell, May 18. 1646.

For the Speaker of the Houſe of Peers *pro tempore*, to be communicated to the two Houſes of Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, and the Commiſsioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*.

CHARLES R.

HIS Majeſty having underſtood from both His Houſes of Parliament, that it was not ſafe for Him to come to *London* (whither He had purpoſed to repair, if ſo He might, by their Advice to doe whatſoever may be beſt for the good and Peace of theſe Kingdoms) until He ſhall firſt give His Conſent to ſuch Propoſitions as were to be preſented to Him from them; and being certainly informed that the Armies were marching ſo faſt up to *Oxford*, as made that no fit place for Treating; did reſolve to withdraw Himſelf hither, only to ſecure His own Perſon, and with no intention to continue this Warre any longer, or to make any Diviſion between His two Kingdoms, but to give ſuch contentment to both as, by the bleſsing of God, He might ſee a happy and well-grounded Peace, thereby to bring Proſperity to theſe Kingdoms anſwerable to the beſt times of His Progenitors.

And ſince the ſettling of Religion ought to be the chiefeſt care of all Counſels, His Majeſty moſt earneſtly and heartily recommends to His two Houſes of Parliament all the waies and means poſsible for ſpeedy finiſhing this pious and neceſſary Work; and particularly, that they take the Advice of the Divines of both Kingdoms aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*.

Likewiſe concerning the *Militia* of *England*, for ſecuring His People againſt all pretenſions of Danger, His Majeſty is pleaſed to have it ſettled as was offered at the Treaty at *Uxbridge*, all the Perſons being to be named for the Truſt by the two Houſes of the Parliament of *England*, for the ſpace of ſeven years; and after the expiring of that term, that it be regulated as ſhall be agreed upon by His Majeſty and His two Houſes of Parliament.

And the like for the Kingdom of *Scotland*.

Concerning the Warres in *Ireland*, His Majeſty will doe whatſoever is poſsible for Him to give full ſatisfaction therein.

And if theſe be not ſatisfactory, His Majeſty then deſires, that all ſuch of the Propoſitions as are already agreed upon by both Kingdoms may be ſpeedily ſent unto Him; His Majeſty being reſolved to comply with His Parliament in every thing that ſhall be for the Happineſs of His Subjects, and for the removing of all unhappy Differences which have produced ſo many ſad effects.

His Majeſty having made theſe Offers, He will neither queſtion the thankful acceptation of them, nor doth He doubt but that His two Kingdoms will be careful to maintain Him in His Honour and in His juſt and lawful Rights, which is the only way to make a happy compoſure of theſe unnatural Diviſions: and likewiſe will think upon a ſolid way of conſerving the Peace between the two Kingdoms for time to come; and will take a ſpeedy courſe for eaſing and quieting His afflicted People, by ſatisfying the Publick Debts, by diſbanding of all Armies, and whatſoever ſhall be judged conducible to that end: that ſo, all hinderances being removed, He may return to His Parliament with mutual Comfort.

Southwell, May 18. 1646.

POST-SCRIPT.

His Majeſty being deſirous to ſhun the further effuſion of Blood, and to evidence His real Intentions to Peace, is willing that His Forces in and about *Oxford* be disbanded, and the Fortifications of the City diſmantled, they receiving honourable Conditions. Which being granted to the Town and Forces there, His Majeſty will give the like order to the reſt of the Garriſons.

His

His MAJESTIES *Letter to the City of* London, *from* Newcastle, May 19. 1646.

For Our right Trusty and Wel-beloved, the Lord Maior, Aldermen and Common-Councel of Our City of *London*.

CHARLES R.

RIght Trusty and Wel-beloved, We greet you well. Having expressed Our Resolution to the two Houses of Our Parliament of *England* and the Committee of Estates of Our Parliament of *Scotland*, to give all just satisfaction to the joynt desires of both Kingdoms, We have now likewise thought fit to assure the two chief Cities of both Our Kingdoms, That nothing is more grievous to Us then the Trouble and Distractions of Our People, and that nothing on earth is more desired by Us then that in Religion and Peace, with all the comfortable Fruits of both, they may henceforth live under Us in all Godlines and Honesty. And this Profession We make for no other end, but that you may know immediately from Our Selves Our Integrity & full resolution to comply with Our Parliaments in every thing for settling Truth and Peace, and Our desire to have all things speedily concluded which shall be found requisite for that end; that Our Return to that Our ancient City may be to the Satisfaction of Our Parliament, the good liking of you and all Our good People, and to Our own greater joy and comfort. We bid you heartily farewell.

From *Newcastle*, the 19. of *May*, 1646.

His

His MAJESTIES *Meſſage to both Houſes, from* Newcaſtle, June 10. 1646.

For the Speaker of the Houſe of Peers *pro tempore*, to be communicated to the two Houſes of Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, and the Commiſsioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*.

CHARLES R.

HIS Majeſty looking with grief of heart upon the ſad ſufferings of His People in His three Kingdoms for ſome years paſt, and being afflicted with their Diſtreſſes and unquiet condition, through the Diſtractions about Religion, the keeping of Forces on foot in the Field and Garriſons, the not ſatisfying of Publick Debts, and the fears of the further effuſion of Blood by the continuance of an unnatural Warre in any of theſe Kingdoms, or by rending and dividing theſe Kingdoms ſo happily united; and having ſent a gracious Meſſage unto both Houſes of Parliament, and the Commiſsioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*, expreſsing the neceſſary cauſes of His coming from *Oxford* unto the *Scotiſh* Army, (without any intention to make a diviſion, where He is in Freedom and right capacity to ſettle a true Peace) and containing ſuch Offers as He conceived would have been accepted, with a general Clauſe of complying with their deſires; and being impatient of Delays, and not acquainted with the particulars which may give contentment to them: His Majeſty doth earneſtly deſire, That the Propoſitions of Peace ſo often promiſed, and ſo much expected, may be ſpeedily ſent unto Him, That upon conſideration of them, He may apply Himſelf to give ſuch ſatisfaction as may be the foundation of a firm Peace. And for the better and more ſpeedy attaining thereunto, His Majeſty doth further propound, That He may come to *London* with Safety, Freedom and Honour, where He reſolves to comply with His Houſes of Parliament in every thing which may be moſt for the good of His Subjects, and perfect what remains for ſettling both Kingdoms and People in a happy condition; being likewiſe moſt confident, that they, according to their re-iterated Declarations and ſolemn Proteſtations, will be zealous in the maintenance

nance of His Honour, and just and lawful Rights. And His Majesty desires the Houses of Parliament, to disburthen the Kingdom of all Forces and Garrisons in their power, except such as before these unhappy times have been maintained for the necessary defence and safety of this Kingdom: So He is willing forthwith to disband all His Forces and Garrisons within the same, as the inclosed Order herewith sent will evidence. And if upon these Offers His Majesty shall have such satisfaction, as He may be confident a firm Peace shall ensue thereon, His Majesty will then give order for His Son the Prince his present return.

Newcastle, the tenth of *June*, 1646.

His MAJESTIES *Letter to the Governors of His Garrisons, from* Newcastle, June 10. 1646.

To Our Trusty and Wel-beloved, Sir *Thomas Glenham*, Sir *Thomas Tildesley*, Colonel *H. Washington*, Col. *Thomas Blagge*, Governors of Our Cities and Towns of *Oxford*, *Litchfield*, *Worcester*, and *Wallingford*; and all other Commanders of any Towns, Castles and Forts in Our Kingdom of *England*.

CHARLES R.

HAving resolved to comply with the desires of Our Parliament in every thing which may be for the good of Our Subjects, and leave no means unassayed for removing all Differences amongst us; therefore We have thought fit, the more to evidence the reality of Our Intentions of settling a happy and firm Peace, to require you upon honourable Terms to quit those Towns, Castles and Forts, intrusted to you by Us, and to disband all the Forces under your several Commands.

Newcastle, the tenth of *June*, 1646.

His

His MAJESTIES *Letter to the Marqueſs of* Ormond, *Lord Lieutenant of* Ireland, *from* Newcaſtle, June 11. 1646.

CHARLES R.

RIght Truſty and entirely-Beloved Coſen and Counſellour, We greet you well. Having long with much grief looked upon the ſad Condition Our Kingdom of *Ireland* hath been in theſe divers years through the wicked and deſperate Rebellion there, and the bloody effects have enſued thereupon, for the ſettling whereof We would have wholly applied Our ſelves, if the Difference between Us and Our Subjects here had not diverted and withdrawn Us; and not having been able by Force (for that reſpect) to reduce them; We were neceſsitated for the preſent ſafety of Our Proteſtant Subjects there, to give you Power and Authority to Treat with them upon ſuch pious, honourable and ſafe grounds, as the good of that Our Kingdom did then require: But for many Reaſons, too long for a Letter, We think fit to require you to proceed no further in Treaty with the Rebels, nor to engage Us upon any Conditions with them after ſight hereof. And having formerly found ſuch real proofs of your ready Obedience to Our Commands, We doubt not of your care in this, wherein Our Service and the good of Our Proteſtant Subjects in *Ireland* is ſo much concerned.

From *Newcaſtle*, *June* 11. 1646.

The

The Propoſitions of the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament, for a ſafe and well-grounded Peace;

Sent to His Majeſty at Newcaſtle, *by the Right Honourable the Earl of* Pembroke *and* Montgomery, *the Earl of* Suffolk, *Members of the Houſe of Peers, and Sir* Walter Earle, *Sir* John Hippeſly, *Knights*, Robert Goodwyn, Luke Robinſon, *Eſquires, Members of the Houſe of Commons.*

Die Sabbathi, 11. Julii, 1646.

The Propoſitions of the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament, for a ſafe and well-grounded Peace.

[Preſented *Jul.* 24.]

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

WE the Lords and Commons aſſembled in the Parliament of *England*, in the name and on the behalf of the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, and the Commiſsioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*, in the name and on the behalf of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, do humbly preſent unto Your Majeſty the humble deſires and Propoſitions for a ſafe and well-grounded Peace agreed upon by the Parliaments of both Kingdoms reſpectively; unto which we do pray Your Majeſties Aſſent: and that they and all ſuch Bils as ſhall be tendred to Your Majeſty in purſuance of them, or any of them, may be Eſtabliſhed and Enacted for Statutes and Acts of Parliament by Your Majeſties Royal Aſſent in the Parliaments of both Kingdoms reſpectively.

I. WHereas both Houſes of the Parliament of *England* have been neceſſitated to undertake a Warre in their juſt and lawful defence, and afterwards both Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland* joyned in ſolemn League and Covenant were engaged to proſecute the ſame; That by Act of Parliament in each Kingdom reſpectively, all Oaths, Declarations and Proclamations heretofore had, or hereafter to be had, againſt both or either of the Houſes of the Parliament of *England*, the Parliament of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and the late Convention of Eſtates in *Scotland*, or Committees flowing from the Parliament or Convention in *Scotland*, or their Ordinances and proceedings, or againſt any for adhering unto them, or for doing or executing any Office, Place or Charge, by any Authority derived from them, and all Judgements, Indictments, Outlawries, Attainders and Inquiſitions in any the ſaid Cauſes, and all Grants thereupon made or had, or to be made or had, be declared null, ſuppreſſed and forbidden. And that this be publickly intimated in all Pariſh Churches within His Majeſties Dominions and all other places needfull.

[These Propoſitions are for the moſt part the ſame with thoſe at *Uxbridge*.]

II. That His Majeſty, according to the laudable example of His Royal Father of happy memory, may be pleaſed to ſwear and ſign the late ſolemn League and Covenant; and that an Act of Parliament be paſſed in both Kingdoms reſpectively, for enjoyning the taking thereof by all the Subjects of the three Kingdoms; and the Ordinances concerning the manner of taking the ſame in both Kingdoms be confirmed by Acts of Parliament reſpectively, with ſuch Penalties as by mutual advice of both Kingdoms ſhall be agreed upon.

III. That a Bill be paſſed for the utter Aboliſhing and taking away of all Archbiſhops, Biſhops, their Chancellors and Commiſſaries, Deans and Subdeans, Deans and Chapters, Arch-deacons, Canons and Prebendaries, and all Chaunters, Chancellours, Treaſurers, Sub-treaſurers, Succentors and Sacriſts, and all Vicars Choral and Choriſters, old Vicars and new Vicars, of any Cathedral or Collegiate Church, and

all other their under-Officers, out of the Church of *England* and Dominion of *Wales*, and out of the Church of *Ireland*; with ſuch Alterations concerning the Eſtates of Prelates as ſhall agree with the Articles of the late Treaty of the Date at *Edenburgh*, 29. *November* 1643. and joynt Declaration of both Kingdoms.

IV. That the Ordinances concerning the Calling and ſitting of the Aſſembly of Divines be confirmed by Act of Parliament.

V. That Reformation of Religion according to the Covenant be ſettled by Act of Parliament, in ſuch manner as both Houſes have agreed, or ſhall agree upon after Conſultation had with the Aſſembly of Divines.

VI. Foraſmuch as both Kingdoms are mutually obliged by the ſame Covenant to endeavour the neareſt Conjunction and Uniformity in matters of Religion, that ſuch Unity & Uniformity in Religion according to the Covenant as, after Conſultation had with the Divines of both Kingdoms now aſſembled, is or ſhall be joyntly agreed upon by both Houſes of Parliament of *England* and by the Church and Kingdom of *Scotland*, be confirmed by Acts of Parliament of both Kingdoms reſpectively.

VII. That for the more effectual diſabling Jeſuits, Prieſts, Papiſts and Popiſh Recuſants from diſturbing the State and deluding the Laws, and for the better diſcovering and ſpeedy conviction of Recuſants, an Oath be eſtabliſhed by Act of Parliament to be adminiſtred to them, wherein they ſhall abjure and renounce the Popes Supremacy, the Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation, Purgatory, Worſhipping of the Conſecrated Hoaſt, Crucifixes and Images, and all other Popiſh Superſtitions and Errours; and refuſing the ſaid Oath, being tendred in ſuch manner as ſhall be appointed by the ſaid Act, to be a ſufficient Conviction of Recuſancy.

VIII. An Act of Parliament for Education of the Children of Papiſts by Proteſtants in the Proteſtant Religion.

IX. An Act for the true levy of the Penalties againſt them, which Penalties to be levied and diſpoſed in ſuch manner as both Houſes ſhall agree on, wherein to be provided that His Majeſty ſhall have no loſs.

X. That an Act be paſſed in Parliament, whereby the practices of Papiſts againſt the State may be prevented, and the Laws againſt them duely executed, and a ſtricter courſe taken to prevent the ſaying or hearing of Maſs in the Court, or any other part of this Kingdom.

XI. The like for the Kingdom of *Scotland*, concerning the four laſt preceding Propoſitions, in ſuch manner as the Eſtates of the Parliament there ſhall think fit.

XII. That the King do give His Royal Aſſent to an Act for the due obſervation of the Lords Day.

And to the Bill for the ſuppreſſion of Innovations in Churches and Chappels in and about the Worſhip of God, &c.

And for the better advancement of the Preaching of God's holy Word in all parts of this Kingdom.

And to the Bill againſt the enjoying of Pluralities of Benefices by Spiritual Perſons, and Non-Reſidency.

And to an Act to be framed and agreed upon by both Houſes of Parliament for the reforming and regulating of both Univerſities, of the Colleges of *Weſtminſter*, *Wincheſter* and *Eaton*.

And to ſuch Act or Acts for raiſing of Moneys for the payment and ſatisfying of the Publick Debts and Damages of the Kingdom, and other Publick uſes, as ſhall hereafter be agreed on by both Houſes of Parliament; and that if the King do not give His Aſſent thereunto, then it being done by both Houſes of Parliament, the ſame ſhall be

be as valid to all Intents and Purpoſes as if the Royal Aſſent had been given thereunto.

The like for the Kingdom of *Scotland*.

And that His Majeſty give aſſurance of His conſenting in the Parliament of *Scotland* to an Act acknowledging and ratifying the Acts of the Convention of Eſtates of *Scotland*, called by the Councel and Conſervers of the Peace and the Commiſſioners of the Common Burthens, and aſſembled the two and twentieth day of *June* 1643. & ſeveral times continued ſince, and of the Parliament of that Kingdom ſince convened.

XIII. That the Lords and Commons in the Parliament of *England* aſſembled ſhall, during the ſpace of twenty years, from the firſt of *July* 1646. Arme, Train and Diſcipline, or cauſe to be Armed, Trained and Diſciplined, all the Forces of the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland* and Dominion of *Wales*, the Iſles of *Gernſey* and *Jerſey*, and the Town of *Barwick* upon *Tweed*, already raiſed both for Sea and Land-ſervice; and ſhall from time to time, during the ſaid ſpace of twenty years, raiſe, levie, arme, train and diſcipline, or cauſe to be raiſed, levied, armed, trained and diſciplined, any other Forces for Land and Sea-ſervice in the Kingdoms, Dominions and places aforeſaid, as in their judgements they ſhall from time to time, during the ſaid ſpace of twenty years, think fit and appoint; and that neither the King, His Heirs or Succeſſors, nor any other, but ſuch as ſhall Act by the Authority or approbation of the ſaid Lords and Commons, ſhall, during the ſaid ſpace of twenty years, exerciſe any of the Powers aforeſaid.

And the like for the Kingdom of *Scotland*, if the Eſtates of the Parliament there ſhall think fit.

That Moneys be raiſed and levied for the maintenance and uſe of the ſaid Forces for Land-ſervice, and of the Navy and Forces for Sea-ſervice, in ſuch ſort and by ſuch waies and means as the ſaid Lords and Commons ſhall from time to time, during the ſaid ſpace of twenty years, think fit and appoint, and not otherwiſe. That all the ſaid Forces both for Land and Sea-ſervice, ſo raiſed or levied, or to be raiſed or levied, and alſo the Admiralty and Navy, ſhall from time to time, during the ſaid ſpace of twenty years, be imployed, managed, ordered and diſpoſed by the ſaid Lords and Commons, in ſuch ſort and by ſuch waies and means as they ſhall think fit and appoint, and not otherwiſe. And the ſaid Lords and Commons during the ſaid ſpace of twenty years ſhall have power,

1. To ſuppreſs all Forces raiſed or to be raiſed without Authority and conſent of the ſaid Lords and Commons, to the diſturbance of the publick Peace of the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, and Dominion of *Wales*, the Iſles of *Gernſey* and *Jerſey*, and the Town of *Barwick* upon *Tweed*, or any of them.

2. To ſuppreſs any forein Forces who ſhall invade or endeavour to invade the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, Dominion of *Wales*, the Iſles of *Gernſey* and *Jerſey*, and the Town of *Barwick* upon *Tweed*, or any of them.

3. To conjoyn ſuch Forces of the Kingdom of *England* with the Forces of the Kingdom of *Scotland* as the ſaid Lords and Commons ſhall from time to time, during the ſaid ſpace of twenty years, judge fit and neceſſary; to reſiſt all Forein Invaſions, and to ſuppreſs any Forces raiſed or to be raiſed againſt or within either of the ſaid Kingdoms, to the diſturbance of the publick Peace of the ſaid Kingdoms or any of them, by any Authority under the great Seal or other Warrant whatſoever, without conſent of the ſaid Lords and Commons of the Parliament of *England*, and the Parliament or the Eſtates of the Parliament of *Scotland*, reſpectively: and that no Forces of either Kingdom ſhall goe into or continue in the other Kingdom without the advice and deſire of the ſaid Lords and Commons of the Parliament of *England*, and the Parliament of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, or ſuch as ſhall be by them appointed for that purpoſe.

And that after the expiration of the ſaid twenty years, neither the King, His Heirs or Succeſſors, or any perſon or perſons by colour or pretence of any Commiſſion, Power, Deputation, or Authority to be derived from the King, His Heirs or Succeſſors, or any of them, ſhall raiſe, arme, train, diſcipline, imploy, order, manage, diſband or diſpoſe any of the Forces by Sea or Land, of the Kingdoms of *England* and

Ireland, the Dominion of *Wales*, Iſles of *Gernſey* and *Jerſey*, and the Town of *Barwick* upon *Tweed*, nor exerciſe any of the ſaid Powers or Authorities in the precedent Articles mentioned and expreſſed to be during the ſaid ſpace of twenty years in the ſaid Lords and Commons, nor doe any Act or thing concerning the execution of the ſaid Powers or Authorities, or any of them, without the conſent of the ſaid Lords and Commons firſt had and obtained. That after the expiration of the ſaid twenty years, in all caſes wherein the Lords and Commons ſhall declare the Safety of the Kingdom to be concerned, and ſhall thereupon paſs any Bill or Bills for the raiſing, arming, training, diſciplining, imploying, managing, ordering or diſpoſing of the Forces by Sea or Land, of the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, the Dominion of *Wales*, Iſles of *Gernſey* and *Jerſey*, and the Town of *Barwick* upon *Tweed*, or of any part of the ſaid Forces, or concerning the Admiralty and Navy, or concerning the levying of Moneys for the raiſing, maintenance, or uſe of the ſaid Forces for Land-ſervice, or of the Navy and forces for Sea-ſervice, or of any part of them; and if that the Royal Aſſent to ſuch Bill or Bills ſhall not be given in the Houſe of Peers within ſuch time after the paſſing thereof by both Houſes of Parliament as the ſaid Houſes ſhall judge fit and convenient, that then ſuch Bill or Bills ſo paſſed by the ſaid Lords and Commons as aforeſaid, and to which the Royal Aſſent ſhall not be given, as is herein before expreſſed, ſhall nevertheleſs, after declaration of the ſaid Lords and Commons made in that behalf, have the force and ſtrength of an Act or Acts of Parliament, and ſhall be as valid to all intents and purpoſes as if the Royal Aſſent had been given thereunto.

Provided that nothing herein before contained ſhall extend to the taking away of the ordinary Legal power of Sheriffs, Juſtices of Peace, Maiors, Bailifs, Coroners, Conſtables, Headboroughs, or other Officers of Juſtice not being military Officers, concerning the adminiſtration of Juſtice; ſo as neither the ſaid Sheriffs, Juſtices of the Peace, Maiors, Bailiffs, Coroners, Conſtables, Headboroughs and other Officers, nor any of them, do levy, conduct, imploy or command any Forces whatſoever, by colour or pretence of any Commiſſion of Array, or extraordinary command from His Majeſty, His Heirs or Succeſſors, without the Conſent of the ſaid Lords and Commons.

And if any perſons ſhall be gathered and aſſembled together in warlike manner, or otherwiſe, to the number of thirty perſons, and ſhall not forthwith disband themſelves being required thereto by the ſaid Lords and Commons, or command from them, or any by them eſpecially authorized for that purpoſe, then ſuch perſon and perſons not ſo disbanding themſelves ſhall be guilty and incurre the pains of high Treaſon, being firſt declared guilty of ſuch offence by the ſaid Lords and Commons; any Commiſſion under the great Seal or other Warrant to the contrary notwithſtanding.

And he or they that ſhall offend herein, to be incapable of any Pardon from His Majeſty, His Heirs or Succeſſors, and their Eſtates ſhall be diſpoſed as the ſaid Lords and Commons ſhall think fit, and not otherwiſe.

Provided that the City of *London* ſhall have and enjoy all their Rights, Liberties and Franchiſes, Cuſtomes and Uſages in the raiſing and imploying the Forces of that City for the defence thereof, in as full and ample manner to all intents and purpoſes as they have or might have uſed or enjoyed the ſame at any time before the making of the ſaid Act or Propoſition; to the end that City may be fully aſſured, it is not the intention of the Parliament to take from them any Privileges or Immunities in raiſing or diſpoſing of their Forces, which they have or might have uſed or injoyed heretofore.

The like for the Kingdom of *Scotland*, if the Eſtates of the Parliament there ſhall think fit.

XIV. That by Act of Parliament all Peers made ſince the day that *Edward* Lord *Littleton*, then Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, deſerted the Parliament, and that the ſaid Great Seal was ſurreptitiouſly conveyed away from the Parliament, being the one and twentieth day of *May* 1642. and who ſhall be hereafter made, ſhall not ſit or

Vote

Vote in the Parliament of *England* without Consent of both Houses of Parliament: and that all Honour and Title conferred on any without Consent of both Houses of Parliament since the twentieth of *May* 1642. being the day that both Houses declared, That the King seduced by evil Counsel intended to raise Warre against the Parliament, be declared null and void.

The like for the Kingdome of *Scotland*, those being excepted whose Patents were passed the Great Seal before the fourth of *June* 1644.

XV. That an Act be passed in the Parliaments of both Kingdoms respectively, for confirmation of the Treaties passed betwixt the two Kingdoms, (*viz.*) the large Treaty, the late Treaty for the coming of the *Scots* Army into *England*, and the settling of the Garrison of *Barwick*, of the 29. of *November* 1643. and the Treaty concerning *Ireland*, of the 6. of *August* 1642. for the bringing of ten thousand *Scots* into the Province of *Ulster* in *Ireland*, with all other Ordinances and proceedings passed betwixt the two Kingdoms, and whereunto they are obliged by the aforesaid Treaties.

And that *Algernon* Earl of *Northumberland*, *John* Earl of *Rutland*, *Philip* Earl of *Pembroke* and *Montgomery*, *Robert* Earl of *Essex*, *Theophilus* Earl of *Lincoln*, *James* Earl of *Suffolk*, *Robert* Earl of *Warwick*, *Edward* Earl of *Manchester*, *Henry* Earl of *Stamford*, *Francis* Lord *Dacres*, *Philip* Lord *Wharton*, *Francis* Lord *Willoughby*, *Dudly* Lord *North*, *John* Lord *Hunsdon*, *William* Lord *Gray*, *Edward* Lord *Howard* of *Escrich*, *Thomas* Lord *Bruce*, *Ferdinando* Lord *Fairfax*, Master *Nathaniel Fiennes*, Sir *William Armyne*, Sir *Philip Stapleton*, Sir *Henry Vane* senior, Master *William Pierrepont*, Sir *Edward Aiscough*, Sir *William Strickland*, Sir *Arthur Heselrig*, Sir *John Fenwick*, Sir *William Brereton*, Sir *Thomas Widdrington*, Master *John Toll*, Master *Gilbert Millington*, Sir *William Constable*, Sir *John Wray*, Sir *Henry Vane* junior, Master *Henry Darley*, *Oliver Saint-John* Esquire His Majesties Solicitor General, Master *Denzill Hollis*, Master *Alexander Rigby*, Master *Cornelius Holland*, Master *Samuel Vassall*, Master *Peregrine Pelham*, *John Glyn* Esquire Recorder of *London*, Master *Henry Marten*, Master Alderman *Hoyle*, Master *John Blakeston*, Master Serjeant *Wilde*, Master *Richard Barwis*, Sir *Anthony Irby*, Master *Ashurst*, Master *Bellingham*, and Master *Tolson*, Members of both Houses of the Parliament of *England*, shall be the Commissioners for the Kingdom of *England*, for conservation of the Peace between the two Kingdoms, to act according to the Powers in that behalf expresst in the Articles of the large Treaty, and not otherwise.

That His Majesty give His Assent to what the two Kingdoms shall agree upon in prosecution of the Articles of the large Treaty, which are not yet finished.

XVI. That an Act be passed in the Parliaments of both Kingdoms respectively for establishing the joynt Declaration of both Kingdoms, bearing date the 30. day of *January* 1643. in *England*, and 1644. in *Scotland*, with the Qualifications ensuing.

1. *Qualification.*

That the Persons who shall expect no pardon be onely these following,

Rupert and *Maurice* Count Palatines of the *Rhene*, *James* Earl of *Derby*, *John* Earl of *Bristoll*, *William* Earl of *Newcastle*, *Francis* Lord *Cottington*, *George* Lord *Digby*, *Matthew Wren* Bishop of *Ely*, Sir *Robert Heath* Knight, Doctor *Bramhall* Bishop of *Derry*, Sir *William Widdrington*, Colonel *George Goring*, *Henry Jermin* Esquire, Sir *Ralph Hopton*, Sir *John Biron*, Sir *Francis Doddington*, Sir *John Strangwayes*, Master *Endymion Porter*, Sir *George Radcliffe*, Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, *Henry Vaughan* Esquire, now called Sir *Henry Vaughan*, Sir *Francis Windebanke*, Sir *Richard Greenvile*, Master *Edward Hyde*, now called Sir *Edward Hyde*, Sir *John Marley*, Sir *Nicholas Cole*, Sir *Thomas Riddell* junior, Sir *John Culpepper*, Master *Richard Lloyd*, now called Sir *Richard Lloyd*, Master *David Jenkins*, Sir *George Strode*, *George Carteret* Esquire, now called Sir *George Carteret*, Sir *Charles Dallison* Knight, *Richard Lane* Esquire, now called Sir *Richard Lane*, Sir *Edward Nicholas*, *John Ashburnham* Esquire, Sir *Edward Herbert* Knight, His Majesties Attorney General, Earl of *Traquaire*, Lord *Harris*, Lord *Rae*, *George Gourdon*, sometime Marques of *Huntley*,

James Graham, ſometime Earl of *Montroſs*, *Robert Maxwell*, late Earl of *Nithiſdale*, *Robert Dalyell*, ſometime Earl of *Carnwarth*, *James Gordon*, ſometime Viſcount of *Aboyne*, *Lodowick Linſey*, ſometime Earl of *Crawford*, *James Ogleby*, ſometime Earl of *Airley*, *James Ogleby*, ſometime Lord *Ogleby*, *Patrick Ruthen*, ſometime Earl of *Forth*, *James King*, ſometime Lord *Itham*, *Aleſter Macdonald*, *Irwing* younger of *Drunim*, *Gordon* younger of *Gight*, *Leſley* of *Auchentoule*, Colonel *John Cockram*, *Graham* of *Gorthie*, Maſter *John Maxwell*, ſometime pretended Biſhop of *Roſſe*, and all ſuch others as being Proceſſed by the Eſtates for Treaſon, ſhall be condemned before the Act of Oblivion be paſſed.

2. *Qualification.*

All Papiſts and Popiſh Recuſants, who have been, now are, or ſhall be actually in Arms, or voluntarily aſſiſting againſt the Parliaments or Eſtates of either Kingdom; and by name, The Marqueſs of *Winton*, Earl of *Worceſter*, *Edward* Lord *Herbert* of *Ragland*, ſon to the Earl of *Worceſter*, Lord *Brudenell*, *Carell Molineaux* Eſquire, Lord *Arundel* of *Wardour*, Sir *Francis Howard*, Sir *John Winter*, Sir *Charles Smith*, Sir *John Preſton*, Sir *Bazill Brook*, Lord *Audley*, Earl of *Caſtlehaven* in the Kingdom of *Ireland*, *William Sheldon* of *Beely* Eſquire, Sir *Henry Beddingfield.*

3. *Qualification.*

All perſons who have had any hand in the plotting, deſigning or aſſiſting the Rebellion of *Ireland*, except ſuch perſons who having onely aſſiſted the ſaid Rebellion, have rendred themſelves, or come in to the Parliament of *England.*

4. *Qualification.*

That *Humfrey Bennet* Eſquire, Sir *Edward Ford*, Sir *John Penruddock*, Sir *George Vaughan*, Sir *John Weld*, Sir *Robert Lee*, Sir *John Pate*, *John Ackland*, *Edmond Windham* Eſquire, Sir *John Fitz-herbert*, Sir *Edward Lawrence*, Sir *Ralph Dutton*, *Henry Lingen* Eſquire, Sir *William Ruſſell* of *Worceſterſhire*, *Thomas Lee* of *Adlington* Eſquire, Sir *John Girlington*, Sir *Paul Neale*, Sir *William Thorold*, Sir *Edward Huſſey*, Sir *Thomas Liddall* ſen. Sir *Philip Muſgrave*, Sir *John Digby* of *Nottinghamſhire*, Sir *Henry Fletcher*, Sir *Richard Minſhull*, *Lawrence Halſtead*, *John Denham* Eſquire, Sir *Edmond Forteſcue*, *Peter Sainthill* Eſquire, Sir *Thomas Tildeſley*, Sir *Henry Griffith*, *Michael Wharton* Eſq. Sr *Henry Spiller*, Mr *George Benyon*, now called Sr *George Benyon*, Sir *Edward Walgrave*, Sir *Edward Biſhop*, Sr *Robert Owſeley*, Sr *John Many*, Ld *Cholmley*, Sir *Thomas Aſton*, Sir *Lewis Dives*, Sir *Peter Osbourne*, *Samuel Thornton* Eſq. Sir *John Lucas*, *John Blaney* Eſq. Sir *Thomas Chedle*, Sir *Nicholas Kemiſh*, *Hugh Lloyd* Eſquire, Sir *Nicholas Criſpe*, Sir *Peter Ricaut*, and all ſuch of the *Scotiſh* Nation as have concurred in the Votes at *Oxford* againſt the Kingdom of *Scotland* and their proceedings, or have ſworn or ſubſcribed the Declaration againſt the Convention and Covenant, and all ſuch as have aſſiſted the Rebellion in the North, or the Invaſion in the South of the ſaid Kingdom of *Scotland*, or the late Invaſion made there by the *Iriſh* and their Adherents, be removed from His Majeſties Counſels, and be reſtrained from coming within the Verge of the Court; and that they may not, without the Advice and Conſent of both Houſes of the Parliament of *England*, or the Eſtates in the Parliament of *Scotland*, reſpectively, bear any Office, or have any Imployment concerning the State or Commonwealth: and in caſe any of them ſhall offend therein, to be guilty of high Treaſon, and incapable of any Pardon from His Majeſty, and their Eſtates to be diſpoſed as both Houſes of the Parliament of *England*, or the Eſtates of the Parliament in *Scotland*, reſpectively, ſhall think fit: and that one full third part upon full value of the Eſtates of the perſons aforeſaid, made incapable of Imployment as aforeſaid, be imployed for the payment of the Publick Debts and Damages, according to the Declaration.

1. *Branch.* That the late Members, or any who pretended themſelves late Members of either Houſe of Parliament, who have not onely deſerted the Parliament, but have alſo ſate in the unlawful Aſſembly at *Oxford*, called or pretended by ſome to be a Parliament, and voted both Kingdoms Traitors, and have not voluntarily rendred themſelves before the laſt of *October* 1644. be removed from His Majeſties Counſels, and be reſtrained from coming within the Verge of the Court; and that they may not, without Advice and Conſent of both Kingdoms, bear any Office, or have

any

any imployment concerning the State or Commonwealth: and in case any of them shall offend therein, to be guilty of high Treason, and incapable of any Pardon by His Majesty, and their Estates to be disposed as both Houses of Parliament in *England*, or the Estates of the Parliament of *Scotland*, respectively, shall think fit.

2. *Branch.* That the late Members, or any who pretended themselves Members of either House of Parliament, who have sate in the unlawful Assembly at *Oxford*, called or pretended by some to be a Parliament, and have not voluntarily rendred themselves before the last of *October* 1644. be removed from His Majesties Counsels, and restrained from coming within the Verge of the Court; and that they may not, without the Advice and Consent of both Houses of Parliament, bear any Office, or have any Imployment concerning the State or Commonwealth: and in case any of them shall offend therein, to be guilty of high Treason, and incapable of any Pardon from His Majesty, and their Estates to be disposed as both Houses of the Parliament of *England* shall think fit.

3. *Branch.* That the late Members, or any who pretended themselves Members of either House of Parliament, who have deserted the Parliament, and adhered to the Enemies thereof, and have not rendred themselves before the last of *October* 1644. be removed from His Majesties Counsels, and be restrained from coming within the Verge of the Court; and that they may not, without the Advice and Consent of both Houses of Parliament, bear any Office, or have any Imployment concerning the State or Commonwealth: and in case any of them shall offend therein, to be guilty of high Treason, and incapable of any Pardon from His Majesty, and their Estates to be disposed as both Houses of Parliament in *England* shall think fit.

5. *Qualification.*

That all Judges and Officers towards the Law, Common or Civil, who have deserted the Parliament, and adhered to the Enemies thereof, be incapable of any place of Judicature or Office towards the Law, Common or Civil: and that all Serjeants, Counsellours and Attorneys, Doctors, Advocates and Proctors of the Law, Common or Civil, who have deserted the Parliament, and adhered to the Enemies thereof, be incapable of any practice in the Law, Common or Civil, either in publick or private, and shall not be capable of any Preferment or Imployment in the Commonwealth, without the Advice and Consent of both Houses of Parliament: and that no Bishop or Clergy-man, no Master or Fellow of any College or Hall in either of the Universities or elsewhere, or any Master of School or Hospitall, or any Ecclesiastical person, who hath deserted the Parliament, and adhered to the Enemies thereof, shall hold or enjoy, or be capable of any Preferment or Imployment in Church or Commonwealth, but all their said several Preferments, Places and Promotions, shall be utterly void, as if they were naturally dead; nor shall they otherwise use their Function of the Ministry, without Advice and Consent of both Houses of Parliament: Provided that no Lapse shall incurre by such Vacancy, until six moneths past after notice thereof.

6. *Qualification.*

That all persons who have been actually in Arms against the Parliament, or have counselled or voluntarily assisted the Enemies thereof, are disabled to be Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace, Maiors, or other head-Officers of any City or Corporation, Commissioners of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, or to sit or serve as Members or Assistants in either of the Houses of Parliament, or to have any Military imployment in this Kingdom, without the Consent of both Houses of Parliament.

7. *Qualification.*

The persons of all others to be free of all personal Censure, notwithstanding any act or thing done in or concerning this Warre, they taking the Covenant.

8. *Qualification.*

The Estates of those persons excepted in the first three precedent Qualifications, and the Estates of *Edward* Lord *Littleton* and of *William Laud* late Archbishop of *Canterbury*, to pay publick Debts and Damages.

9. Qualification.

1. *Branch.* That two full parts in three, to be divided of all the Eſtates of the Members of either Houſe of Parliament who have not only deſerted the Parliament, but have alſo Voted both Kingdoms Traitors, and have not rendred themſelves before the firſt of *December* 1645. ſhall be taken and employed for the payment of the publick Debts and Damages of the Kingdom.

2. *Branch.* That two full parts in three, to be divided of the Eſtates of ſuch late Members of either Houſe of Parliament as ſate in the unlawful Aſſembly at *Oxford*, & ſhall not have rendred themſelves before the firſt of *December* 1645. ſhall be taken and employed for the payment of the publick Debts and Damages of the Kingdom.

3. *Branch.* That one full moiety of the Eſtates of ſuch Perſons, late Members of either of the Houſes of Parliament, who have deſerted the Parliament, and adhered to the Enemies thereof, and ſhall not have rendred themſelves before the firſt of *Decemb.* 1645. ſhall be taken and employed for the payment of the publick Debts and Damages of the Kingdom.

10. *Qualification.*

That a full third part on the value of the Eſtates of all Judges and Officers towards the Law, Common or Civil, and of all Serjeants, Councellours and Attorneys, Doctors, Advocates and Proctors of the Law, Common or Civil; and of all Biſhops, Clergy-men, Maſters and Fellows of any College or Hall in either of the Univerſities, or elſewhere; and of all Maſters of Schools or Hoſpitals, and of Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, who have deſerted the Parliament, and adhered to the Enemies thereof, and have not rendered themſelves before the firſt of *December* 1645. ſhall be taken and employed for the payment of the publick Debts and Damages of the Kingdom.

That a full ſixth part on the full value of the Eſtates of the Perſons excepted in the ſixth Qualification, concerning ſuch as have been actually in Arms againſt the Parliament, or have counſelled or voluntarily aſſiſted the Enemies thereof, and are diſabled according to the ſaid Qualification, to be taken and employed for the payment of the publick Debts and Damages of the Kingdom.

11. *Qualification.*

That the Perſons and Eſtates of all common Souldiers and others of the Kingdom of *England*, who in Lands or Goods be not worth two hundred pounds Sterling, and the Perſons and Eſtates of all common Souldiers and others of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, who in Lands or Goods be not worth one hundred pounds Sterling, be at liberty and diſcharged.

1. *Branch.* This Propoſition to ſtand as to the *Engliſh*; and as to the *Scots* likewiſe, if the Parliament of *Scotland* or their Commiſſioners ſhall ſo think fit.

2. *Branch.* That the firſt of *May* laſt is now the day limited for the perſons to come in that are compriſed within the former Qualification.

That an Act be paſſed, whereby the Debts of the Kingdom and the Perſons of Delinquents and the value of their Eſtates may be known: and which Act ſhall appoint in what manner the Confiſcations and Proportions before mentioned may be levied and applied to the diſcharge of the ſaid Engagements.

The like for the Kingdom of *Scotland*, if the Eſtates of Parliament, or ſuch as ſhall have power from them, ſhall think fit.

XVII. That an Act of Parliament be paſſed, to declare and make void the Ceſſation of *Ireland*, and all Treaties and Concluſions of Peace, or any Articles thereupon with the Rebels, without Conſent of both Houſes of Parliament; and to ſettle the Proſecution of the Warre of *Ireland* in both Houſes of the Parliament of *England*, to be managed by them; and the King to aſſiſt, and to doe no Act to diſcountenance or moleſt them therein.

That Reformation of Religion according to the Covenant be ſettled in the Kingdom of *Ireland* by Act of Parliament, in ſuch manner as both Houſes of the Parliament of *England* have agreed, or ſhall agree upon after Conſultation had with the Aſſembly of Divines here.

That

That the Deputy or chief Governour, or other Governours of *Ireland*, and the Preſidents of the ſeveral Provinces of that Kingdom, be nominated by both the Houſes of the Parliament of *England*, or in the Intervalls of Parliament, by ſuch Committees of both Houſes of Parliament as both Houſes of the Parliament of *England* ſhall nominate and appoint for that purpoſe; and that the Chancellour or Lord Keeper, Ld Treaſurer, Commiſſioners of the great Seal or Treaſury, Ld Warden of the Cinque-ports, Chancellour of the Exchequer and Dutchy, Secretaries of State, Maſter of the Rolls, Judges of both Benches, and Barons of the Exchequer of the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, and the Vice-Treaſurer and Treaſurers at Warres of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, be nominated by both Houſes of the Parliament of *England*, to continue *quamdiu ſe bene geſſerint*, and in the Intervalls of Parliament by the fore-mentioned Committees, to be approved or diſallowed by both Houſes at their next ſitting.

The like for the Kingdom of *Scotland*, concerning the nomination of the Lords of the Privy Councel, Lords of Seſſion and Exchequer, Officers of State and Juſtice General, in ſuch manner as the Eſtates of the Parliament there ſhall think fit.

XVIII. That the *Militia* of the City of *London* and Liberties thereof may be in the ordering and government of the Lord Maior, Aldermen and Commons in Common-Councel aſſembled, or ſuch as they ſhall from time to time appoint, (whereof the Lord Maior and Sheriffs for the time being to be three) to be imployed and directed from time to time in ſuch manner as ſhall be agreed on and appointed by both Houſes of Parliament.

That no Citizen of the City of *London*, nor any of the Forces of the ſaid City, ſhall be drawn forth or compelled to goe out of the ſaid City or Liberties thereof for Military ſervice, without their own free Conſent.

That an Act be paſſed for the granting and confirming of the Charters, Cuſtomes, Liberties, and Franchiſes of the City of *London*, notwithſtanding any Non-uſer, Miſuſer, or Abuſer.

That the Tower of *London* may be in the Government of the City of *London*, and the chief Officer and Governour thereof from time to time be nominated and removeable by the Common-Councel. And for prevention of inconveniences wch may happen by the long intermiſſion of Common-Councels, it is deſired that there may be an Act, that all by-Laws and Ordinances already made, or hereafter to be made, by the Lord Maior, Aldermen and Commons in Common-Councel aſſembled, touching the calling, continuing, directing and regulating the ſame Common-Councels, ſhall be as effectual in Law to all Intents and Purpoſes as if the ſame were particularly Enacted by the Authority of Parliament: and that the Lord Maior, Aldermen and Commons in Common-Councel, may adde to or repeal the ſaid Ordinances from time to time as they ſhall ſee cauſe.

That ſuch other Propoſitions as ſhall be made for the City, for their further Safety, Welfare and Government, and ſhall be approved of by both Houſes of Parliament, may be granted and confirmed by Act of Parliament.

XIX. That all Grants, Commiſſions, Preſentations, Writs, Proceſs, Proceedings, and other things paſſed under the Great Seal of *England* in the cuſtody of the Lords and other Commiſſioners appointed by both Houſes of Parliament for the cuſtody thereof, be, and by Act of Parliament with the Royal Aſſent ſhall be declared and Enacted to be of like full force and effect to all intents and purpoſes, as the ſame or like Grants, Commiſſions, Preſentations, Writs, Proceſs, Proceedings and other things under any Great Seal of *England* in any time heretofore were or have been; and that for time to come the ſaid Great Seal now remaining in cuſtody of the ſaid Commiſſioners continue and be uſed for the Great Seal of *England*: and that all Grants, Commiſſions, Preſentations, Writs, Proceſs, Proceedings, and other things whatſoever paſſed under or by authority of any other Great Seal ſince the two and twentieth day of *May Anno Dom.* 1642. or hereafter to be paſſed, be invalid and of no effect to all intents and purpoſes; except ſuch Writs, Proceſs and Commiſſi-

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ons, as being passed under any other Great Seal then the said Great Seal in the Custody of the Commissioners aforesaid, on or after the said two and twentieth day of *May*, and before the 28. day of *November*, *Anno Dom.* 1643. were afterward proceeded upon, returned into, or put in ure in any the Kings Courts at *Westminster*; and except the Grant to Master Justice *Bacon* to be one of the Justices of the Kings Bench; and except all Acts and Proceedings by virtue of any such Commissions of Gaol-delivery, Assize and *Nisi prius*, or *Oyer* and *Terminer*, passed under any other Great Seal then the Seal aforesaid in custody of the said Commissioners before the first of *October* 1642.

And that all Grants of Offices, Lands, Tenements or Hereditaments made or passed under the Great Seal of *Ireland* unto any Person or Persons, Bodies Politick or Corporate, since the Cessation made in *Ireland* the fifteenth day of *September* 1643. shall be null and void: and that all Honours and Titles conferred upon any Person or Persons in the said Kingdom of *Ireland* since the said Cessation shall be null and void.

His MAJESTIES *Answer to the Propositions of both Houses.* Newcastle, Aug. 1. 1646.

To the Speaker of the House of Peers *pro tempore*, to be communicated to the two Houses of Parliament at *Westminster*.

CHARLES R.

THE Propositions tendered to His Majesty by the Commissioners from the Lords and Commons assembled in the Parliament of *England* at *Westminster*, and the Commisioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*, (to which the Houses of Parliament have taken twice so many Months for deliberation as they have assigned Dayes for His Majesties Answer) do import so great Alterations in Government both in the Church and Kingdom, as it is very difficult to return a particular and positive Answer before a full Debate, wherein these Propositions, and the necessary Explanations, true sense and Reasons thereof be rightly weighed and understood, and that His Majesty upon a full view of the whole Propositions may know what is left, as well as what is taken away and changed: In all which He findes (upon discourse with the said Commisioners) that they are so bound up from any capacity either to give Reasons for the Demands they bring, or to give ear to such Desires as His Majesty is to propound; as it is impossible for Him to give such a present judgement of and Answer to these Propositions, whereby He can answer to God, that a safe and well-grounded Peace will

ensue

enſue (which is evident to all the World can never be, unleſs the juſt Power of the Crown, as well as the Freedom and Propriety of the Subject, with the juſt Liberty and Privileges of the Parliament, be likewiſe ſettled.) To which end His Majeſty deſires and propoſeth to come to *London*, or any of His Houſes thereabouts, upon the Publick Faith and ſecurity of the two Houſes of Parliament and the *Scotch* Commiſsioners, That He ſhall be there with Freedom, Honour and Safety; where by His Perſonal Preſence He may not onely raiſe a mutual Confidence betwixt Him and His People, but alſo have theſe Doubts cleared, and theſe Difficulties explained unto Him, which He now conceives to be deſtructive to His juſt Regal Power, if He ſhall give a full Conſent to theſe Propoſitions as they now ſtand.

As likewiſe that He may make known to them ſuch His reaſonable Demands as He is moſt aſſured will be very much conducible to that Peace which all good men deſire and pray for, by the ſettling of Religion, the juſt Privileges of Parliament, with the Freedom and Propriety of the Subject: and His Majeſty aſſures them, that as He can never condeſcend unto what is abſolutely deſtructive to that juſt Power which by the Laws of God and the Land He is born unto; ſo He will chearfully grant and give His Aſſent unto all ſuch Bills, at the deſire of His two Houſes, or reaſonable Demands for *Scotland*, which ſhall be really for the good and Peace of His People, not having regard to His own particular (much leſs of any bodies elſe) in reſpect of the Happineſs of theſe Kingdoms. Wherefore His Majeſty conjures them as Chriſtians, as Subjects, and as men who deſire to leave a good name behinde them, that they will ſo receive and make uſe of this Anſwer, that all iſſues of Blood may be ſtopped, and theſe unhappy Diſtractions peaceably ſettled.

Newcaſtle, Auguſt 1. 1646.

POST-SCRIPT.

Upon aſſurance of a happy Agreement, His Majeſty will immediately ſend for the Prince His Son, abſolutely expecting His perfect Obedience to return into this Kingdom.

His

His MAJESTIES *Meſſage to both Houſes, from* Newcaſtle, Dec. 20. 1646.

To the Speaker of the Houſe of Peers *pro tempore*, to be communicated to the Lords and Commons of the Parliament of *England* aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*, and to the Commiſsioners of the Parliament of *Scotland* at *London*.

CHARLES R.

HIS Majeſties thoughts being alwaies ſincerely bent to the Peace of His Kingdoms, was and will be ever deſirous to take all wayes which might the moſt clearly make appear the Candor of His Intentions to His People; and to this end could finde no better way then to propoſe a Perſonal free Debate with His two Houſes of Parliament upon all the preſent Differences: yet finding, very much againſt His Expectations, that this Offer was lay'd aſide, His Majeſty bent all His thoughts to make His Intentions fully known by a particular Anſwer to the Propoſitions delivered to Him in the name of both Kingdoms 24. *July* laſt. But the more He endeavoured it, He more plainly ſaw that any Anſwer He could make would be ſubject to miſ-informations and miſconſtructions, which upon His own Paraphraſes and Explanations He is moſt confident will give ſo good ſatisfaction, as would doubtleſs cauſe a happy and laſting Peace. Leſt therefore that good Intentions may produce ill Effects, His Majeſty again propoſeth, and deſires again to come to *London*, or any of His Houſes thereabouts, upon the Publick Faith and Security of His two Houſes of Parliament and the *Scotch* Commiſſioners, that He ſhall be there with Honour, Freedom and Safety; where, by His Perſonal Preſence, He may not onely raiſe a mutual Confidence betwixt Him and His People, but alſo have thoſe Doubts cleared and thoſe Difficulties explained to Him, without which He cannot (but with the aforeſaid miſchievous Inconveniencies) give a particular Anſwer to the Propoſitions; and with which He doubts not but ſo to manifeſt His real Intentions for the ſettling of Religion, the juſt Privileges of Parliament, with the Freedom and Propriety of the Subject, that it

ſhall

ſhall not be in the power of wicked and malicious men to hinder the eſtabliſhing of that firm Peace which all honeſt men deſire: aſſuring them, that as He will make no other Demands but ſuch as He believes confidently to be juſt and much conducing to the Tranquillity of His People; ſo He will be moſt willing to condeſcend to them in whatſoever ſhall be really for their good and Happineſs. Not doubting likewiſe but you will alſo have a due regard to maintain the juſt Power of the Crown, according to your many Proteſtations and Profeſſions. For certainly, except King and People have reciprocal care each of other, neither can be happy.

To conclude, 'Tis your KING Who deſires to be heard (the which if refuſed to a Subject by a King, He would be thought a Tyrant for it) and for that end which all men profeſs to deſire. Wherefore His Majeſty conjures you, as you deſire to ſhew your ſelves really what you profeſs, even as you are good Chriſtians and Subjects, that you will accept this His Offer, which He is confident God will ſo bleſs, that it will be the readieſt means by which theſe Kingdoms may again become a comfort to their Friends, and a terrour to their Enemies.

Newcaſtle, 20. *Decemb.* 1646.

His MAJESTIES Quæres *to the* Scots *Commiſſioners upon Thurſday the* 14. *of* January, $164\frac{6}{7}$.

IT is a received Opinion by many, That Ingagements, Acts, or Promiſes of a reſtrained Perſon, are neither valid nor obligatory. How true or falſe this is I will not now diſpute: But I am ſure, if I be not free, I am not fit to anſwer your or any Propoſitions. Wherefore you ſhould firſt reſolve Me in what ſtate I ſtand (as in relation to Freedom) before I can give you any other Anſwer. (The Reaſon of this My Queſtion the Governour can beſt reſolve you.) But if you object the loſs of time and urgency of it; certainly in one reſpect it preſſes none ſo much as My ſelf: which makes Me alſo think it neceſſary (that I be not to ſeek what

to doe when this Garriſon ſhall be ſurrendred up) to demand of you, in caſe I goe into *Scotland*, if I ſhall be there with Honour, Freedom and Safety, or how. Being ready to give you a farther and more particular Anſwer, how ſoon you ſhall have reſolved theſe two *Quæres*.

The Scots *Commiſsioners Anſwer to His* MAJESTIES Quæres, *Thurſday the* 14. *of* Jan. $16\frac{6}{7}$.

I. TO the Firſt, In what ſtate You ſtand as in relation to Freedom; The Parliaments of both Your Kingdoms have given ſuch Orders and Directions as they have thought fitteſt for the good and ſafety of Your Majeſty and the Kingdoms, to the General and Governour.

II. To Your Majeſties Second *Quære*, of Your going into *Scotland*, we ſhall humbly deſire That we may not now be put to give any Anſwer: But if Your Majeſty ſhall either deny or delay Your Aſſent to the Propoſitions, we are in that caſe to repreſent to Your Majeſty the Reſolutions of the Parliament of *England*.

His MAJESTIES *Reply to the* Scots *Commiſsioners.*

I Know very well, That the General and Governour have received Orders concerning Me; but the queſtion is, Into what ſtate thoſe Orders put Me (as relating to Freedome.) To which you have either Power to Anſwer, or not. If you have, then Anſwer Me; otherwiſe, ſend to thoſe who can.

And ſo for my Second *Quære*.

His

His MAJESTIES *Meſſage to both Houſes, in further Anſwer to their Propoſitions.*

From Holdenby, May 12. 1647.

For the Speaker of the Lords Houſe *pro tempore*, to be communicated to the Lords and Commons in the Parliament of *England* at *Weſtminſter*, and the Commiſsioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*.

CHARLES R.

AS the daily expectation of the coming of the Propoſitions hath made His Majeſty this long time to forbear giving His Anſwer unto them; ſo the appearance of their ſending being no more (for any thing He can hear) then it was at His firſt coming hither, notwithſtanding that the Earl of *Lauderdale* hath been at *London* above theſe ten dayes, (whoſe not coming was ſaid to be the onely ſtop) hath cauſed His Majeſty thus to anticipate their coming to Him. And yet conſidering His Condition, that His Servants are denied acceſs to Him, all but very few, and thoſe by appointment, not His own election; and that it is declared a Crime for any but the Commiſsioners, or ſuch who are particularly permitted by them, to converſe with His Majeſty, or that any Letters ſhould be given to or received from Him; may He not truly ſay, that He is not in caſe fit to make Conceſſions or give Anſwers, ſince He is not maſter of thoſe ordinary Actions which are the undoubted Rights of any free-born man, how mean ſoever his birth be? And certainly He would ſtill be ſilent as to this Subject until His Condition were much mended, did He not preferre ſuch a right underſtanding betwixt Him and His Parliaments of both Kingdoms which may make a firm and laſting Peace in all His Dominions, before any particular of His own or any earthly Bleſsing: and therefore His Majeſty hath diligently employed His utmoſt Endeavours for divers moneths paſt, ſo to inform His Underſtanding and to ſatisfie His Conſcience, that He might be able to give ſuch Anſwers to the Propoſitions as would be moſt agreeable to His Parliaments; but He ingenuouſly profeſſes, that notwithſtanding all the pains

that He hath taken therein, the nature of some of them appears such unto Him, that without disclaiming that Reason which God hath given Him to judge by for the good of Him and His People, and without putting the greatest violence upon His own Conscience, He cannot give His Consent to all of them. Yet His Majesty (that it may appear to all the World how desirous He is to give full satisfaction) hath thought fit hereby to express His readiness to grant what He may, and His willingness to receive from them, and that Personally, (if His two Houses at *Westminster* shall approve thereof) such further information in the rest as may best convince His Judgement, and satisfie those Doubts which are not yet clear unto Him: desiring them also to consider, that if His Majesty intended to wind Himself out of these Troubles by indirect means, were it not easie for Him now readily to consent to what hath or shall be proposed unto Him, and afterwards chuse His time to break all, alleging, that forc'd Concessions are not to be kept? Surely He might, and not incurre a hard censure from some indifferent men. But Maximes in this kind are not the guides of His Majesties actions: for He freely and clearly avows, that He holds it unlawful for any man, and most base in a King, to recede from His Promises for having been obtained by force or under restraint.

Wherefore His Majesty not only rejecting those acts which He esteems unworthy of Him, but even passing by that which He might well insist upon, a point of Honour in respect of His present Condition, thus answers the first Proposition; That upon His Majesties coming to *London*, He will heartily joyn in all that shall concern the Honour of His two Kingdoms, or the Assembly of the States of *Scotland*, or of the Commissioners or Deputies of either Kingdom, particularly in those things which are desired in that Proposition; upon confidence that all of them respectively with the same tenderness will look upon those things which concern His Majesties Honour.

In answer to all the Propositions concerning Religion, His Majesty proposeth, that He will confirm the Presbyterial Government, the Assembly of Divines at *Westminster*, and the Directory, for three years, being the time set down by the two Houses, so that His Majesty and His Houshold be not hindred from that Form of God's

Service

Service which they formerly have: And alſo that a free Conſultation and Debate be had with the Divines at *Weſtminſter* (twenty of His Majeſties nomination being added unto them) whereby it may be determined by His Majeſty and the two Houſes how the Church ſhall be governed after the ſaid three years, or ſooner, if Differences may be agreed. Touching the Covenant, His Majeſty is not yet therein ſatisfied, and deſires to reſpite His particular Anſwer thereunto until His coming to *London*; becauſe it being a matter of Conſcience, He cannot give a Reſolution therein till He may be aſſiſted with the Advice of ſome of His own Chaplains (which hath hitherto been denied Him) and ſuch other Divines as ſhall be moſt proper to inform Him therein: and then He will make clearly appear both His zeal to the Proteſtant Profeſſion and the Union of theſe two Kingdoms, which He conceives to be the main drift of this Covenant.

To the Seventh and Eighth Propoſitions His Majeſty will conſent.

To the Ninth His Majeſty doubts not but to give good ſatisfaction, when He ſhall be particularly informed how the ſaid Penalties ſhall be levied and diſpoſed of.

To the Tenth His Majeſties Anſwer is, That He hath been always ready to prevent the practices of Papiſts, and therefore is content to paſs an Act of Parliament for that purpoſe; and alſo that the Laws againſt them be duly executed.

His Majeſty will give His conſent to the Act for the due obſervation of the Lord's day, for the ſuppreſsing of Innovations, and thoſe concerning the preaching of God's Word, and touching Non-reſidence and Pluralities: and His Majeſty will yield to ſuch Act or Acts as ſhall be requiſite to raiſe moneys for the payment and ſatisfying all publick Debts, expecting alſo that His will be therein included.

As to the Propoſition touching the *Militia*, though His Majeſty cannot conſent unto it *in terminis* as it is propoſed, becauſe thereby He conceives He wholly parts with the power of the Sword entruſted to Him by God and the Laws of the Land, for the Protection and Government of His People, thereby at once deveſting Himſelf and diſ-inheriting His Poſterity of that Right and Prerogative of the

Crown which is absolutely necessary to the Kingly Office, and so weaken Monarchy in this Kingdom, that little more then the name and shadow of it will remain; yet if it be onely security for the preservation of the Peace of this Kingdom after the unhappy Troubles, and the due performance of all the Agreements which are now to be concluded, which is desired, (which His Majesty always understood to be the case, and hopes that herein He is not mistaken) His Majesty will give abundant satisfaction: To which end He is willing by Act of Parliament, That the whole power of the *Militia* both by Sea and Land for the space of ten years be in the hands of such Persons as the two Houses shall nominate, giving them power during the said term to change the said Persons, and substitute others in their places at pleasure; and afterwards to return to the proper chanel again, as it was in the times of Queen *Elizabeth* and King *James* of blessed memory.

And now His Majesty conjures His two Houses of Parliament, as they are *English*-men and lovers of Peace, by the Duty they owe to His Majesty their King, and by the bowels of Compassion they have to their fellow-Subjects, that they will accept of this His Majesties Offer, whereby the joyful news of Peace may be restored to this languishing Kingdom.

His Majesty will grant the like to the Kingdom of *Scotland*, if it be desired; and agree to all things that are propounded touching the conserving of Peace betwixt the two Kingdoms.

Touching *Ireland* (other things being agreed) His Majesty will give satisfaction therein.

As to the mutuall Declarations proposed to be established in both Kingdoms by Act of Parliament, and the Modifications, Qualifications and Branches which follow in the Propositions, His Majesty onely professes that He doth not sufficiently understand, nor is able to reconcile many things contained in them: but this He well knoweth, that a general Act of Oblivion is the best bond of Peace; and that after Intestine Troubles, the wisdome of this and other Kingdomes hath usually and happily in all Ages granted generall Pardons, whereby the numerous discontentments of many Persons and Families, otherwise exposed to Ruine, might not become fewel to new Disorders, or seeds to future Troubles. His Majesty there-

fore

fore deſires that His two Houſes of Parliament would ſeriouſly deſcend into theſe Conſiderations, and likewiſe tenderly look upon His condition herein, and the perpetuall diſhonour that muſt cleave to Him, if He ſhall thus abandon ſo many Perſons of Condition and Fortune that have engaged themſelves with and for Him out of a ſenſe of Duty; and propounds as a very acceptable teſtimony of their Affection to him, That a general Act of Oblivion and free Pardon be forthwith paſſed by Act of Parliament.

Touching the new Great Seal, His Majeſty is very willing to confirm both it and all the Acts done by virtue thereof until this preſent time, ſo that it be not thereby preſſed to make void thoſe Acts of His done by virtue of His Great Seal, which in Honour and Juſtice He is obliged to maintain; and that the future government thereof may be in His Majeſty, according to the due courſe of Law.

Concerning the Officers mentioned in the 19. Article, His Majeſty when He ſhall come to *Weſtminſter* will gratifie His Parliament all that poſſibly He may, without deſtroying the alterations which are neceſſary for the Crown.

His Majeſty will willingly conſent to the Act for the confirmation of the Privileges and Cuſtomes of the City of *London*, and all that is mentioned in the Propoſitions for their particular advantage.

And now that His Majeſty hath thus far endeavoured to comply with the deſires of His two Houſes of Parliament, to the end that this Agreement may be firm and laſting, without the leaſt face or queſtion of reſtraint to blemiſh the ſame, His Majeſty earneſtly deſires preſently to be admitted to His Parliament at *Weſtminſter* with that Honour which is due to their Sovereign, there ſolemnly to confirm the ſame, and legally to paſs the Acts before mentioned, and to give and receive as well ſatisfaction in all the remaining particulars, as likewiſe ſuch other pledges of mutual Love, Truſt and Confidence, as ſhall moſt concern the good of Him and His People: Upon which happy Agreement His Majeſty will diſpatch His Directions to the Prince His Son to return immediately to Him, and will undertake for his ready Obedience thereunto.

Holdenby, May 12. 1647.

The Londoners *Petition and Engagement.*

MDCXLVII. *Jul.* *To the right Honorable the Lord Maior, the right Worſhipful the Aldermen and Commons of the City of* London *in the Common or* Guild-Hall *of the City of* London *aſſembled, The humble* Petition *of the Citizens, Commanders, Officers and Souldiers of the Trained Bands and Auxiliaries, the Young men and Apprentices of the Cities of* London *and* Weſtminſter, *Sea-Commanders, Seamen and Water-men, together with divers other Commanders, Officers and Souldiers within the Line of Communication and Pariſhes mentioned in the weekly Bills of Mortality,*

Sheweth,

THat your Petitioners (taking into ſerious conſideration how Religion, His Majeſties Honour and Safety, the Privileges of Parliament and Liberties of the Subject are at preſent greatly endangered and like to be deſtroyed; and alſo ſadly weighing with our ſelves what means might likely prove the moſt effectual to procure a firm and laſting Peace, without a further effuſion of Chriſtian *Engliſh* blood) have therefore entred into a ſolemn Engagement, which is hereunto annexed, and do humbly and earneſtly deſire that this whole City may joyn together by all lawful and poſſible means, as one man, in hearty endeavours for His Majeſties preſent coming up to His two Houſes of Parliament with Honour, Safety and Freedom, and that without the nearer approach of the Army, there to confirm ſuch things as He hath granted in His Meſſage of the 12. of *May* laſt, in anſwer to the Propoſitions of both Kingdoms; and that by a Perſonal Treaty with His two Houſes of Parliament, and the Commiſſioners of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, ſuch things as are yet in difference may be ſpeedily ſettled, and a firm and laſting Peace eſtabliſhed. All which we deſire may be preſented to both Houſes of Parliament from this Honourable Aſſembly.

And we ſhall pray, &c.

A ſolemn Engagement *of the Citizens, Commanders, Officers and Souldiers of the Trained Bands and Auxiliaries, the Young men and Apprentices of the Cities of* London *and* Weſtminſter, *Sea-Commanders, Sea-men and Water-men, together with divers other Commanders, Officers and Souldiers within the Line of Communication, and Pariſhes mentioned in the weekly Bill of Mortality.*

WHereas we have entred into a ſolemn League and Covenant for Reformation and Defence of Religion, the Honour and Happineſs of the King, and the Peace and Safety of the three Kingdoms of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, all which we do evidently perceive not only to be endangered, but ready to be deſtroyed: we do therefore in purſuance of our ſaid Covenant, Oath of Allegeance, Oath of every Free-man of the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, and Proteſtations, ſolemnly engage our ſelves, and vow unto Almighty God, that we will to the utmoſt of our power cordially endeavour that His Majeſty may ſpeedily come to His two Houſes of Parliament, with Honour, Safety and Freedom, (and that without the nearer approach of the Army,) there to confirm ſuch things as He hath granted in His Meſſage of the 12. of *May* laſt, in Anſwer to the Propoſitions of both Kingdoms; and that by a Perſonal Treaty with His two Houſes of Parliament, and the Commiſſioners of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, ſuch things as are yet in difference may be ſpeedily ſettled, and a firm and laſting Peace eſtabliſhed. For effecting whereof we do proteſt

teſt and re-oblige our ſelves, as in the preſence of God the ſearcher of all hearts, with our Lives and Fortunes to endeavour, what in us lies, to preſerve and defend His Majeſties Royal Perſon and Authority, the Privileges of Parliament and Liberties of the Subject, in their ful and conſtant freedom, the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, Lines of Communication, and Pariſhes mentioned in the weekly Bills of Mortality, and all others that ſhall adhere with us to the ſaid Covenant, Oath of Allegeance, Oath of every Free-man of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, and Proteſtation: Nor ſhall we by any means admit, ſuffer or endure any kind of Neutrality in this Common Cauſe of God, the King and Kingdom, as we do expect the Bleſſing of Almighty God, whoſe help we crave, and wholly devolve our ſelves upon, in this our Undertaking.

A Declaration of the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament.

Die Sabbathi, 24. *Julii*, 1647.

THE Lords and Commons having ſeen a printed Paper intituled, *A Petition to the right Honorable the Lord Maior, the right Worſhipful the Aldermen and Commons of the City of* London *in the Common or* Guild-Hall *of the City of* London *aſſembled*, under the name of divers *Citizens, Commanders, Officers & Souldiers of the Trained Bands, Auxiliaries* & others, *Young men & Apprentices, Sea-Commanders, Sea-men and Water-men*, together with a dangerous *Engagement* of the ſame perſons by Oath and Vow, concerning the King's preſent coming to the Parliament upon Terms farre different from thoſe which both Houſes, after mature deliberation, have declared to be neceſſary for the good and ſafety of this Kingdom, caſting reflexions upon the Proceedings both of the Parliament and Army, and tending to the imbroiling the Kingdom in a new Warre; and the ſaid Lords and Commons taking notice of great endeavours uſed by divers ill-affected perſons to procure Subſcriptions thereunto, whereby well-meaning people may be miſled; do therefore declare, That whoſoever, after publication or notice hereof, ſhall proceed in, or promote, or ſet his name to, or give conſent that his name be ſet unto, or any way joyn in the ſaid Engagement, ſhall be deemed and adjudged guilty of High Treaſon, and ſhall forfeit Life and Eſtate as in caſes of High Treaſon accuſtomed.

H. Elſynge, Cler. Par. Dom. Com.

Die Lunæ, 26. *Julii*, 1647.

BE it Ordained by the Lords and Commons in Parliament aſſembled, That the Declaration of the twenty fourth of this inſtant *July*, which declares all thoſe Traitors, and ſo to forfeit Life and Eſtate, who ſhall after publication thereof act thereupon to get Subſcriptions, be Null and Void, any thing in the ſaid Declaration to the contrary notwithſtanding.

Joh. Browne, Cler. Par.
Hen. Elſynge, Cler. Par. Dom. Com.

Die

Die Lunæ, 26. Julii, 1647.

REſolved upon the Queſtion,
That His Majeſty ſhall come to *London.*

Die Saturni, 31. Julii, 1647.

Reſolved upon the Queſtion,
That the King's Majeſty come to one of His Houſes nearer *London*, that Propoſitions may be ſent, and Addreſſe made to His Majeſty (from both Houſes of the Parliament of *England*, and the Kingdom of *Scotland*) for Peace.

MDCXLVII. *His* MAJESTIES *Declaration and Profeſſion, diſavowing any Preparations in Him to levy Warre againſt His two Houſes of Parliament.*

CHARLES R.

THere having been many Rumors ſpred and Informations given, which may have induced many to believe that We intend to make Warre againſt Our Parliament:

We Profeſs before God, and Declare to all the World, That We alwaies have, and do abhorre all ſuch Deſignes; and deſire all Our Nobility and Commoners who are here upon the place to declare, Whether they have not been Witneſſes of Our frequent and earneſt Declarations and Profeſſions to this purpoſe; whether they ſee any colour of Preparations or Counſels that might reaſonably beget a belief of any ſuch Deſign; and whether they be not fully perſwaded that We have no ſuch Intention, but that all Our Endeavours (according to Our many Profeſſions) tend to the firm and conſtant ſettlement of the true Proteſtant Religion, the juſt Privileges of Parliaments, the Liberty of the Subject, the Law, Peace, and Proſperity of this Kingdom.

The Heads of the Propoſals *agreed upon by his Excellency Sir* THOMAS FAIRFAX, *and the Councel of the Army, to be tendred to the Commiſſioners of Parliament reſiding with the Army, and with them to be treated on by the Commiſſioners of the Army.*

MDCXLVII. *Aug.* 1.

Containing the particulars of their Deſires in purſuance of their former Declarations and Papers, in order to the clearing and ſecuring of the Rights and Liberties of the Kingdom, and the ſettling a juſt and laſting Peace.

To which are added ſome further particular Deſires (for the removing and redreſſing of divers preſent preſſing Grievances) being alſo comprized in, or in neceſſary purſuance of their former Repreſentations and Papers appointed to be Treated upon.

I. THat (the things hereafter propoſed being provided for by this Parliament) a certain period may (by Act of Parliament) be ſet for the ending of this Parliament, (ſuch period to be within a year at moſt;) and in the ſame Act proviſion to be made for the ſucceſſion and conſtitution of Parliaments in future as followeth.

1. That Parliaments may *Biennially* be called, and meet at a certain day, with ſuch proviſion for the certainty thereof as in the late Act was made for *Triennial* Parliaments, and what further other proviſion ſhall be found needful by the Parliament to reduce it to more certainty: And upon the paſſing of this, the ſaid Act for *Triennial* Parliaments to be repealed.

2. Each *Biennial* Parliament to ſit 120. days certain (unleſs adjourned or diſſolved ſooner by their own Conſent;) afterwards to be adjournable or diſſolvable by the King: and no Parliament to ſit paſt 240. days from their firſt meeting, or ſome other limited number of days now to be agreed on; upon the expiration whereof, each Parliament to diſſolve of courſe, if not otherwiſe diſſolved ſooner.

3. The King, upon advice of the Councel of State, in the Intervalls betwixt *Biennial* Parliaments, to call a Parliament extraordinary; provided it meet above ſeventy days before the next Biennial day, and be diſſolved at leaſt ſixty dayes before the ſame, ſo as the courſe of Biennial Elections may never be interrupted.

4. That this Parliament, and each ſucceeding Biennial Parliament, at or before adjournment or diſſolution thereof, may appoint Committees to continue during the Intervall, for ſuch purpoſes as are in any of theſe Propoſals referr'd to ſuch Committees.

5. That the Elections of the Commons for ſucceeding Parliaments may be diſtributed to all Counties, or other parts or diviſions of the Kingdom, according to ſome rule of equality or proportion, ſo as all Counties may have a number of Parliament-Members allowed to their choice proportionable to the reſpective Rates they bear in the common Charges and burthens of the Kingdom, according to ſome other rule of equality or proportion, to render the Houſe of Commons (as near as may be) an equall *Repreſentative* of the whole; and in order thereunto, that a preſent conſideration be had to take off the Elections of Burgeſſes for poor, decayed, or inconſiderable Towns, and to give ſome preſent addition to the number of Parliament-

Parliament-Members for great Counties, that have now leſs then their due proportion, to bring all (at preſent) as near as may be to ſuch a rule of proportion as aforeſaid.

6. That effectuall proviſion be made for future freedom of Elections, and certainty of due Returns.

7. That the Houſe of Commons alone have the power from time to time to ſet down further Orders and Rules for the Ends expreſſed in the two laſt preceding Articles, ſo as to reduce the Elections of Members for that Houſe to more and more perfection of equality in the diſtribution, freedom in the Election, order in the proceeding thereto, and certainty in the Returns; which Orders and Rules (in that caſe) to be as Laws.

8. That there be a liberty for entering Diſſents in the Houſe of Commons, with proviſion, that no Member be cenſurable for ought ſaid or voted in the Houſe, further then to excluſion from that Truſt, and that onely by the judgement of the Houſe it ſelf.

9. That the Judiciall Power, or power of finall Judgement in the Lords and Commons, (and their power of Expoſition and Application of Law, without further Appeal) may be cleared: and that no Officer of Juſtice, Miniſter of State, or other perſon adjudged by them, may be capable of Protection or Pardon from the King, without their Advice and Conſent.

10. That the Right and Liberty of the Commons of *England* may be cleared and vindicated as to a due Exemption from any Judgement, Triall, or other Proceeding againſt them by the Houſe of Peers, without the concurring Judgement of the Houſe of Commons: as alſo from any other Judgement, Sentence, or Proceeding againſt them, other then by their Equalls, or according to the Law of the Land.

11. The ſame Act to provide, that Grand-Jury-men may be choſen by and for ſeverall parts or diviſions of each County reſpectively, in ſome equall way (and not remain, as now, at the diſcretion of an Under-ſheriff to be put on or off:) and that ſuch Grand-Jury-men for their reſpective Counties may at each Aſſize preſent the names of perſons to be made Juſtices of Peace, from time to time, as the Country hath need for any to be added to the Commiſſion, and at the Summer Aſſize to preſent the names of three perſons, out of whom the King may prick one to be Sheriff for the next year.

II. For the future ſecurity to Parliaments, and the *Militia* in generall in order thereunto, that it be provided by Act of Parliament,

1. That the power of the *Militia* by Sea and Land, during the ſpace of ten years next enſuing, ſhall be ordered and diſpoſed by the Lords and Commons aſſembled and to be aſſembled in the Parliament or Parliaments of *England*, or by ſuch perſons as they ſhall nominate and appoint for that purpoſe from time to time during the ſaid ſpace.

2. That the ſaid Power ſhall not be ordered, diſpoſed or exerciſed by the Kings Majeſty that now is, or by any Perſon or Perſons by any Authority derived from Him, during the ſaid ſpace, or at any time hereafter by His ſaid Majeſty, without the Advice and Conſent of the ſaid Lords and Commons, or of ſuch Committees or Councell in the Intervalls of Parliament as they ſhall appoint.

3. That during the ſame ſpace of ten years, the ſaid Lords and Commons may by Bill or Ordinance raiſe and diſpoſe of what Moneys and for what Forces they ſhall from time to time find neceſſary, as alſo for payment of the Publick Debts and Damages, and for all other the Publick uſes of the Kingdom.

4. And to the end the temporary Security intended by the three particulars laſt precedent may be the better aſſured, it may therefore be provided,

That no Subjects that have been in Hoſtility againſt the Parliament in the late Warre, ſhall be capable of bearing any Office of Power or publick Truſt in the Commonwealth during the ſpace of five years, without conſent of Parliament or of the Councel of State; or to ſit as Members or Aſſiſtants of either Houſe of Parliament, until the ſecond Bienniall Parliament be paſt.

III. For

III. For the preſent form of diſpoſing the *Militia* in order to the Peace and Safety of this Kingdom and the Service of *Ireland*,

1. That there be Commiſſioners for the Admiralty, a Vice-Admiral and Rere-Admiral, now to be agreed on, with power for the forming, regulating, appointing of Officers, and providing for the Navy, and for ordering the ſame to and in the ordinary Service of the Kingdom: and that there be a ſufficient proviſion and eſtabliſhment for Pay and maintenance thereof.

2. That there be a General for Command of the Land-Forces that are to be in pay both in *England*, *Ireland* and *Wales*, both for Field and Garriſon.

3. That there be Commiſſioners in the ſeveral Counties for the ſtanding *Militia* of the reſpective Counties (conſiſting of Trained Bands and Auxiliaries not in pay) with power for the proportioning, forming, regulating, training and diſciplining of them.

4. That there be a Councel of State, with power to ſuperintend and direct the ſeveral and particular powers of the *Militia* laſt mentioned, for the Peace and ſafety of this Kingdom and of *Ireland*.

5. That the ſame Councel may have power, as the Kings Privy Councel, for and in all forein Negotiations; provided, That the making of Warre or Peace with any other Kingdom or State ſhall not be without the Advice and Conſent of Parliament.

6. That the ſaid power of the Councel of State be put into the hands of truſty and able perſons, now to be agreed on, and the ſame perſons to continue in that power (*ſi bene ſe geſſerint*) for a certain Term not exceeding ſeven years.

7. That there be a ſufficient eſtabliſhment now provided for the Salary Forces both in *England* and *Ireland*, the eſtabliſhment to continue untill two Moneths after the meeting of the firſt Biennial Parliament.

IV. That an Act be paſſed for diſpoſing the great Offices for ten years by the Lords and Commons in Parliament, or by ſuch Committees as they ſhall appoint for that purpoſe in the Intervalls, (with ſubmiſſion to the approbation of the next Parliament;) and after ten years, they to nominate three, and the King out of that number to appoint one for the ſucceſſion, upon any vacancy.

V. That an Act be paſſed for reſtraining of any Peers made ſince the 21. day of *May*, 1642. or to be hereafter made, from having any power to ſit or vote in Parliament, without Conſent of both Houſes.

VI. That an Act be paſſed for recalling and making void all Declarations and other Proceedings againſt the Parliament, or againſt any that have acted by or under their Authority in the late Warre, or in relation to it: and that the Ordinances for Indemnity may be confirmed.

VII. That an Act be paſſed for making void all Grants, &c. under the Great Seal that was conveyed away from the Parliament, ſince the time that it was ſo conveyed away (except as in the Parliaments Propoſitions) and for making thoſe valid that have been or ſhall be paſſed under the Great Seal made by the Authority of both Houſes of Parliament.

VIII. That an Act be paſſed for Confirmation of the Treaties between the two Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*, , and for appointing Conſervators of the Peace betwixt them.

IX. That the Ordinance for taking away the Court of Wards and Liveries be confirmed by Act of Parliament: Provided His Majeſties Revenue be not damnified therein, nor thoſe that laſt held Offices in the ſame left without reparation ſome other way.

X. An Act to declare void the Ceſſation of *Ireland*, &c. and to leave the proſecution of that Warre to the Lords and Commons in the Parliament of *England*.

XI. An Act to be paſſed to take away all Coercive power, authority and Juriſdiction of Biſhops and all other Eccleſiaſtical Officers whatſoever, extending to any Civil Penalties upon any; and to repeal all Laws whereby the Civil Magiſtracy hath been or is bound, upon any Eccleſiaſtical Cenſure, to proceed (*ex officio*) unto any Civil Penalties againſt any perſons ſo cenſured.

XII. That there be a repeal of all Acts, or Clauſes in any Act, enjoyning the uſe of the Book of Common Prayer, and impoſing any penalties for neglect thereof; as alſo of all Acts, or Clauſes in any Act, impoſing any penalty for not coming to Church, or for Meetings elſewhere for Prayer or other Religious Duties, exerciſes or ordinances; and ſome other proviſion to be made for diſcovering of Papiſts and Popiſh Recuſants, and for diſabling of them, and of all Jeſuites or Prieſts, from diſturbing the State.

XIII. That the taking of the Covenant be not inforced upon any, nor any penalties impoſed upon the Refuſers, whereby men might be conſtrained to take it againſt their Judgements or Conſciences, but all Orders or Ordinances tending to that purpoſe to be repealed.

XIV. That (the things here before propoſed being provided, for ſettling and ſecuring the Rights, Liberties, Peace and Safety of the Kingdom,) His Majeſties Perſon, His Queen and Royal Iſſue, may be reſtored to a Condition of Safety, Honour and Freedom in this Nation, without diminution to their Perſonal Rights, or further Limitation to the exerciſe of the Regal Power then according to the particulars aforegoing.

XV. For the matter of Compoſitions,

1. That a leſs number out of the Perſons excepted in the two firſt Qualifications, (not exceeding five for the *Engliſh*,) being nominated particularly by the Parliament, who (together with the perſons in the *Iriſh* Rebellion, included in the third Qualification) may be reſerved to the further Judgement of the Parliament, as they ſhall find cauſe, all other excepted perſons may be remitted from the exception, and admitted to Compoſition.

2. That the Rates for all future Compoſitions may be leſſened and limited, not to exceed the ſeveral proportions hereafter expreſt, reſpectively: That is to ſay,

1. For all perſons formerly excepted, not above a third part.

2. For the late Members of Parliament, under the firſt Branch of the fourth Qualification in the Propoſitions, a fourth part.

3. For other Members of Parliament, in the ſecond and third Branches of the ſame Qualification, a ſixth part.

4. For the perſons nominated in the ſaid fourth Qualification and thoſe included in the tenth Qualification, an eighth part.

5. For all others included in the ſixth Qualification, a tenth part.

And that real Debts, either upon Record or proved by Witneſſes, be conſidered and abated in the valuation of their Eſtates in all the caſes aforeſaid.

3. That thoſe who ſhall hereafter come to Compound, may not have the Covenant put upon them as a Condition without which they may not Compound; but in caſe they ſhall not willingly take it, they may paſs their Compoſitions without it.

4. That the perſons and Eſtates of all *Engliſh*, not worth two hundred pounds in Lands or Goods, be at liberty and diſcharged: and that the Kings menial Servants, that never took up Armes, but only attended His Perſon according to their Offices, may be freed from Compoſition, or to pay (at moſt) but the proportion of one years Revenue, or a Twentieth part.

5. That in order to the making and perfecting of Compoſitions at the Rates aforeſaid, the Rents, Revenues, and other Dues and Profits of all ſequeſtred Eſtates whatſoever, (except the Eſtates of ſuch perſons who ſhall be continued under exception as before) be from henceforth ſuſpended and detained in the hands of the reſpective Tenants, Occupants and others from whom they are due, for the ſpace of ſix moneths following.

6. That the Faith of the Army, or other Forces of the Parliament, given in Articles upon Surrenders to any of the King's Party, may be fully made good; and where any breach thereof ſhall appear to have been made, full reparation and ſatisfaction may be given to the parties injured, and the perſons offending (being found out) may be compelled thereto.

XVI. That there may be a general Act of Oblivion to extend unto all (except the

the perſons to be continued in exception as before) to abſolve from all Treſpaſſes, Miſdemeanours, &c. done in proſecution of the Warre, and from all trouble or prejudice for or concerning the ſame (after their Compoſitions paſt) and to reſtore them to all Privileges, &c. belonging to other Subjects; provided, as in the fourth particular under the ſecond general Head aforegoing, concerning Security.

And whereas there have been of late ſtrong endeavours and practices of a factious and deſperate party to imbroil this Kingdom in a new Warre, and for that purpoſe to induce the King, the Queen and Prince, to declare for the ſaid Party, and alſo to excite and ſtirre up all thoſe of the King's late Party to appear and ingage for the ſame, which attempts and deſignes many of the King's Party (out of their deſires to avoid further Miſery to the Kingdom) have contributed their endeavours to prevent, (as for divers of them we have had particular Aſſurance;) we do therefore deſire that ſuch of the King's Party who ſhall appear to have expreſſed, and ſhall hereafter expreſs, that way their good Affections to the Peace and Welfare of the Kingdom, and to hinder the imbroiling of the ſame in a new Warre, may be freed and exempted from Compoſitions, or to pay but one years Revenue, or a Twentieth part.

Theſe Particulars aforegoing are the Heads of ſuch Propoſals as we have agreed on, to tend in order to the ſettling of the Peace of this Kingdom, leaving the Terms of Peace for the Kingdom of *Scotland* to ſtand as in the late Propoſitions of both Kingdoms, until that Kingdom ſhall agree to any alteration.

Next to the Propoſals aforeſaid for the preſent ſettling of a Peace, we ſhall deſire that no time may be loſt by the Parliament for diſpatch of other things tending to the welfare, eaſe and juſt ſatisfaction of the Kingdom; and in ſpeciall manner,

I. That the juſt and neceſſary Liberty of the People, to repreſent their Grievances and deſires by way of Petition, may be cleared and vindicated, according to the fifth Head in the late Repreſentation or Declaration of the Army ſent from *St Albans*. [Repreſentation of the Army *Jun.* 14. 1647.]

II. That (in purſuance of the ſame Head of the ſaid Declaration) the common Grievances of the People may be ſpeedily conſidered of, and effectually redreſſed; and in particular,

1. That the Exciſe may be taken off from ſuch Commodities whereon the poor people of the Land do ordinarily live; and a certain time to be limited for taking off the whole.

2. That the oppreſſions and incroachments of Foreſt Laws may be prevented for future.

3. All Monopolies (old or new) and Reſtraints to the freedom of Trade to be taken off.

4. That a courſe may be taken and Commiſſioners appointed to remedy and rectifie the inequality of Rates lying upon ſeveral Counties, and ſeveral parts of each County, in reſpect of others, and to ſettle the proportions for land-rates to more equality throughout the Kingdom; in order to which we ſhall offer ſome further particulars, which we hope may be uſefull.

5. The preſent unequal, troubleſome and contentious way of Miniſters maintenance by Tithes to be conſidered of, and ſome Remedy applied.

6. That the rules and courſe of Law and the Officers of it may be ſo reduced and reformed, as that all Suits and queſtions of Right may be more clear and certain in the iſſues, and not ſo tedious or chargeable in the proceedings as now; in order to which we ſhall offer ſome further particulars hereafter.

7. That Priſoners for Debt or other * Creditors (who have Eſtates to diſcharge them) may not by imbracing Impriſonment or any other wayes have advantage to defraud their Creditors, but that the Eſtates of all men may be ſome way made liable to their Debts (as well as Tradesmen are by Commiſſions of Bankrupt) whether they be impriſoned for it or not: and that ſuch Priſoners for Debt

who have not wherewith to pay, or at leaſt do yield up what they have to their Creditors, may be freed from Impriſonment, or ſome way provided for, ſo as neither they nor their Families may periſh by their Impriſonments.

8. Some proviſion to be made, that none may be compelled by penalties or otherwiſe to anſwer unto Queſtions tending to the accuſing of themſelves or their neareſt Relations in Criminal cauſes; and no mans life to be taken away under two Witneſſes.

9. That conſideration may be had of all Statutes, and the Laws or Cuſtomes of Corporations, impoſing any Oaths, either to repeal, or elſe to qualifie and provide againſt the ſame ſo farre as they may extend or be conſtrued to the moleſtation or enſnaring of religious and peaceable people, merely for non-conformity in Religion.

III. That, according to the ſixth Head in the Declaration of the Army, the large powers given to Committees or Deputy-Lieutenants during the late times of Warre and Diſtraction may be ſpeedily taken into conſideration, to be recalled and made void; and that ſuch powers of that nature as ſhall appear neceſſary to be continued, may be put into a regulated way, and left to as little Arbitrarineſs as the nature and neceſſity of the things (wherein they are converſant) will bear.

IV. That (according to the ſeventh Head in the ſaid Declaration) an effectual courſe may be taken, that the Kingdom may be righted and ſatisfied in point of Accounts for the vaſt ſummes that have been levied.

V. That proviſion may be made for payment of Arrears to the Army, and the reſt of the Souldiers of the Kingdom who have concurred with the Army in the late deſires and proceedings thereof: and in the next place, for payment of the publick Debts and Damages of the Kingdom; and that to be performed firſt to ſuch perſons whoſe Debts or Damages (upon the publick Account) are great, and their Eſtates ſmall, ſo as they are thereby reduced to a difficulty of ſubſiſtence. In order to all which, and to the fourth particular laſt preceding, we ſhall ſpeedily offer ſome farther particulars (in the nature of Rules) which we hope will be of good uſe towards publick ſatisfaction.

Auguſt 1. 1647.

Signed by the appointment of his Excellency Sir *Thomas Fairfax* and the Councel of Warre.

Jo. Ruſhworth, Secret.

Propoſitions *preſented to His* MAJESTY *at* Hampton-Court, *upon Tueſday the ſeventh of* September 1647. *by the Earls of* Pembroke *and* Lauderdale, *Sir* Charles Erskin, *Sir* John Holland, Sr John Cooke, Sr James Harrington, *M^r^* Richard Browne, *M^r^* Hugh Kenedy, *& M^r^* Robert Berkley, *in the names of the Parliament of* England, *and in behalf of the Kingdom of* Scotland.

May it pleaſe Your Majeſty,

WE the Lords and Commons aſſembled in the Parliament of *England*, in the name and on the behalf of the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, and the Commiſsioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*, in the name and on the behalf of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, do humbly preſent unto Your Majeſty the humble Deſires and Propoſitions for a ſafe and well-grounded Peace, agreed upon by the Parliaments

Parliaments of both Kingdoms respectively; unto which We do pray Your Majesties assent; and that they, and all such Bills as shall be tendred to Your Majesty in pursuance of them or any of them, may be established and Enacted for Statutes and Acts of Parliament, by Your Majesties Royal Assent in the Parliaments of both Kingdoms respectively.

[*Heads of the Propositions presented to the Kings Majesty, for a safe and well-grounded Peace.*]

[The Propositions being the same with those at *New-Castle*, we have only repeated the heads, as we found them.]

1. *His Majesty to call in His Declarations and Proclamations against the Parliaments of both Kingdoms.*
2. *His Majesty to sign the Covenant.*
3. *To pass a Bill for abolishing Bishops.*
[4. *To pass a Bill for sale of Bishops Lands.*]
5. *To confirm the sitting of the Assembly.*
6. *Religion to be reformed as the Houses agree.*
7. *Such Uniformity of Religion to be passed in an Act.*
8. *An Act passed against Popish Recusants.*
9. *For education of the Children of Papists.*
10. *For laying Penalties upon Papists.*
11. *An Act for prevention of Popish practices.*

[This is part of the third, in the Propositions.]

And the like for the Kingdom of Scotland.

12. *For the Royal Assent to Acts for the Lords day, for Preaching, against Innovations, regulating Colleges, and for publick Debts and Damages. The like for* Scotland.
13. *To pass the settling of the* Militia *and Navy.*
14. *To null the old Great Seal.*
15. *For settling of Conservators for the Peace of the Kingdoms.*
16. *The joynt Declarations, and the Qualifications, against Malignants.*
17. *An Act to be passed to declare and make void the Cessation of* Ireland, *and all Treaties and Conclusions of Peace with the* Irish *Rebells.*
18. *The settling of the* Militia *of the City of* London.
19. *The Great Seal with the Commissioners of Parliament, and all Acts by it, to be made good.*

[14. To null all Honors conferred since 1642. by the old Seal.]

His MAJESTIES *Answer to the Propositions of both Houses.*
Hampton-Court, Sept. 9. 1647.

For the Speaker of the Lords House *pro tempore*, to be communicated to both Houses of the Parliament of *England*, and the Commissioners of the Kingdom of *Scotland*.

CHARLES R.

HIS Majesty cannot chuse but be passionately sensible (as He believes all His good Subjects are) of the late great Distractions, and still languishing and unsettled State, of this Kingdom; and He calls God to Witness, and is willing to give testimony to all the World of His readiness to contribute His ut-

most Endeavours for restoring it to a happy and flourishing Condition.

His Majesty having perused the Propositions now brought to Him, findes them the same in effect which were offered to Him at *Newcastle*: To some of which as He could not then consent without violation of His Conscience and Honour; so neither can He agree to others now, conceiving them in many respects more disagreeable to the present condition of Affairs then when they were formerly presented unto Him, as being destructive to the main principal Interests of the Army, and of all those whose Affections concurre with them. And His Majesty having seen the Propositions of the Army to the Commissioners from His two Houses residing with them, and with them to be Treated on, in order to the clearing and securing the Rights and Liberties of the Kingdom, and the settling of a just and lasting Peace; to which Propositions as He conceives His two Houses not to be strangers, so He believes they will think, with Him, that they much more conduce to the satisfaction of all Interests, and may be a fitter foundation for a lasting Peace then the Propositions which at this time are tendered unto Him: He therefore propounds (as the best way in His Judgement in order to a Peace) that His two Houses would instantly take into consideration those Propositions, upon which there may be a Personal Treaty with His Majesty, and upon such other Propositions as His Majesty shall make; hoping that the said Propositions may be so moderated in the said Treaty, as to render them the more capable of His Majesties full Concession; wherein He resolves to give full satisfaction unto His People for whatsoever shall concern the settling of the Protestant Profession, with Liberty to tender Consciences, and the securing of the Laws, Liberties and Properties of all His Subjects, and the just Privileges of Parliament for the future. And likewise, by His present deportment in this Treaty, He will make the World clearly judge of His Intentions in matter of future Government. In which Treaty His Majesty will be well pleased (if it be thought fit) that Commissioners from the Army (whose the Propositions are) may likewise be admitted.

His Majesty therefore conjures His two Houses of Parliament, by the

the Duty they owe to God and His Majeſty their King, and by the bowels of Compaſsion they have to their fellow-Subjects, both for the relief of their preſent Sufferings and to prevent future Miſeries, that they will forthwith accept of this His Majeſties Offer, whereby the joyful news of Peace may be reſtored to this diſtreſſed Kingdom. And for what concerns the Kingdom of *Scotland* mentioned in the Propoſitions, His Majeſty will very willingly Treat upon thoſe particulars with the *Scotch* Commiſsioners; and doubts not but to give reaſonable ſatisfaction to that His Kingdom.

Given at *Hampton-Court*, the ninth of *September*, 1647.

His MAJESTIES *Meſſage to both Houſes, left by Him on His Table at* Hampton-Court, Nov. 11. 1647.

CHARLES R.

LIberty being that which in all Times hath been, but eſpecially now is, the common Theme and Deſire of all men; common Reaſon ſhews, That *Kings* leſs then any ſhould endure *Captivity*. And yet I call God and the World to Witneſs, with what Patience I have endured a tedious Reſtraint; which, ſo long as I had any hopes that this ſort of My Suffering might conduce to the Peace of My Kingdoms, or the hindring of more effuſion of Blood, I did willingly undergoe: But now finding by too certain proofs, that this My continued Patience would not onely turn to My Perſonal Ruine, but likewiſe be of much more prejudice then furtherance to the Publick Good, I thought I was bound, as well by Natural as Political Obligations, to ſeek my Safety, by Retiring My ſelf for ſome time from the publick View both of My Friends and Enemies. And I appeal to all indifferent men to judge, if I have not juſt cauſe to free My ſelf from the hands of thoſe who change their Principles with their Condition, and who are not aſhamed openly to intend the Deſtruction of the Nobility by taking away their Negative Voice, and with whom the Levellers Doctrine is rather countenanced then puniſhed: and as for their intentions to My Perſon, their changing and putting more

ſtrict Guards upon Me, with the diſcharging moſt of all thoſe Servants of Mine who formerly they willingly admitted to wait upon Me, does ſufficiently declare. Nor would I have this My Retirement miſinterpreted; for I ſhall earneſtly and unceſſantly endeavour the ſettling of a ſafe and well-grounded Peace whereever I am or ſhall be, and that (as much as may be) without the effuſion of more Chriſtian Blood: for which how many times have I deſired, preſt to be heard, and yet no eare given to Me? And can any Reaſonable man think that (according to the ordinary courſe of affairs) there can be a ſettled Peace without it; or that God will bleſs thoſe who refuſe to hear their own King? Surely no. Nay, I muſt further adde, that (beſides what concerns My Self) unleſs all other chief Intereſts have not only a hearing, but likewiſe juſt ſatisfaction given unto them, (to wit, the Presbyterians, Independents, Army, thoſe who have adhered to Me, and even the *Scots*) I ſay there cannot (I ſpeak not of Miracles, it being, in My Opinion, a ſinful preſumption in ſuch caſes to expect or truſt to them) be a ſafe or laſting Peace. Now, as I cannot deny but My Perſonal Security is the urgent cauſe of this My Retirement; ſo I take God to witneſs, that the Publick Peace is no leſs before My Eyes: and I can find no better way to expreſs this My Profeſſion, (I know not what a wiſer man may doe) then by deſiring and urging that all chief Intereſts may be heard, to the end each may have juſt Satisfaction. As for example, the Army, (for the reſt, though neceſſary, yet, I ſuppoſe, are not difficult to content) ought (in My Judgement) to enjoy the Liberty of their Conſciences, have an Act of Oblivion or Indemnity, (which ſhould extend to all the reſt of My Subjects) and that all their Arrears ſhould be ſpeedily and duely paid; which I will undertake to doe, ſo I may be heard, and that I be not hindred from uſing ſuch Lawful and honeſt means as I ſhall chuſe. To conclude, let Me be heard with Freedom, Honour and Safety, and I ſhall inſtantly break through this Cloud of Retirement, and ſhew My ſelf really to be *Pater Patriæ*.

Hampton-Court, 11. *Novemb.* 1647.

His

His MAJESTIES *Meſſage to both Houſes, with Propoſitions,* Novemb. 17. 1647.

For the Speaker of the Lords Houſe *pro tempore*, to be communicated to the Lords and Commons in the Parliament of *England* at *Weſtminſter*, and the Commiſsioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*.

CHARLES R.

HIS Majeſty is confident that before this time His two Houſes of Parliament have received the Meſſage which He left behind Him at *Hampton-Court* the eleventh of this Moneth, by which they will have underſtood the Reaſons which enforced Him to goe from thence, as likewiſe His conſtant endeavours for the ſettling of a ſafe and well-grounded Peace whereſoever He ſhould be: And being now in a place where He conceives Himſelf to be at much more Freedom and Security then formerly, He thinks it neceſſary (not onely for making good of His own Profeſſions, but alſo for the ſpeedy procuring of a Peace in theſe languiſhing and diſtreſſed Kingdoms) at this time to offer ſuch grounds to His two Houſes for that effect, which upon due examination of all Intereſts may beſt conduce thereunto.

And becauſe Religion is the beſt and chiefeſt foundation of Peace, His Majeſty will begin with that particular.

That for the aboliſhing Arch-biſhops, Biſhops, &c. His Majeſty clearly profeſſeth that He cannot give His conſent thereunto, both in relation as He is a Chriſtian, and a King. For the firſt, He avows that He is ſatisfied in His Judgement, that this Order was placed in the Church by the Apoſtles themſelves, and ever ſince their time hath continued in all Chriſtian Churches throughout the World untill this laſt Century of years; and in this Church, in all times of Change and Reformation, it hath been upheld by the Wiſdom of His Anceſtours, as the great preſerver of Doctrine, Diſcipline and Order in the Service of God. As a King, at His Coronation He hath not onely taken a ſolemn Oath to maintain this Order, but His Majeſty and His Predeceſſors in their confirmations of the Great

Charter

Charter have inſeparably woven the Right of the Church into the Liberties of the reſt of their Subjects. And yet He is willing it be provided, that the particular Biſhops perform the ſeveral Duties of their Callings, both by their perſonal Reſidence and frequent Preachings in their Dioceſes, as alſo that they exerciſe no act of Juriſdiction or Ordination without the conſent of their Presbyters; and will conſent that their Powers in all things be ſo limited that they be not grievous to tender Conſciences. Wherefore ſince His Majeſty is willing to give eaſe to the Conſciences of others, He ſees no reaſon why He alone and thoſe of His Judgement ſhould be preſſed to a violation of theirs. Nor can His Majeſty conſent to the Alienation of Church-Lands, becauſe it cannot be denied to be a ſin of the higheſt Sacrilege; as alſo that it ſubverts the intentions of ſo many pious Donors, who have laid a heavy Curſe upon all ſuch profane violations, which His Majeſty is very unwilling to undergoe: and beſides the matter of Conſcience, His Majeſty believes it to be a prejudice to the Publick good, many of His Subjects having the benefit of renewing Leaſes at much eaſier Rates then if thoſe Poſſeſſions were in the hands of private men: not omitting the diſcouragement which it will be to all Learning and Induſtry, when ſuch eminent rewards ſhall be taken away which now lye open to the Children of meaneſt Perſons. Yet His Majeſty conſidering the great preſent Diſtempers concerning Church-Diſcipline, and that the Presbyterian Government is now in practice, His Majeſty, to eſchew Confuſion as much as may be, and for the ſatisfaction of His two Houſes, is content that the ſaid Government be legally permitted to ſtand in the ſame condition it now is for three years: provided that His Majeſty and thoſe of His Judgement (or any other who cannot in Conſcience ſubmit thereunto) be not obliged to comply with Presbyterial Government, but have free practice of their own Profeſsion without receiving any prejudice thereby; and that a free Conſultation and debate be had with the Divines at *Weſtminſter* (twenty of His Majeſties nomination being added unto them) whereby it may be determined by His Majeſty and the two Houſes how the Church-government after the ſaid time ſhall be ſettled, (or ſooner, if Differences may be agreed) as is moſt agreeable to the Word of God, with full Liberty to all thoſe who ſhall

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differ upon conſcientious grounds from that ſettlement: alwaies provided, that nothing aforeſaid be underſtood to tolerate thoſe of the Popiſh Profeſsion, nor the exempting of any Popiſh Recuſant from the penalties of the Laws, or to tolerate the publick profeſsion of Atheiſme or Blaſphemy, contrary to the Doctrine of the Apoſtles, *Nicene* and *Athanaſian* Creeds, they having been received by and had in reverence of all the Chriſtian Churches, and more particularly by this of *England* ever ſince the Reformation.

Next, the *Militia* being that Right which is inſeparably and undoubtedly inherent in the Crown by the Laws of this Nation, and that which former Parliaments, as likewiſe this, hath acknowledged ſo to be; His Majeſty cannot ſo much wrong that Truſt which the Laws of God and this Land hath annexed to the Crown for the Protection and Security of His People, as to deveſt Himſelf and Succeſſors of the power of the Sword: yet to give an infallible evidence of His deſire to ſecure the performance of ſuch Agreements as ſhall be made in order to a Peace, His Majeſty will conſent to an Act of Parliament, that the whole Power of the *Militia* both by Sea and Land, for and during His whole Reign, ſhall be ordered and diſpoſed by His two Houſes of Parliament, or by ſuch perſons as they ſhall appoint, with Powers limited for ſuppreſsing of Forces within this Kingdom to the diſturbance of the publick Peace, and againſt forein Invaſion; and that they ſhall have Power, during His ſaid Reign, to raiſe moneys for the purpoſes aforeſaid; and that neither His Majeſty that now is, or any other (by any Authority derived onely from Him) ſhall execute any of the ſaid Powers during His Majeſties ſaid Reign, but ſuch as ſhall act by the conſent and approbation of the two Houſes of Parliament. Nevertheleſs His Majeſty intends that all Patents, Commiſsions, and other Acts concerning the *Militia*, be made and acted as formerly; and that after His Majeſties Reign, all the Power of the *Militia* ſhall return entirely to the Crown, as it was in the times of Queen *Elizabeth* and King *James* of bleſſed memory.

After this Head of the *Militia*, the conſideration of the Arrears due to the Army is not improper to follow; for the payment whereof, and the eaſe of His People, His Majeſty is willing to concurre in any thing that can be done without the Violation of His Conſcience

ſcience and Honour. Wherefore if His two Houſes ſhall conſent to remit unto Him ſuch benefit out of Sequeſtrations from *Michaelmas* laſt, and out of Compoſitions that ſhall be made before the concluding of the Peace, and the Arrears of ſuch as have been already made, the aſsiſtance of the Clergy, and the Arrears of ſuch Rents of His own Revenue as His two Houſes ſhall not have received before the concluding of the Peace, His Majeſty will undertake within the ſpace of eighteen Moneths the payment of four hundred thouſand pounds for the ſatisfaction of the Army; and if thoſe means ſhall not be ſufficient, His Majeſty intends to give way to the ſale of Foreſt Lands for that purpoſe, this being the Publick Debt which in His Majeſties Judgement is firſt to be ſatisfied: and for other publick Debts already contracted upon Church-Lands or any other Ingagements, His Majeſty will give His conſent to ſuch Act or Acts for raiſing of moneys for payment thereof as both Houſes ſhall hereafter agree upon, ſo as they be equally laid, whereby His People (already too heavily burthened by theſe late Diſtempers) may have no more Preſſures upon them then this abſolute neceſsity requires.

And for the further ſecuring of all Fears, His Majeſty will conſent, that an Act of Parliament be paſſed for the diſpoſing of the great Offices of State, and naming of Privy-Councellors, for the whole term of His Reign, by the two Houſes of Parliament, their Patents and Commiſsions being taken from His Majeſty, and after to return to the Crown, as is expreſt in the Article of the *Militia*.

For the Court of Wards and Liveries, His Majeſty very well knows the conſequence of taking that away, by turning of all Tenures into common Soccage, as well in point of Revenue to the Crown, as in the Protection of many of His Subjects being Infants: nevertheleſs, if the continuance thereof ſeem grievous to His Subjects, rather then He will fail on His part in giving ſatisfaction, He will conſent to an Act for taking of it away, ſo as a full recompence be ſettled upon His Majeſty and His Succeſſors in perpetuity, and that the Arrears now due be reſerved unto Him towards the payment of the Arrears of the Army.

And that the memory of theſe late Diſtractions may be wholly

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wiped away, His Majeſty will conſent to an Act of Parliament for the ſuppreſsing and making null of all Oaths, Declarations and Proclamations againſt both or either Houſe of Parliament, and of all Indictments and other proceedings againſt any perſons for adhering unto them; and His Majeſty propoſeth, (as the beſt Expedient to take away all ſeeds of future Differences) that there be an Act of Oblivion to extend to all His Subjects.

As for *Ireland*, the Ceſſation there is long ſince determined; but for the future (all other things being fully agreed) His Majeſty will give full ſatisfaction to His Houſes concerning that Kingdom.

And although His Majeſty cannot conſent in Honour and Juſtice to avoid all His own Grants and Acts paſt under His Great Seal ſince the two and twentieth of *May* 1642. or to the confirming of all the Acts and Grants paſſed under that made by the two Houſes; yet His Majeſty is confident that, upon peruſal of particulars, He ſhall give full ſatisfaction to His two Houſes to what may be reaſonably deſired in that particular.

And now His Majeſty conceives that by theſe His Offers (which He is ready to make good upon the ſettlement of a Peace) He hath clearly manifeſted His intentions to give full ſecurity and ſatisfaction to all Intereſts, for what can juſtly be deſired in order to the future Happineſs of His People. And for the perfecting of theſe Conceſsions, as alſo for ſuch other things as may be propoſed by the two Houſes, and for ſuch juſt and reaſonable Demands as His Majeſty ſhall finde neceſſary to propoſe on His part, He earneſtly deſires a Perſonal Treaty at *London* with His two Houſes, in Honour, Freedom and Safety, it being, in His Judgment, the moſt proper, and indeed onely, means to a firm and ſettled Peace, and impoſſible without it to reconcile former, or to avoid future miſunderſtandings.

All theſe things being by Treaty perfected, His Majeſty believes His two Houſes will think it reaſonable that the Propoſals of the Army, concerning the Succeſsion of Parliaments and their due Elections, ſhould be taken into conſideration.

As for what concerns the Kingdom of *Scotland*, His Majeſty will very readily apply Himſelf to give all reaſonable ſatisfaction, when

the Desires of the two Houses of Parliament on their behalf, or of the Commissioners of that Kingdom, or of both joyned together, shall be made known unto Him.

From the Isle of *Wight*, *Novemb.* 17. 1647.

His MAJESTIES *Declaration at the Isle of* Wight, Novemb. 19. 1647.

CHARLES R.

HIS Majesty doth Declare, That He came from *Hampton-Court* for no other cause but for the preservation of His Person, which was (as He apprehended) in such danger, that He could not with Safety continue longer there: That if He could have been there with Safety, He would not have departed thence, nor from the Army: And that He chose this place rather then any other (when He was at liberty to have gone whither He pleased) that He might still continue under the protection of the Army (Colonel *Hammond* being a Member thereof) and that He might have conveniency of free intercourse between Himself and the Parliament for the settlement of a general Peace, to which He professes a very great inclination and desire, and that there shall be nothing wanting on His part that may be reasonably expected from Him.

And His Majesty doth further Declare, That in case these Gentlemen be taken from Him and punished as evil doers, for counselling Him not to goe out of the Kingdom, but rather to come to the place where He now is, for the ends aforesaid, and for their endeavouring accordingly in attending Him hither; He cannot but Himself expect to be dealt with accordingly, His case being the same.

Carisbrooke Castle, *Novemb.* 19. 1647.

His

His MAJESTIES *Letter to Sir* THOMAS FAIRFAX, *from* Carisbrooke, Novemb. 26. 1647.

For Sir *Thomas Fairfax* General.

CHARLES R.

HAving left order at Our remove from *Hampton-Court*, that a Copy ſhould be given you of what We had then written to both Houſes of Parliament touching the cauſes of Our withdrawing, and the continuance of Our Reſolutions to improve every occaſion of the ſatisfaction of all chief Intereſts, that ſo a happy Peace may be ſettled in Our Dominions; in purſuance whereof We have lately ſent a Meſſage to both Houſes from this place, and a Copy of it to you; and being deſirous, in order to that bleſſed Work, to give you Our preſent ſenſe upon the condition of affairs as they now ſtand; We have thought fit to appoint Sir *John Barkley* to repair unto you, and to communicate the ſame to you: and We ſhall be glad by him to receive a mutuall communication of your ſenſe alſo upon this Subject; not doubting but you eaſily perceive by the late Diſorders, into what a depth of Confuſion the Army and the Nation will fall, if timely and effectuall preventions be not uſed. And therefore We have now again propoſed (as the onely Expedient) a Perſonal Treaty, for the compoſing of all Differences, and fulfilling the deſires of all Intereſts; to which if you will imploy your Credit, as you cannot but expect the Bleſsings of God upon your endeavours therein, ſo you may juſtly look for the beſt return that ever Our Condition ſhall be able to make you.

Given at *Carisbrooke* Caſtle, the 26. day of *Novemb.* 1647.

His MAJESTIES *Meſſage to both Houſes, from* Carisbrook *Caſtle,* Dec.6. 1647.

To the Speaker of the Houſe of Peers *pro tempore*, to be communicated to both Houſes of Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, and the Commiſsioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*.

CHARLES R.

HAD His Majeſty thought it poſsible that His two Houſes could be imployed in things of greater concernment then the Peace of this miſerable diſtracted Kingdom, He would have expected with more Patience their leiſure in acknowledging the receit of His Meſſage of the 16. of *November* laſt: But ſince there is not in nature any conſideration preceding to that of Peace, His Majeſties conſtant tenderneſs of the welfare of His Subjects hath ſuch a prevalence with Him, that He cannot forbear the vehement proſecution of a Perſonal Treaty; which is onely ſo much the more deſired by His Majeſty, as it is ſuperior to all other means of Peace. And truly, when His Majeſty conſiders the ſeveral complaints He daily hears from all parts of this Kingdom, that Trade is ſo decayed, all Commodities ſo dear, and Taxes ſo inſupportable, that even natural ſubſiſtence will ſuddainly fail; His Majeſty (to perform the Truſt repoſed in Him) muſt uſe His uttermoſt endeavours for Peace, though He were to have no ſhare in the benefit of it. And hath not His Majeſty done His part for it, by deveſting Himſelf of ſo much Power and Authority as by His laſt Meſſage He hath promiſed to doe upon the concluding of the whole Peace? And hath He met with that acknowledgment from His two Houſes which this great Grace and favour juſtly deſerves? Surely the blame of this great retarding of Peace muſt fall ſomewhere elſe then on His Majeſty.

To conclude, If ye will but conſider in how little time this neceſſary good Work will be done, if you, the two Houſes, will wait on His Majeſty with the ſame Reſolutions for Peace as He will meet you, He no way doubts but that ye will willingly agree to this His Majeſties earneſt deſire of a Perſonal Treaty, and ſpeedily

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deſire His preſence amongſt you: where all things agreed on being digeſted into Acts (till when it is moſt unreaſonable for His Majeſty or His two Houſes to deſire each of other the leaſt Conceſsion) this Kingdom may at laſt enjoy the bleſsing of a long-wiſht-for Peace.

From *Carisbrook* Caſtle, *Decemb.* 6. 1647.

The Four Bills *ſent to the King to the Iſle of* Wight *to be paſſed.* MDCXLVII. *Dec.* 24.

Together with the Propoſitions *ſent unto Him at the ſame time, which upon the paſsing of thoſe Bills were to be Treated upon.*

THE Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament have commanded us to preſent to Your Majeſty theſe Four Bills, which have paſſed the two Houſes of Parliament, thus ſeverally Entituled, viz.

An Act *concerning the Raiſing, ſettling and maintaining Forces by Sea and Land, within the Kingdoms of* England *and* Ireland *and Dominion of* Wales, *the Iſles of* Gernſey *and* Jerſey, *and the Town of* Barwick *upon* Tweed.

An Act *for juſtifying the Proceedings of Parliament in the late Warre, and for declaring all Oaths, Declarations, Proclamations, and other Proceedings againſt it, to be void.*

An Act *concerning Peers lately made, and hereafter to be made.*

An Act *concerning the Adjournments of both Houſes of Parliament.*

Soit baillé aux Seigneurs.
A ceſte Bille les Seigneurs ſont aſſentuz.

An Act concerning the Raiſing, ſettling and maintaining Forces by Sea and by Land, within the Kingdoms of England *and* Ireland *and Dominion of* Wales, *the Iſles of* Gernſey *and* Jerſey, *and the Town of* Barwick *upon* Tweed.

BE it Enacted by the Kings Majeſty, and by the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament, and by Authority of the ſame, That the Lords and Commons in the Parliament of *England* now aſſembled, or hereafter to be aſſembled, ſhall, during the ſpace of Twenty years, from the firſt of *November* 1647. Arm, Train, and Diſcipline, or cauſe to be Armed, Trained and Diſciplined, all the Forces of the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland* and Dominion of *Wales*, the Iſles of *Gernſey* and *Jerſey*, and the Town of *Barwick* upon *Tweed*, already raiſed both for Sea and Land-Service, and ſhall appoint all Commanders and Officers for the ſaid Forces; and ſhall from time to time, during the ſaid ſpace of Twenty years, raiſe, levy, arm, train and diſcipline, or cauſe to be raiſed, levied, armed, trained and diſciplined, any other Forces

for Land and Sea-Service in the Kingdoms, Dominions and Places aforeſaid, as in their judgements they ſhall from time to time, during the ſaid ſpace of twenty years, think fit and appoint; and ſhall from time to time appoint all Commanders and Officers for the ſaid Forces, or remove them, as they ſhall ſee cauſe; and ſhall likewiſe nominate, appoint, place or diſplace, as they ſhall ſee cauſe, all Commanders and Officers within the ſeveral Garriſons, Forts and Places of ſtrength, as ſhall be within the Kingdoms of *England*, *Ireland*, and Dominion of *Wales*, the Iſles of *Gernſey* and *Jerſey*, and Town of *Barwick* upon *Tweed*: and that neither the King, His Heirs or Succeſſors, nor any other but ſuch as ſhall act by the Authority or Approbation of the ſaid Lords and Commons, ſhall, during the ſaid ſpace of twenty years, exerciſe any of the powers aforeſaid. And be it further enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, That Moneys be raiſed and levied for the maintenance and uſe of the ſaid Forces for Land-ſervice, and of the Navy and Forces for Sea-ſervice, in ſuch ſort and by ſuch wayes and means as the ſaid Lords and Commons ſhall from time to time, during the ſaid ſpace of twenty years, think fit and appoint, and not otherwiſe: and that all the ſaid Forces, both for Land and Sea-ſervice, ſo raiſed or levied, or to be raiſed or levied, and alſo the Admiralty and Navy, ſhall from time to time, during the ſaid ſpace of twenty years, be imployed, managed, ordered, diſpoſed or disbanded by the ſaid Lords and Commons, in ſuch ſort and by ſuch wayes and means as they ſhall think fit and appoint, and not otherwiſe. And be it further Enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, That the ſaid Lords and Commons, during the ſaid ſpace of twenty years, ſhall have power, in ſuch ſort and by ſuch wayes and means as they ſhall think fit and appoint, to ſuppreſs all Forces raiſed or to be raiſed without Authority and Conſent of the ſaid Lords and Commons, to the diſturbance of the publick Peace of the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland* and Dominion of *Wales*, the Iſles of *Gernſey* and *Jerſey*, and the Town of *Barwick* upon *Tweed*, or any of them; and alſo to ſuppreſs any Forein Forces who ſhall invade, or endeavour to invade, the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, Dominion of *Wales*, the Iſles of *Gernſey* and *Jerſey*, and the Town of *Barwick* upon *Tweed*, or any of them; and likewiſe to conjoyn ſuch Forces of the Kingdom of *England* with the Forces of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, as the ſaid Lords and Commons ſhall from time to time, during the ſaid ſpace of twenty years, judge fit and neceſſary, to reſiſt all Forein Invaſions, and to ſuppreſs any Forces raiſed or to be raiſed againſt or within either of the ſaid Kingdoms, to the diſturbance of the publick Peace of the ſaid Kingdoms, or any of them, by any Authority under the Great Seal or other Warrant whatſoever, without conſent of the ſaid Lords and Commons of the Parliament of *England*, and the Parliament or the Eſtates of the Parliament of *Scotland*, reſpectively: and that no Forces of either Kingdoms ſhall goe into or continue in the other Kingdom, without the Advice and deſire of the ſaid Lords and Commons of the Parliament of *England* and the Parliament of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, or ſuch as ſhall be by them reſpectively appointed for that purpoſe. And be it Enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, That after the expiration of the ſaid twenty years, neither the King, His Heirs or Succeſſors, or any perſon or perſons by colour or pretence of any Commiſſion, Power, Deputation or Authority to be derived from the King, His Heirs or Succeſſors, or any of them, ſhall raiſe, arm, train, diſcipline, imploy, order, manage, disband, or diſpoſe any of the Forces by Sea and Land of the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, the Dominion of *Wales*, Iſles of *Gernſey* and *Jerſey*, and the Town of *Barwick* upon *Tweed*, or of any of them, nor exerciſe any of the ſaid Powers or Authorities beforementioned and expreſſed to be, during the ſaid ſpace of twenty years, in the ſaid Lords and Commons, nor doe any act or thing concerning the Execution of the ſaid Powers or Authorities, or any of them, without the Conſent of the ſaid Lords and Commons firſt had and obtained. And be it further alſo Enacted, That after the expiration of the ſaid twenty years, in all caſes wherein the ſaid Lords and Commons ſhall declare the Safety of the Kingdom to be concerned, and ſhall thereupon paſs any Bill or Bills for the raiſing, arming, training, diſciplining, imploying, managing, ordering, or diſpoſing of the Forces by Sea or Land of the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, the Dominion of *Wales*, Iſles of

Gernſey

Gernſey and *Jerſey*, and the Town of *Barwick* upon *Tweed*, or of any part of the ſaid Forces, or concerning the ſaid Admiralty or Navy, or concerning the levying of Moneys for the raiſing, maintenance, or uſe of the ſaid Forces for Land-ſervice, or of the Navy and Forces for Sea-ſervice, or of any part of them; and if that the Royal Aſſent to ſuch Bill or Bills ſhall not be given in the Houſe of Peers within ſuch time after the paſſing thereof by both Houſes of Parliament as the ſaid Houſes ſhall judge fit and convenient, that then ſuch Bill or Bils ſo paſſed by the ſaid Lords and Commons as aforeſaid, and to which the Royal Aſſent ſhall not be given, as is herein before expreſſed, ſhall nevertheleſs, after Declaration of the ſaid Lords and Commons made in that behalf, have the force and ſtrength of an Act or Acts of Parliament, and ſhall be as valid to all intents and purpoſes as if the Royal Aſſent had been given thereunto. Provided alwaies, and be it further Enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, That nothing herein before contained ſhall extend to the taking away of the ordinary Legal Power of Sheriffs, Juſtices of Peace, Maiors, Bailiffs, Coroners, Conſtables, Headboroughs, or other Officers of Juſtice, not being Military Officers, concerning the Adminiſtration of Juſtice; ſo as neither the ſaid Sheriffs, Juſtices of Peace, Maiors, Bailiffs, Coroners, Conſtables, Headboroughs and other Officers, or any of them, do levy, conduct, imploy, or command any Forces whatſoever, by colour or pretence of any Commiſſion of Array or extraordinary Command from His Majeſty, His Heirs or Succeſſors, without the Conſent of the ſaid Lords and Commons: and that if any perſons ſhall be gathered and aſſembled together in Warlike manner, or otherwiſe, to the number of Thirty perſons, and ſhall not forthwith ſeparate and diſperſe themſelves, being required thereto by the ſaid Lords and Commons, or Command from them, or any by them eſpecially authorized for that purpoſe; then ſuch perſon and perſons not ſo ſeparating and diſperſing themſelves ſhall be guilty, and incurre the pains of High Treaſon, being firſt Declared guilty of ſuch offence by the ſaid Lords and Commons, any Commiſſion under the Great Seal or other Warrant to the contrary notwithſtanding: and he or they that ſhall offend herein ſhall be incapable of any Pardon from His Majeſty, His Heirs and Succeſſors, and their Eſtates ſhall be diſpoſed as the ſaid Lords and Commons ſhall think fit, and not otherwiſe. Provided alſo further, That the City of *London* ſhall have and enjoy all their Rights, Liberties and Franchiſes, Cuſtomes and Uſages, in the raiſing and imploying the Forces of that City for the Defence thereof, in as full and ample manner, to all intents and purpoſes, as they have or might have uſed or enjoyed the ſame at any time before the ſitting of this preſent Parliament.

Soit baillé aux Seigneurs.
A ceſte Bille les Seigneurs ſont aſſentuz.

An Act for juſtifying the Proceedings of Parliament in the late Warre, and for Declaring all Oaths, Declarations, Proclamations and other Proceedings againſt it, to be void.

WHereas the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament have been neceſſitated to make and proſecute a Warre in their juſt and lawfull Defence, and thereupon Oaths, Declarations and Proclamations have been made againſt them and their Ordinances and Proceedings, and againſt others for adhering unto them, and for executing Offices, Places and Charges by Authority derived from them; and Judgements, Indictments, Outlawries, Attainders and Inquiſitions, for the cauſes aforeſaid, have been had and made againſt ſome of the Members of the Houſes of Parliament and other His Majeſties good Subjects, and Grants have been made of their Lands and Goods: Be it therefore Declared and hereby Enacted by the Kings Majeſty, and by the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament, and by Authority

of the ſame, That all Oaths, Declarations and Proclamations, heretofore had or made againſt both or either of the Houſes of Parliament, or any the Members of either of them, for the cauſes aforeſaid, or againſt their Ordinances or Proceedings, or againſt any for adhering unto them, or for doing or executing any Office, Place or Charge, by any Authority derived from the ſaid Houſes, or either of them, and all Judgements, Indictments, Outlawries, Attainders, Inquiſitions and Grants thereupon made, and all other Proceedings for any the cauſes aforeſaid, had, made, done or executed, or to be had, made, done or executed, whether the ſame be done by the King, or any Judges, Juſtices, Sheriffs, Miniſters, or any others, are void and of no effect, and are contrary to and againſt the Laws of the Realme. And be it further Enacted and hereby Declared by the Authority aforeſaid, That all Judges, Juſtices of the Peace, Maiors, Sheriffs, Conſtables and other Officers and Miniſters, ſhall take notice hereof, and are hereby prohibited and diſcharged in all time to come from awarding any Writ, Proceſs or Summons, and from pronouncing or executing any Judgement, Sentence or Decree, or any way proceeding againſt or moleſting any of the ſaid Members of the two Houſes of Parliament, or againſt any of the Subjects of this Kingdom, for any the cauſes aforeſaid.

Soit baillé aux Seigneurs.
A ceſte Bille les Seigneurs ſont aſſentuz.

An Act concerning Peers lately made, and hereafter to be made.

BE it Enacted by the Kings Majeſty, and by the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament, That all Honour and Title of Peerage conferred on any ſince the twentieth day of *May*, 1642. (being the day that *Edward* Lord *Littleton*, then Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, deſerted the Parliament, and that the ſaid Great Seal was ſurreptitiouſly conveyed away from the Parliament) be and is hereby made and declared Null and Void. Be it further Enacted, and it is hereby Enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, that no Perſon that ſhall hereafter be made a Peer, or His Heirs, ſhall ſit or vote in the Parliament of *England* without Conſent of both Houſes of Parliament.

Soit baillé aux Seigneurs.
A ceſte Bille les Seigneurs ſont aſſentuz.

An Act concerning the Adjournments of both Houſes of Parliament.

BE it Declared and Enacted by the Kings Majeſty, and by the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament, and by the Authority of the ſame, That when and as often as the Lords and Commons aſſembled in this preſent Parliament ſhall judge it neceſſary to adjourn both Houſes of this preſent Parliament to any other place of the Kingdom of *England* then where they now ſit, or from any place adjourn the ſame again to the place where they now ſit, or to any other place within the Kingdom of *England*, that then ſuch their Adjournment and Adjournments to ſuch places and for ſuch time as they ſhall appoint, ſhall at all times and from time to time be valid and good, any Act, Statute or Uſage to the contrary notwithſtanding. Provided alwayes, and be it Enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, that no Adjournment or Adjournments to be had or made by reaſon or colour of this Act, ſhall be deemed, adjudged or taken, to make end or determine any Seſſion of this preſent Parliament.

And

And they alſo commanded us to preſent to Your Majeſty theſe enſuing Propoſitions.

[*Heads of the Propoſitions.*]

[Theſe Propoſitions being generally the ſame with thoſe at *Uxbridge*, *New-Caſtle*, and *Hampton-Court*, it was thought fit to repreſent onely the Heads.]

1. *That the new Seal be confirmed, and the old Great Seal, and all things paſſed under it ſince* May 1642. *be made void.*
2. *That Acts be paſſed for raiſing Moneys to ſatisfie Publick Debts.*
3. *That Members of both Houſes put from their places by the King, be reſtored.*
4. *That the Ceſſation in* Ireland *be made void, and the Warre left to both Houſes.*
5. *That an Act of Indemnity be paſſed.*
6. *That the Court of Wards be taken away, and ſuch Tenures turned into common Soccage.*
7. *That the Treaties between the* Engliſh *and* Scots *be confirmed, and Commiſſioners appointed for Conſervation of the Peace between the Kingdoms.*
8. *That the Arrears of the Army be paid out of the Biſhops Lands, forfeited Eſtates, and Foreſts.*
9. *That an Act be paſſed for aboliſhing Biſhops and all Appendants to them.*
10. *That the Ordinances for diſpoſing of Biſhops Lands be confirmed by Act.*
11. *That an Act be paſſed for the ſale of Church-Lands.*
12. *That Delinquents be proceeded againſt, and their Eſtates diſpoſed of, according to the ſeveral Qualifications.*
13. *That an Act be paſſed for diſcharge of Publick Debts.*
14. *That Acts be paſſed for ſettling the* Presbyterian *Government, and Directory.*
Fourteen of the Thirty nine Articles reviſed by the Aſſembly of Divines.
Rules and Directions concerning Suſpenſion from the Lord's Supper.
15. *That the chief Governour and Officers in* Ireland, *and the great Officers in* England, *be nominated by both Houſes.*
16. *That an Act be paſſed for conviction of Popiſh Recuſants.*
17. *That an Act be paſſed for the education of the Children of Papiſts by Proteſtants.*
18. *That an Act be paſſed for levying the Penalties againſt Popiſh Recuſants.*
19. *That an Act be paſſed for preventing the practices of Papiſts againſt the State, and hearing Maſs.*
20. *That an Act be paſſed for Obſervation of the Lord's day.*
21. *And a Bill for ſuppreſſing Innovations.*
22. *And for advancement of Preaching.*
23. *And againſt Pluralities and Non-reſidency.*

They have alſo commanded us to deſire, That Your Majeſty give Your Royal Aſſent to theſe Bills by Your Letters Patents under the Great Seal of *England*, and ſigned by Your Hand, and Declared and Notified to the Lords and Commons aſſembled together in the Houſe of Peers, according to the Law declared in that behalf; it appearing unto them upon mature deliberation, that it ſtands not with the Safety and Security of the Kingdom and Parliament, to have Your Majeſties Aſſent at this time given otherwiſe: They deſire therefore that Your Majeſty be pleaſed to grant Your Warrant for the draught of a Bill for ſuch Your Letters Patents to be preſented to Your Majeſty, and then a Warrant to *Edward* Earl of *Mancheſter*, and *William Lenthal* Eſquire, Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, who have now the Cuſtody of the Great Seal of *England*, to put the ſame to Your Majeſties Letters Patents ſigned as aforeſaid, thereby authorizing *Algernon* Earl of *Northumberland*, *Henry* Earl of *Kent*, *John* Earl of *Rutland*, *Philip* Earl of *Pembroke*, *William* Earl of *Salisbury*, *Robert* Earl of *Warwick*, and *Edmond* Earl of *Moulgrave*, or any three of them, to give Your Majeſties Royal Aſſent unto the ſaid Bills, according to the Law in that behalf declared. And for the other particulars contained in the aforementioned Propoſitions, the two Houſes of Parliament will, after ſuch Your Majeſties Aſſent given to the ſaid Bills, ſend a Committee of both Houſes to Treat with Your Majeſty in the Iſle of *Wight* thereupon.

The

The Paper of the Scots *Commiſsioners delivered to His* MAJESTY *when the* Four Bills *and* Propoſitions *were preſented.*

THere is nothing which we have more conſtantly endeavoured and do more earneſtly deſire then a good Agreement and happy Peace between Your Majeſty and Your Parliaments of both Kingdoms, neither have we left any means unaſſayed that by united Counſels with the Houſes of the Parliament of *England*, and by making joynt Applications to Your Majeſty, there might be a compoſure of all Differences: But the new Propoſitions communicated to us by the Houſes, and the Bills therewith preſented to Your Majeſty, are ſo prejudicial to Religion, the Crown, and the Union and Intereſt of the Kingdoms, and ſo farre different from the former proceedings and engagements betwixt the Kingdoms, as we cannot concurre therein. Therefore we do in the name of the Kingdom of *Scotland* diſſent from theſe Propoſitions and Bills now tendered to Your Majeſty.

Lowdon. *Hu. Kennedy.*
Lauderdale, *Ro. Berclay.*
Char. Erskin.

His MAJESTIES *Anſwer to the Four Bills and Propoſitions,* Dec. 28. 1647.

For the Speaker of the Lords Houſe *pro tempore*, to be communicated to the Lords and Commons in the Parliament of *England* at *Weſtminſter*, and the Commiſsioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*.

CHARLES R.

THE neceſſity of complying with all engaged Intereſts in theſe great Diſtempers, for a perfect ſettlement of Peace, His Majeſty finds to be none of the leaſt Difficulties He hath met with ſince the time of His Afflictions. Which is too viſible, when at the ſame time that the two Houſes of the *Engliſh* Parliament do preſent to His Majeſty ſeveral Bills and Propoſitions for His Conſent, the Commiſſioners for *Scotland* do openly proteſt againſt them. So that were there nothing in the caſe but the conſideration of that difference, His Majeſty cannot imagine how to give ſuch an Anſwer to what is now propoſed, as thereby to promiſe Himſelf His great End, *A perfect Peace*. And when His

Majeſty

Majesty farther considers how impossible it is (in the condition He now stands) to fulfill the desires of His two Houses, since the onely ancient and known wayes of passing Laws are either by His Majesties Personal Assent in the House of Peers, or by Commission under His Great Seal of *England*; He cannot but wonder at such failings in the manner of Address which is now made unto Him: unless His two Houses intend that His Majesty shall allow of a Great Seal made without His Authority, before there be any consideration had thereupon in a Treaty; which as it may hereafter hazard the Security it self, so for the present it seems very unreasonable to His Majesty. And though His Majesty is willing to believe that the intention of very many in both Houses, in sending these Bills before a Treaty, was onely to obtain a Trust from Him, and not to take any advantage by passing them to force other things from Him which are either against His Conscience or Honour: yet His Majesty believes it clear to all understandings, that these Bills contain (as they are now penned) not onely the devesting Himself of all Sovereignty, and that without possibility of recovering it either to Him or His Successours, (except by repeal of those Bills) but also the making His Concessions guilty of the greatest pressures that can be made upon the Subject, as in other particulars, so by giving an Arbitrary and Unlimited Power to the two Houses for ever, to raise and levy Forces for Land or Sea-service, of what persons (without distinction or quality) and to what numbers they please; and likewise, for the payment of them, to levy what Moneys, in such sort and by such ways and means (and consequently upon the Estates of whatsoever persons) as they shall think fit and appoint; which is utterly inconsistent with the Liberty and Property of the Subject, and His Majesties Trust in protecting them. So that if the major part of both Houses shall think it necessary to put the rest of the Propositions into Bills, His Majesty leaves all the world to judge how unsafe it would be for Him to consent thereunto: and if not, what a strange condition (after the passing of these Four Bills) His Majesty and all His Subjects would be cast into. And here His Majesty thinks it not unfit, to wish His two Houses to consider well the manner of their proceeding; That when His Majesty desires a Personal Treaty with them for the settling of a Peace, they in Answer

propose

propose the very subject Matter of the most essential part thereof to be first granted: a thing which will be hardly credible to Posterity. Wherefore His Majesty declares, That neither the desire of being freed from this tedious and irksome condition of life His Majesty hath so long suffered, nor the apprehension of what may befall Him in case His two Houses shall not afford Him a Personall Treaty, shall make Him change His resolution, of not consenting to any Act till the whole Peace be concluded. Yet then He intends not onely to give just and reasonable satisfaction in the particulars presented to Him, but also to make good all other Concessions mentioned in His Message of the 16. of *Novemb.* last, which He thought would have produced better effects then what He finds in the Bills and Propositions now presented unto Him.

And yet His Majesty cannot give over, but now again earnestly presseth for a Personal Treaty, (so passionately is He affected with the advantages which Peace will bring to His Majesty and all His Subjects;) of which He will not at all despair, (there being no other visible way to obtain a well-grounded Peace.) However His Majesty is very much at ease within Himself, for having fulfilled the Offices both of a Christian and of a King; and will patiently wait the good pleasure of Almighty God, to incline the hearts of His two Houses to consider their King, and to compassionate their fellow-Subjects Miseries.

Given at *Carisbrook* Castle in the Isle of *Wight*, *Decemb.* 28. 1647.

A Declaration of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament; with the Resolutions of both Houses concerning the King.

Together with an Order for Imprisoning the Persons and Sequestring the Estates of any that shall act contrary to this Declaration and Resolutions.

Die Sabbathi, 15. *Januarii*, 1647.

THE Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, after many Addresses to His Majesty for the preventing and ending this Unnatural Warre raised by Him against His Parliament and Kingdom, having lately sent Four Bills to His Majesty, which did contain only matter of Safety and Security to the Parliament and Kingdom, referring the composure of all other Differences to a Personal Treaty with

with His Majeſty, and having received an abſolute Negative, do hold themſelves obliged to uſe their uttermoſt Endeavours ſpeedily to ſettle the preſent Government in ſuch a way as may bring the greateſt Security to this Kingdom, in the enjoyment of the Laws and Liberties thereof; and in order thereunto, and that the Houſes may receive no Delayes nor Interruptions in ſo great and neceſſary a Work, they have taken theſe Reſolutions, and paſſed theſe Votes following. *viz.*

Reſolved upon the Queſtion,

THat the Lords and Commons do Declare, That they will make no further Addreſſes or Applications to the King.

Reſolved upon the Queſtion by the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament,

That no Application or Addreſs be made to the King by any perſon whatſoever, without the leave of both Houſes.

Reſolved upon the Queſtion by the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament,

That the perſon or perſons that ſhall make breach of this Order ſhall incurre the Penalties of High Treaſon.

Reſolved upon the Queſtion,

That the Lords and Commons do Declare, That they will receive no more any Meſſage from the King, and do enjoyn, that no perſon whatſoever do preſume to receive or bring any Meſſage from the King to both or either of the Houſes of Parliament, or to any other perſon.

Joh. Brown, Cleric. Parliamentorum.

H. Elſynge, Cler. Parl. D. Com.

Die Lunæ, 17. *Januarii*, 1647.

Ordered by the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament, That this Declaration and theſe Reſolutions be forthwith printed and publiſhed; and that the ſeveral Knights of the Shires, and Burgeſſes that ſerve for the ſeveral Towns and places, do ſend Copies of the ſame to the ſeveral Counties and places.

It is further Ordered, That whatſoever perſon ſhall act contrary to this Declaration and Reſolutions of Parliament, or ſhall incite or encourage others ſo to do, ſhall upon due proof thereof be Impriſoned, and his Eſtate Sequeſtred; and the Offenders in the premiſſes, after publication hereof, ſhall be within the ſeveral Ordinances of Sequeſtration: And all Committees and Commiſſioners of Sequeſtrations are hereby authorized and required to take notice hereof, and to proceed to Sequeſtration accordingly.

Joh. Brown, Cleric. Parliamentorum.

H. Elſynge, Cler. Parl. D. Com.

His MAJESTIES *Declaration in Answer to the Votes for No further Addresse.*

Carisbrook-Castle, 18. *Jan.* 1647.

To all My People, of whatsoever Nation, Quality or Condition.

AM I thus laid aside? and must I not speak for My Self? No; I will speak, and that to all My People, (which I would have rather done by the way of My two Houses of Parliament, but that there is a publick Order, neither to make Addresses to or receive Message from Me.) And who but you can be judge of the Differences betwixt Me and My two Houses? I know none else; for I am sure you it is who will enjoy the Happiness, or feel the Misery, of good or ill Government: and we all pretend who shall run fastest to serve you, without having a regard (at least in the first place) to particular Interests. And therefore I desire you to consider the state I am and have been in this long time, and whether my Actions have more tended to the Publick or My own Particular good. For whosoever will look upon Me barely as I am a Man, without that Liberty (which the meanest of My Subjects enjoyes) of going whither and conversing with whom I will; as a Husband and Father, without the comfort of My Wife and Children; or lastly, as a King, without the least shew of Authority or Power to protect My distressed Subjects; must conclude Me not onely void of all Natural Affection, but also to want common Understanding, if I should not most chearfully embrace the readiest way to the settlement of these distracted Kingdomes. As also, on the other side, do but consider the Form and draught of the Bills lately presented unto Me; and as they are the Conditions of a Treaty, ye will conclude, that the same spirit which hath still been able to frustrate all My sincere and constant endeavours for Peace, hath had a powerful influence on this Message: for though I was ready to grant the Substance, and comply with what they seem to desire; yet as they had framed it I could not agree thereunto, without deeply wounding My Conscience and Honour, and betraying the Trust reposed in Me, by abandoning My People to the Arbitrary and Unlimited power of the two

Houses

Houses for ever, for the levying and maintaining of Land or Sea-Forces, without distinction of Quality, or limitation for Money-Taxes. And if I could have passed them in terms, how unheard-of a Condition were it for a Treaty to grant beforehand the most considerable part of the subject matter? How ineffectual were that Debate like to prove, wherein the most potent party had nothing of moment left to ask, and the other nothing more to give? so consequently, how hopeless of mutual compliance? without which a Settlement is impossible. Besides, if after My Concessions the two Houses should insist on those things from which I cannot depart, how desperate would the Condition of these Kingdoms be, when the most proper and approved Remedy should become ineffectual? Being therefore fully resolved that I could neither in Conscience, Honour or Prudence, pass those Four Bills, I only endeavoured to make the Reasons and Justice of My Denial appear to all the World, as they do to Me, intending to give as little dissatisfaction to the two Houses of Parliament (without betraying My own Cause) as the matter would bear. I was desirous to give My Answer of the 28. of *December* last to the Commissioners sealed, (as I had done others heretofore, and sometimes at the desire of the Commissioners) chiefly, because when My Messages or Answers were publickly known before they were read in the Houses, prejudicial interpretations were forced on them, much differing, and sometimes contrary to My meaning. For example, My Answer from *Hampton*-Court was accused of dividing the two Nations, because I promised to give satisfaction to the *Scots* in all things concerning that Kingdom: and this last suffers in a contrary sense, by making Me intend to interest *Scotland* in the Laws of this Kingdom, (then which nothing was, nor is, further from My thoughts) because I took notice of the *Scots* Commissioners protesting against the Bills and Propositions, as contrary to the Interests and Engagements of the two Kingdoms. Indeed, if I had not mentioned their dissent, an Objection, not without some probability, might have been made against Me, both in respect the *Scots* are much concerned in the Bill for the *Militia* and in several other Propositions, and My silence might with some justice seem to approve of it. But the Commissioners refusing to receive My Answer sealed, I (upon the engage-

ment of their and the Governour's Honour, that no other uſe ſhould be made or notice taken of it then as if it had not been ſeen) read and delivered it open unto them; whereupon what hath ſince paſſed, either by the Governour, in diſcharging moſt of My Servants, redoubling the Guards, and reſtraining Me of My former Liberty, (and all this, as himſelf confeſt, merely out of his own diſlike of My Anſwer, notwithſtanding his beforeſaid Engagement) or afterwards by the two Houſes (as the Governour affirms) in confining Me within the circuit of this Caſtle, I appeal to God and the World, whether My ſaid Anſwer deſerved the Reply of ſuch proceedings; beſides the unlawfulneſs for Subjects to impriſon their King. That, by the permiſsion of Almighty God, I am reduced to this ſad condition, as I no way repine, ſo I am not without hope but that the ſame God will, in due time, convert the Afflictions into My Advantage. In the mean time I am confident to bear theſe croſſes with Patience and a great equality of Mind: but by what means or occaſion I am come to this Relapſe in My Affairs, I am utterly to ſeek; eſpecially when I conſider that I have ſacrificed to My two Houſes of Parliament, for the Peace of the Kingdom, all but what is much more dear to Me then My Life, My *Conſcience* and *Honour*, deſiring nothing more then to perform it in the moſt proper and natural way, A *Perſonal Treaty*. But that which makes Me moſt at a loſs is, the remembring My ſignal Compliance with the Army and their Intereſts, and of what importance My Compliance was to them, and their often-repeated Profeſſions and Engagements for My juſt Rights in general, at *Newmarket* and *Saint-Albans*, and their particular explanations of thoſe generals by their Voted and re-voted *Propoſals*; which I had reaſon to underſtand ſhould be the utmoſt extremity would be expected from Me, and that in ſome things therein I ſhould be eaſed, (herein appealing to the Conſciences of ſome of the chiefeſt Officers in the Army, if what I have ſaid be not punctually true:) and how I have failed of their expectations or My profeſsions to them, I challenge them and the whole World to produce the leaſt colour of Reaſon. And now I would know what it is that is deſired. Is it Peace? I have ſhewed the way (being both willing and deſirous to perform My part in it) which is, a juſt Compliance with all

chief

chief Interests. Is it Plenty and Happiness? they are the inseparable effects of Peace. Is it Security? I, who wish that all men would forgive and forget like Me, have offered the *Militia* for My time. Is it Liberty of Conscience? He who wants it is most ready to give it. Is it the right administration of Justice? Officers of trust are committed to the choice of My two Houses of Parliament. Is it frequent Parliaments? I have legally, fully concurr'd therewith. Is it the Arrears of the Army? Upon a Settlement they will certainly be payed with much ease; but before, there will be found much difficulty, if not impossibility, in it.

Thus all the World cannot but see My reall and unwearied endeavours for Peace, the which (by the Grace of God) I shall neither repent Me of nor ever be slackned in, notwithstanding My past, present, or future Sufferings: But if I may not be heard, let every one judge who it is that obstructs the good I would or might doe. What is it that men are afraid to hear from Me? It cannot be Reason, (at least none will declare themselves so unreasonable as to confess it:) and it can less be impertinent or unreasonable Discourses; for thereby, peradventure, I might more justifie this My Restraint then the causers themselves can doe: so that, of all wonders yet this is the greatest to Me. But it may be easily gathered how those men intend to govern who have used Me thus. And if it be My hard Fate to fall together with the Liberty of this Kingdom, I shall not blush for My self, but much lament the future Miseries of My People; the which I shall still pray God to avert, whatever becoms of Me.

CHARLES R.

Votes for a Treaty.

Die Veneris, 28. *Jul.* 1648.

Reſolved,

THat a Treaty be had with the King in Perſon in the Iſle of *Wight*, by a Committee appointed by both Houſes, upon the Propoſitions preſented to Him at *Hampton*-Court, and for the taking away of Wards and Liveries, for ſettling of a ſafe and well-grounded Peace.

Die Mercurii, 2. *Aug.* 1648.

Reſolved,

THat a Committee of both Houſes be ſent to His Majeſty to acquaint Him with their Reſolutions to treat perſonally with His Majeſty by a Committee of both Houſes in ſuch place as His Majeſty ſhall make choice of in the Iſle of *Wight*, upon the Propoſitions preſented at *Hampton*-Court, and the taking away of Wards and Liveries, for the ſettling of a ſafe and well-grounded Peace: Which Treaty is reſolved by the two Houſes to be tranſacted with Honor, Freedom and Safety to His Majeſty, in the Iſle of *Wight*.

Die Jovis, 3. Aug. 1648.

Inſtructions from both Houſes of the Parliament of England *for* James *Earl of* Middleſex, *Sir* John Hippeſley *Knight, and* John Bulkeley *Eſquire, Committees of Parliament.*

I. YOu, or any two of you, whereof one to be a Lord, ſhall with all ſpeed repair unto His Majeſty at the Caſtle of *Carisbrook* in the Iſle of *Wight*.

II. You, or any two of you, whereof one to be a Lord, ſhall preſent unto His Majeſty the Reſolutions of both Houſes of Parliament concerning a Perſonal Treaty to be had with His Majeſty in the Iſle of *Wight*.

III. You, or any two of you, whereof one to be a Lord, ſhall deſire His Majeſties ſpeedy Anſwer to the ſaid Reſolutions.

IV. You, or any two of you, whereof one to be a Lord, are to acquaint His Majeſty that you are onely allotted ten days from Friday next for your Going, Stay, and Return.

V. You, or any two of you, whereof one to be a Lord, ſhall have power, in caſe His Majeſty deſires to ſee the Propoſitions which were preſented to Him at *Hampton*-Court, to preſent Him a Copy of them.

His

His MAJESTIES *Meſſage in Anſwer to the Votes.* Carisbrooke, 10. Aug. 1648.

For the Speaker of the Lords Houſe *pro tempore*, to be communicated to the Lords and Commons in the Parliament of *England* at *Weſtminſter*.

CHARLES R.

IF the Peace of My Dominions were not much dearer to Me then any particular Intereſt whatſoever; I had too much reaſon to take notice of the ſeveral Votes which paſſed againſt Me, and the ſad Condition I have been in now above theſe ſeven Moneths. But ſince you My two Houſes of Parliament have opened (as it ſeems to Me) a fair beginning to a happy Peace, I ſhall heartily apply My Self thereunto; and to that end I will, as clearly and ſhortly as I may, ſet you down thoſe things which I conceive neceſſary to this bleſſed Work, ſo that we together may remove all impediments that may hinder a happy concluſion of this Treaty, which with all chearfulneſs I do embrace.

And to this wiſhed End your ſelves have laid moſt excellent grounds: For what can I reaſonably expect more then to Treat with Honour, Freedom and Safety, upon ſuch Propoſitions as you have or ſhall preſent unto Me, and ſuch as I ſhall make to you? But withall remember, that it is the definition, not names, of things which make them rightly known; and that without means to perform, no Propoſitions can take effect. And truly My preſent Condition is ſuch, that I can no more Treat then a blind man judge of colours, or one run a race who hath both his feet faſt tied together. Wherefore My firſt neceſſary Demand is,

That you will recall all ſuch Votes and Orders by which people are frighted from coming, writing, or ſpeaking freely to Me.

Next, that ſuch men of all Profeſsions, whom I ſhall ſend for as of neceſſary uſe to Me in this Treaty, may be admitted to wait upon Me. In a word, that I may be in the ſame ſtate of Freedom I was in when I was laſt at *Hampton*-Court. And indeed, leſs cannot in

any reasonable measure make good those Offers which you have made Me by your Votes. For how can I Treat with Honour, so long as people are terrified with Votes and Orders against coming to speak or write to Me? and am I honourably treated, so long as there is none about Me (except a Barber, who came now with the Commissioners) that ever I named to wait upon Me? or with Freedome, untill I may call such unto Me, of whose services I shall have use in so great and difficult a Work? And for Safety, (I speak not of My Person, having no apprehension that way) how can I judge to make a safe and well-grounded Peace, untill I may know (without disguise) the true present state of all My Dominions, and particularly of all those whose Interests are necessarily concerned in the Peace of these Kingdomes? Which leads Me naturally to the last necessary Demand I shall make for the bringing this Treaty to an happy end, which is,

That you alone, or you and I joyntly, do invite the *Scots* to send some persons authorized by them to Treat upon such Propositions as they shall make: For certainly the publick and necessary Interest they have in this great Settlement is so clearly plain to all the World, that I believe no body will deny the necessity of their concurrence in this Treaty in order to a durable Peace. Wherefore I will onely say, that as I am King of both Nations, so I will yield to none in either Kingdom for being truely and zealously affected for the good and honour of both; My Resolution being never to be partial for either to the prejudice of the other.

Now as to the Place (because I conceive it to be rather a circumstantial then real part of this Treaty, I shall not much insist upon it) I name *Newport* in this Isle: yet the fervent zeal I have that a speedy end be put to these unhappy Distractions, doth force Me earnestly to desire you to consider what a great loss of time it will be to Treat so farre from the body of My two Houses, when every small Debate (of which doubtless there will be many) must be transmitted to *Westminster* before it be concluded. And really I think (though to some it may seem a Paradoxe) that peoples minds will be much more apt to settle, seeing Me Treat in or near *London*, then in this Isle; because so long as I am here, it will never be believed by many that I am really so free as before this Treaty

begin

begin I expect to be. And so I leave and recommend this point to your serious consideration.

And thus I have not onely fully accepted of the Treaty which you have proposed to Me by your Votes of the third of this Moneth, but also given it all the furtherance that lies in Me, by demanding the necessary means for the effectual performance thereof: All which are so necessarily implied by, though not particularly mentioned in, your Votes, as I can no wayes doubt of your ready compliance with Me herein. I have now no more to say, but to conjure you by all that is dear to Christians, honest men, or good Patriots, that ye will make all the Expedition possible to begin this happy Work, by hasting down your Commissioners fully authorized and well instructed, and by enabling Me (as I have shewed you) to Treat; praying the God of Peace so to bless our endeavours, that all My Dominions may speedily enjoy a safe and well-grounded Peace.

CHARLES R.

Carisbrooke, Aug. 10.
1648.

A Letter from the Speaker of both Houses to His Majesty, *Aug.*25. 1648.

With Votes in order to a Treaty.

May it please Your Majesty,

WE are commanded by Your Majesties loyall Subjects, the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled, to present unto Your Majesty these Resolutions inclosed, which are the results of the said Lords and Commons upon Your Majesties Letter of the tenth of *August* instant.

Westminster, 25. *Aug.* 1648.

Your Majesties most loyall and most humble Subjects and Servants,

Manchester, Speaker of the House of Peers *pro tempore.*
William Lenthal, Speaker of the House of Commons.

Die Jovis, 24. *Aug.* 1648.

Resolved upon the Question by the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled,

That for opening a way towards a Treaty with His Majesty for a safe and well-grounded

grounded Peace, theſe four Votes following are hereby revoked and taken off, *viz.*

1. *Reſolved, That the Lords and Commons do declare, That they will make no further Addreſſes or Applications to the King.*

2. *Reſolved by the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament, That no Application or Addreſſes be made to the King by any perſon whatſoever without the leave of both Houſes.*

3. *Reſolved by the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament, That the perſon or perſons that ſhall make breach of this Order, ſhall incurre the penalties of High Treaſon.*

4. *Reſolved, That the Lords and Commons do declare, That they will receive no more any Meſſage from the King; and do enjoyn, that no perſon whatſoever do preſume to receive or bring any Meſſage from the King, to both or either of the Houſes of Parliament, or to any other perſon.*

Reſolved by the Lords and Commons, That His Majeſty be deſired to ſend to the Houſes the Names of ſuch Perſons as He ſhall conceive to be of neceſſary uſe to be about Him during this Treaty, they not being perſons excepted by the Houſes from Pardon, or under reſtraint, or in actual Warre againſt the Parliament by Sea or Land, or in ſuch numbers as may draw any juſt cauſe of ſuſpicion: And that His Majeſty ſhall be in the Iſle of *Wight* in the ſame ſtate and Freedom as He was in when He was laſt at *Hampton*-Court.

Reſolved, That the Houſes do agree, that ſuch Domeſtick Servants, not being in the former Limitations, as His Majeſty ſhall appoint to come to attend upon His Majeſties Perſon, ſhall be ſent unto Him.

Reſolved, That the Town of *Newport* in the Iſle of *Wight*, named by the King, ſhall be the Place for this Treaty with His Majeſty.

Reſolved, That if the King ſhall think fit to ſend for any of the *Scotiſh* Nation, to adviſe with Him concerning the Affairs of the Kingdom of *Scotland* onely, the Houſes will give them a ſafe Conduct, they not being perſons under reſtraint in this Kingdom, or in actual Warre againſt the Parliament by Sea or Land, or in ſuch numbers as may draw any juſt cauſe of ſuſpicion.

Reſolved, That Five Lords and Ten Members of the Houſe of Commons be Commiſſioners to Treat with the King.

Reſolved, That the time of beginning the Treaty be within ten dayes after the Kings Aſſent to Treat as is agreed, and to continue fourty dayes after the beginning thereof.

Reſolved, That His Majeſty be deſired to paſs His Royal Word to make His conſtant Reſidence in the Iſle of *Wight*, from the time of His Aſſenting to Treat untill twenty dayes after the Treaty be ended, unleſs it be otherwiſe deſired by both Houſes of Parliament; and that after His Royal Word ſo paſſed, and His Aſſent given to Treat as aforeſaid, from thenceforth the former Inſtructions of the 16. of *November* 1647. be vacated, and theſe obſerved; and that Colonel *Hammond* be authorized to receive His Majeſties Royal Word paſſed to the two Houſes of Parliament for His Reſidence in the Iſle of *Wight*, according as is formerly expreſſed, and ſhall certifie the ſame to both Houſes.

His

His MAJESTIES *Answer to the Votes.*

For the Earl of *Manchester*, Speaker of the House of Peers *pro tempore*, and *William Lenthal*, Speaker of the House of Commons.

Carisbrook, Monday 28. *August*, 1648.

MY Lord, and Master Speaker, I have received your Letter of the 25. of this Moneth, with the Votes that you sent Me, which though they are not so full as I could have wished for the perfecting of a Treaty, yet because I conceive by what you have done that I am in some measure fit to begin one, such is My unceſſant and earnest desire to give a Peace to these My now distracted Dominions, as I accept the Treaty, and therefore desire that such five Lords and ten Commoners as My two Houses shall appoint, be speedily sent, fully Authorized and Instructed to Treat with Me; not doubting but what is now wanting will at our meeting upon Debate be fully supplied, not onely to the furtherance of this Treaty, but also to the consummating of a safe and well-grounded Peace. So I rest,

Your good Friend,

CHARLES R.

Here inclosed I have sent you a List that ye have desired.

I desire in order to one of your Votes, that ye would send Me a free Pass for *Parsons*, one of the Grooms of My Presence-Chamber, to goe into *Scotland*, and that ye would immediately send him to Me to receive the Dispatch thither.

The List.

Duke *Richmond*, Marq. *Hartford*, Earl *Lindsey*, Earl *Southampton*, Gentlemen of My Bed-chamber.

George

George Kirke, James Leviſton, Henry Murry, John Aſhburnham, William Leg, Grooms of My Bed-chamber.

Thomas Daviſe, Barber.

Hugh Henne, Humph. Rogers, William Levett, Pages of My Back-Staires.

..... *Rives*, Yeoman of My Robes.

Sir *Ed. Sidenham, Robert Terwitt, John Houſden*, Querries, with four or ſix of My Footmen, as they find fitteſt to wait.

Miſtreſs *Wheeler* Landreſs, with ſuch Maids as ſhe will chuſe.

..... *Parſons*, a Groom of My Preſence.

Sir *Fulke Grevill*, Captain *Titus*, Captain *Burroughs*, Maſter *Creſſet*, ... *Hanſted*, *Ab. Dowſett*, ... *Firebrace*, to wait as they did, or as I ſhall appoint them.

Biſhop of *London*, Biſhop of *Salisbury*, Doctor *Shelden*, Doctor *Hammond*, Doctor *Holdſworth*, Doctor *Sanderſon*, Doctor *Turner*, Doctor *Heywood*, Chaplains.

Sir *Thomas Gardiner*, Sir *Or. Bridgman*, Sir *Ro. Holburne*, Mr *Geffrey Palmer*, M^r. *Thomas Cooke*, Mr *J. Vaughan*, Lawyers.

Sir *Edward Walker*, Mr *Phil. Warwick*, *Nic. Oudart*, *Charles Whitaker*, Clarks and Writers.

Peter Newton, Clem. Kinerſley, to make ready the Houſe for Treating.

A Letter from the Speakers of both Houſes to His MAJESTY, *Sept.* 2. 1648.

With the Names of their Committee to Treat with Him.

YOur two Houſes of Parliament have commanded us to acquaint Your Majeſty, that they have appointed the Earl of *Northumberland*, the Earl of *Pembroke*, the Earl of *Salisbury*, the Earl of *Middleſex*, and the Lord Viſcount *Say* and *Seale*, Members of the Houſe of Peers, and *Thomas* Lord *Wenman*, Maſter *Denzil Hollis*, Maſter *William Pierrepont*, Sir *Henry Vane* junior, Sir *Harbottle Grimſton*, Maſter *Samuel Browne*, Maſter *John Crew*, Maſter Recorder of the City of *London*, Sir *John Potts*, Maſter *John Bulkeley*, Members of the Houſe of Commons, to Treat with Your Majeſty at *Newport* in the Iſle of *Wight*: And though they cannot come within the time appointed, yet they ſhall give their attendance with all convenient ſpeed.

2. *Septemb.* 1648.

Your Majeſties moſt loyall and humble Servants,

Hunſdon, Speaker of the Houſe of Peers *pro tempore*;
William Lenthal, Speaker of the Houſe of Commons.

His

His MAJESTIES *Answer to both Speakers.*

For the Lord *Hunsdon*, Speaker of the House of Peers *pro tempore*; and *Willam Lenthal*, Speaker of the House of Commons.

My Lord, and Mr Speaker,

I Have received your Letter of the second of this Moneth, containing the Names of those who are to Treat with Me; and though they do not come at the time appointed, I shall not wonder, at first judging it too short, in respect of My two Houses, not of My self, so that I did not imagine it could be kept, (as I then commanded Sir *Peter Killegrew* to tell you by word of Mouth:) and therefore it shall be farre from Me to take Exceptions for their having elapsed the appointed time; for God forbid that either My two Houses or I should carp at circumstances, to give the least impediment to this Treaty, much less to hinder the happy finishing of it. I say this the rather, because I know not how it is posible, (in this I shall wish to be deceived) that in Fourty dayes Treaty the many Distractions of these Kingdoms can be settled: and if so, it were more then strange, that time enough should not be given for the perfecting of this most great and good Work, which as I will not believe can be stuck on by the two Houses, so I am sure it shall never be by

Your good Friend,

Carisbrooke, 7. *Sept.* 1648. CHARLES R.

I think fit to tell you, because I believe in this Treaty there will be need of Civil Lawyers, I have sent for My Advocate *Rives*, and D. *Duck*.

[*And afterward His Majesty desired the Persons named in this Note, inclosed in a Letter of one of their Commissioners*, Novemb. 2. *to be sent to Him.*]

C. R.

The Bishop of *Armagh*, the Bishop of *Exceter*, the Bishop of *Rochester*, the Bishop of *Worcester*, Dr *Ferne*, Dr *Morley*.

[*The Propoſitions of both Houſes being the ſame which had been preſented to His Majeſty at* Hampton-*Court, and little differing from thoſe which had been largely diſcuſſed in the former Treaties at* Oxford *and* Uxbridge; *for this reaſon, as alſo becauſe neither Party did publiſh the particulars of this Treaty, we have thought fit to repreſent onely what is Authentick, and therefore ſhall adde onely His Majeſties fair Offers in order to a Peace.*]

His MAJESTIES *Propoſitions,* 29. Sept. 1648.

HIS Majeſty did uſe many earneſt endeavours for a Perſonal Treaty, which he hoped might have been obtained at *Weſtminſter*, between Him and His two Houſes of Parliament immediately; yet they having made choice of this way by you their Commiſsioners, His Majeſty did gladly and chearfully accept thereof in this place, as a fit means to begin a Treaty for a Peace, which might put an end to His own ſad Condition, and the Miſeries of His Kingdom. For an entrance whereunto, His Majeſty hath already expreſſed His Conſent to the Firſt Propoſition. But finding you are limited by Inſtructions, which you have no Warrant to communicate unto Him, and having cauſe by your Paper of the 20. of this preſent to believe that you have no power to omit or alter any thing, though He ſhall give you ſuch Reaſons as may ſatisfie you ſo to doe, without tranſmitting the Papers to the two Houſes at a farre diſtance, where His Majeſties Reaſons, Expreſſions and Offers upon Debate cannot be fully repreſented, and from whence their Anſwers cannot be returned without much waſt of the time allotted for the Treaty here; and having lately received another Paper concerning the Church, containing in it ſelf many particulars of great importance, and referring to divers Ordinances, Articles of Religion, and other things (eleven or twelve in number) of great length, and ſome of them very new, and never before preſented to His Majeſty, the due conſideration whereof will take up much time, and require His Majeſties Preſence with His two Houſes before a full reſolution can well be had in matters of ſo high conſequence: To the end therefore that the good work now in hand may (by God's bleſsing) proceed more ſpeedily and effectually to an happy Concluſion, and that His two Houſes of Parliament may at preſent have further ſecurity, and an earneſt of future ſatisfaction;

faction; His Majeſty, upon conſideration had of yours, makes theſe Propoſitions following.

Concerning the Church; His Majeſty will conſent, That the Calling and Sitting of the Aſſembly of Divines at *Weſtminſter* be confirmed for Three years by Act of Parliament.

And will by Act of Parliament confirm for Three years the Directory for the Publick Worſhip of God in the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, and Dominion of *Wales*.

And will likewiſe confirm for Three years by Act of Parliament the form of Church-Government which ye have preſented to Him, to be uſed for the Churches of *England* and *Ireland*, and Dominion of *Wales*. Provided, that His Majeſty, and thoſe of His Judgement, or any others who cannot in Conſcience ſubmit thereunto, be not in the mean time obliged to comply with the ſame Government, or form of Worſhip, but have free practice of their own profeſsion. And that a free Conſultation and debate be had with the Aſſembly of Divines at *Weſtminſter* in the mean time, (Twenty of His Majeſties Nomination being added unto them) whereby it may be determined by His Majeſty and His two Houſes of Parliament, how the ſaid Church-Government and form of Publick Worſhip after the ſaid time may be ſettled, or ſooner, if Differences may be agreed; and how alſo Reformation of Religion may be ſettled within the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, and Dominion of *Wales*: And the Articles of Chriſtian Religion now delivered to Him, may in like manner be then conſidered of and determined, and care taken for the eaſe of tender Conſciences.

And concerning the Biſhops Lands and Revenues, His Majeſty conſidering that during theſe troubleſome times divers of His Subjects have made Contracts and Purchaſes, and divets have diſburſed great Summes of Money upon ſecurity and engagement of thoſe Lands; His Majeſty for their ſatisfaction will conſent to an Act or Acts of Parliament, whereby legal Eſtates for Lives or for Years (at their choice) not exceeding ninety nine years, ſhall be made of thoſe Lands towards the ſatisfaction of the ſaid Purchaſers, Contractors, and others to whom they are engaged, at the old Rents, or ſome other moderate Rent, whereby they may receive ſatisfaction.

And in caſe ſuch Leaſe ſhall not ſatisfie, His Majeſty will propound and conſent to ſome other way for their further ſatisfaction.

Provided, that the Propriety and Inheritance of thoſe Lands may ſtill remain and continue to the Church and Church-men reſpectively, according to the pious intentions of the Donors and Founders thereof: And the reſt that ſhall be reſerved, to be for their maintenance.

His Majeſty will give His Royal Aſſent for the better obſervation of the Lords day; for ſuppreſsing of Innovations in Churches and Chappels in and about the Worſhip of God; and for the better advancement of the Preaching of God's Holy Word in all parts of this Kingdom: and to an Act againſt enjoying Pluralities of Benefices by Spiritual Perſons, and Non-reſidency: and to an Act for regulating and reforming both Univerſities, and the Colleges of *Weſtminſter*, *Wincheſter* and *Eaton*.

His Majeſty will conſent to an Act for the better diſcovery and ſpeedy conviction of Popiſh Recuſants, as is deſired in your Propoſitions; and alſo to an Act for the Education of the Children of Papiſts by Proteſtants in the Proteſtant Religion.

As alſo to an Act for the true levying of the Penalties againſt Papiſts, to be levied and diſpoſed in ſuch manner as both Houſes ſhall agree on, and as is propoſed on His Majeſties behalf.

And alſo to an Act to prevent the practices of Papiſts againſt the State; and for putting the Laws in execution; and for a ſtricter courſe to prevent hearing and ſaying of Maſs.

But as to the Covenant, His Majeſty is not yet therein ſatisfied that He can either ſigne or ſwear it, or conſent to impoſe it on the Conſciences of others; nor doth conceive it proper or uſefull at this time to be inſiſted on.

Touching the *Militia*; His Majeſty conceives that your Propoſition demands a farre larger power over the Perſons and Eſtates of His Subjects then hath ever hitherto been warranted by the Laws and Statutes of this Realm: yet conſidering the preſent Diſtractions require more, and truſting in His two Houſes of Parliament, that they will make no further uſe of the Power therein mentioned, after the preſent Diſtempers ſettled, then ſhall be agreeable to the Legal exerciſe

exerciſe thereof in times paſt, or juſt neceſsity ſhall require, His Majeſty will conſent to an Act of Parliament,

That the Lords and Commons in the Parliament of *England* now aſſembled, or hereafter to be aſſembled, or ſuch as they ſhall appoint during the ſpace of ten years, ſhall Arm, Train and Diſcipline, or cauſe to be Armed, Trained or Diſciplined, all the Forces of the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, and Dominion of *Wales*, the Iſles of *Gerneſey* and *Jerſey*, and the Town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, already raiſed, both for Sea and Land-ſervice; and ſhall from time to time, during the ſpace of ten years, raiſe, levy, arm, train and diſcipline, or cauſe to be raiſed, levied, armed, trained and diſciplined, any other Forces for Land and Sea-ſervice, in the Kingdoms, Dominions and places aforeſaid, as in their judgements they ſhall from time to time during the ſaid ſpace of ten years think fit to appoint: And that neither the King, His Heirs, or Succeſſors, or any other but ſuch as ſhall act by the Authority or approbation of the ſaid Lords and Commons, ſhall during the ſaid ſpace of ten years exerciſe any of the Powers aforeſaid.

That Monies be raiſed and levied for the maintenance and uſe of the ſaid Forces for Land-ſervice, and of the Navy and Forces for Sea-ſervice, in ſuch ſort, and by ſuch ways and means as the ſaid Lords and Commons ſhall from time to time, during the ſaid ſpace of ten years, think fit and appoint, and not otherwiſe.

That all the ſaid Forces both for Land and Sea-ſervice ſo raiſed or levied, or to be raiſed or levied, and alſo the Admiralty and Navy, ſhall from time to time during the ſaid ſpace of ten years be imployed, managed, ordered and diſpoſed by the Lords and Commons in ſuch ſort and by ſuch ways and means as they ſhall think fit and appoint, and not otherwiſe.

And the ſaid Lords and Commons, or ſuch as they ſhall appoint, during the ſaid ſpace of ten years ſhall have power,

1. To ſuppreſs all Forces raiſed, or to be raiſed, without Authority and Conſent of the ſaid Lords and Commons, to the diſturbance of the Publick Peace of the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, Dominion of *Wales*, the Iſles of *Gerneſey* and *Jerſey*, and the Town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, or any of them.

2. To ſuppreſs any Forein Forces who ſhall invade, or endeavour

to invade, the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, Dominion of *Wales*, the Iſles of *Gerneſey* and *Jerſey*, and the Town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, or any of them.

And after the expiration of the ſaid ten years, neither the King, His Heirs or Succeſſors, or any perſon or perſons by colour or pretence of any Commiſsion, Power, Deputation, or Authority to be derived from the King, His Heirs or Succeſſors, or any of them, ſhall, without the Conſent of the ſaid Lords and Commons, raiſe, arm, train, diſcipline, employ, order, manage, disband, or diſpoſe any the Forces by Sea or Land, of the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, the Dominion of *Wales*, Iſles of *Gerneſey* and *Jerſey*, and the Town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, nor exerciſe any of the ſaid Powers or Authorities herein before mentioned, and expreſſed to be during the ſpace of ten years in the ſaid Lords and Commons, nor doe any act, or any thing concerning the execution of the ſaid Powers or Authorities, or any of them, without the Conſent of the ſaid Lords and Commons firſt had and obtained.

And with the ſame Proviſoes for ſaving the ordinary Legall Power of Officers of Juſtice, not being Military Officers, as is ſet down in your Propoſitions.

And with a Declaration, That if any perſons ſhall be gathered and aſſembled together in a Warlike manner, or otherwiſe, to the number of thirty perſons, and ſhall not forthwith diſperſe themſelves, being required thereto by the ſaid Lords and Commons, or command from them, or any by them eſpecially authorized for that purpoſe; then ſuch perſon or perſons not ſo diſperſing themſelves, ſhall be guilty and incurre the pains of High Treaſon, being firſt declared guilty of ſuch offence by the ſaid Lords and Commons: any Commiſsion under the Great Seal, or any other Warrant to the contrary notwithſtanding. And he or they that ſhall ſo offend herein, to be uncapable of any Pardon from His Majeſty, His Heirs or Succeſſors.

And likewiſe that it be provided that the City of *London* ſhall have and enjoy all their Rights, Liberties, &c. in raiſing and imploying the Forces of that City in ſuch ſort as is mentioned in the ſaid Propoſition.

With theſe Proviſoes following to be inſerted in the ſaid Act.

First,

Firſt, That none be compelled to ſerve in the Warres againſt their wills, but in caſe of coming in of ſtrange Enemies into this Kingdom.

And that the Powers above mentioned, as concerning the Land-Forces, other then for keeping up and maintenance of Forts and Garriſons, and the keeping up, maintaining, and pay of this preſent Army, ſo long as it ſhall be thought fit by both Houſes of Parliament, be exerciſed to no other purpoſes, then for the ſuppreſsing of Forces raiſed or to be raiſed without Authority and Conſent of the ſaid Lords and Commons as aforeſaid, or for ſuppreſsing of any Forein Forces which ſhall invade or endeavour to invade the Kingdoms, Dominions, or places aforeſaid.

And that the Monies be raiſed by general and equal Taxations; ſaving that Tonnage and Poundage, and ſuch Impoſts as have been applied to the Navy, be raiſed as hath been uſuall.

And that all Patents, Commiſsions, and other Acts concerning the Premiſſes, be made and acted in His Majeſties Name, by Warrant ſignified by the Lords and Commons, or ſuch others as they ſhall authoriſe for that purpoſe.

If it ſhall be more ſatisfactory to His two Houſes, to have the *Militia* and Powers thereupon depending during the whole time of His Majeſties Reigne, rather then for the ſpace of ten years, His Majeſty gives them the Election.

Touching *Ireland*, His Majeſty having in the two preceding Propoſitions given His Conſent concerning the *Church* and the *Militia* there in all things as in *England*, as to all other matters relating to that Kingdom, after Advice with His two Houſes, He will leave it to their determination, and give His Conſent accordingly, as is herein hereafter expreſſed.

Touching Publick Debts, His Majeſty will give His Conſent to ſuch an Act for raiſing of Monies by generall and equall Taxations for the payment and ſatisfying the Arrears of the Army, Publick Debts and Engagements of the Kingdom, as ſhall be agreed on by both Houſes of Parliament, and ſhall be audited and aſcertained by them, or ſuch perſons as they ſhall appoint, within the ſpace

of twelve Moneths after the paſſing of an Act for the ſame.

His Majeſty will Conſent to an Act, that during the ſaid ſpace of ten years, the Lord Chancellour, or Lord Keeper, Commiſsioners of the Great Seal, or Treaſury, Lord Warden of the Cinque-Ports, Chancellour of the Exchequer and Dutchy, Secretaries of State, Maſter of the Rolles, and Judges of both Benches, and Barons of the Exchequer of *England*, be nominated by both Houſes of the Parliament of *England*, to continue *quamdiu ſe bene geſſerint*; and in the intervalls of Parliament, by ſuch others as they ſhall authoriſe for that purpoſe.

His Majeſty will Conſent, That the *Militia* of the City of *London* and Liberties thereof, during the ſpace of ten years, may be in the Ordering and Government of the Lord Maior, Aldermen and Commons in the Common-Councel aſſembled, or ſuch as they ſhall from time to time appoint, (whereof the Lord Maior and Sheriffs for the time being to be three) to be imployed and directed from time to time, during the ſaid ſpace of ten years, in ſuch manner as ſhall be agreed upon and appointed by both Houſes of Parliament: And that no Citizen of the City of *London*, nor any of the Officers of the ſaid City, ſhall be drawn forth or compelled to goe out of the ſaid City or Liberties thereof, for Military ſervice, without their own free conſent.

That an Act be paſſed for granting and confirming the Charters, Cuſtomes, Liberties and Franchiſes of the City of *London*, notwithſtanding any *Non-uſer*, *Miſuſer*, or *Abuſer*.

And that during the ſaid ten years the Tower of *London* may be in the Government of the City of *London*, and the Chief Officer and Governour from time to time during the ſaid ſpace to be nominated and removeable by the Common-Councell, as are deſired in your Propoſitions.

His Majeſty having thus farre expreſſed His Conſent for the preſent ſatisfaction and ſecurity of His two Houſes of Parliament and thoſe that have adhered unto them, touching your four firſt Propo-

Propoſitions, and other the particulars before ſpecified; as to all the reſt of your Propoſitions delivered to Him at *Hampton*-Court, (not referring to thoſe Heads) and to that of the Court of Wards ſince delivered, as alſo to the remaining Propoſitions concerning *Ireland*, His Majeſty deſires onely, when He ſhall come to *Weſtminſter*, Perſonally to adviſe with His two Houſes, and to deliver His Opinion, and the reaſons of it: which being done, He will leave the whole matter of thoſe remaining Propoſitions to the determination of His two Houſes, which ſhall prevail with Him for His Conſent accordingly.

And His Majeſty doth (for His own particular) onely propoſe that He may have Liberty to repair forthwith to *Weſtminſter*, and be reſtored to a condition of abſolute Freedom and Safety, (a thing which He ſhall never deny to any of His Subjects) and to the poſſeſſion of His Lands and Revenues; and that an Act of Oblivion and Indemnity may paſs to extend to all perſons, for all matters relating to the late unhappy Differences: Which being agreed by His two Houſes of Parliament, His Majeſty will be ready to make theſe His Conceſſions binding, by giving them the force of Laws by His Royall Aſſent.

Votes concerning His MAJESTIES *Propoſitions and Conceſſions.*

Die Lunæ, Octobr. 2. 1648.

Reſolved by the Lords and Commons in Parliament aſſembled,

THat they are not ſatisfied in the Propoſitions made by His Majeſty in His Letter. And that a Letter be ſent to the Commiſſioners in the Iſle of *Wight*, to acquaint them that the Houſes do well approve of their proceedings, and do give them thanks for their great care and pains in managing of this important and weighty buſineſs; requiring them ſtill to proceed, and act punctually according to their Inſtructions.

[*But upon further Debate in the Treaty, ſome things being yet further cleared, and more fully granted by His Majeſty, out of His earneſt deſire of Peace, they at laſt came ſo near to an Agreement, that the Lower Houſe, after long conſultation, paſſed the following Vote:*]

Die Martis, 5. *Decembr.* 1648.

Reſolved upon the Queſtion,

That the Anſwers of the King to the Propoſitions of both Houſes are a Ground for the Houſe to proceed upon for the Settlement of the Peace of the Kingdom.

The

The Chief Heads of the Remonſtrance of the Army, preſented to the Houſe of Commons, Nov. 20. 1648.

To the Right Honorable the Commons of *England* Aſſembled in Parliament,

The humble Remonſtrance of his Excellency the Lord Generâl *Fairfax*, and his General Councel of Officers held at *St. Albans*, Thurſday the 16. of *Novemb.* 1648.

[*The Remonſtrance it ſelf being very long, and ſerving onely to introduce their Propoſitions in the end, we have thought fit to repreſent only the Propoſitions themſelves, as they are contracted in their own Abridgement.*]

FIrſt, That the Capital and grand Author of our Troubles, the Perſon of the King, by whoſe procurement, and for whoſe Intereſt onely of will and power, all our Warrs have been, may be brought to Juſtice for the Treaſon, Blood, and Miſchief He is therein guilty of.

Secondly, That a timely day may be ſet for the Prince of *Wales* and the Duke of *York* to come in, by which time if they do not, that then they may be immediately declared incapable of any Government or Truſt in this Kingdom or its Dominions, and thence to ſtand exil'd for ever as Enemies and Traitours, to dy without mercy if ever after found and taken therein. Or if by the time limited they do render themſelves, that then the Prince be proceeded with as on his appearance he ſhall give ſatisfaction or not; and the Duke, as he ſhall give ſatisfaction, may be conſidered as to future Truſt or not. But however, that the Revenue of the Crown (ſaving neceſſary allowances for the Children, and for Servants and Creditors to the Crown) be ſequeſtred, and the coſtly Pomp ſuſpended for a good number of years; and that this Revenue be for that time diſpoſed toward publick Charges, Debts and Damages, for the eaſing of the People; ſo as the Eſtates neither of Friends to publick Intereſt, nor alone of inferiour Enemies thereto, may bear wholy the burthen of that loſs and charge which by and for that Family the Kingdome hath been put unto.

Thirdly, That Capital puniſhment be ſpeedily executed upon a competent number of his chief Inſtruments alſo, both in former and later Warrs; and that ſome of both ſorts be pitcht upon as are really in your hands or reach.

Fourthly, That the reſt of the Delinquents *Engliſh*, may upon rendring themſelves to Juſtice have mercy for their Lives; and that onely Fines be ſet upon them, and their perſons declared incapable of any publick Truſt, or having any voice in Elections thereto, at leaſt for a good number of years: And that a ſhort day may be ſet by which all ſuch Delinquents may come in; and for thoſe who come not in by that day, that their Eſtates be abſolutely confiſcate and ſold to the publick uſe, and their perſons ſtand exil'd as Traitors, and to die without mercy if ever found after in the Kingdom or its Dominions.

Fifthly, That the ſatisfaction of Arrears to the Souldiery, with other publick Debts, and competent reparations of publick Damages, may be put into ſome orderly way: And therefore that the Fines and Compoſitions of Delinquents be diſpoſed to thoſe uſes onely, as alſo the Confiſcations of ſuch who ſhall be excluded from Pardon, or not come in by the day aſſigned.

Now after publick Juſtice thus farre provided for, we proceed in order to the general ſatisfaction and ſettling of the Kingdom.

Firſt, That you would ſet ſome reaſonable and certain period to your own Power.

Secondly,

Secondly, That with a period to this Parliament, there may be a ſettlement of the Peace and future Government of the Kingdom.

First, That there may be a certain ſucceſſion of future Parliaments, Annual or Biennial, with ſecure proviſion, 1. For the certainty of their ſitting, meeting, and ending; 2. For equal Elections; 3. For the Peoples meeting to elect, provided that none engaged in Warre againſt the Kingdom may elect or be elected, nor any other who oppoſe this Settlement; 4. For clearing the future power of Parliaments as ſupreme, onely they may not give away any Foundation of Common Right; 5. For liberty of entring Diſſents in the ſaid Repreſentatives, that the People may know who are not fit for future Truſts, but without any further penalty for their free judgements.

Secondly, That no King be hereafter admitted but upon Election of, and as upon Truſt from, the People by ſuch their Repreſentatives, not without firſt diſclaiming all pretence to a Negative Voice againſt the determinations of the Commons in Parliament; and this to be done in ſome form more clear then heretofore in the Coronation Oath.

Theſe matters of general ſettlement we propound to be provided by the Authority of the Commons in this Parliament, and to be further eſtabliſhed by a general Contract or Agreement of the People with their Subſcriptions thereunto. And that no King be admitted to the Crown, nor other perſon to any Office of publick Truſt, without expreſs Accord and Subſcription to the ſame.

Four Queries propounded by His MAJESTY, *when the Armies Remonſtrance was read unto Him at* Newport, *concerning the intended Trial of His* MAJESTY.

1. WHether this Remonſtrance be agreeable to the former Declarations of the Army: and if not, whether the Parliament would make good their Votes, that after He had conſented to what they deſired, He ſhould be in a capacity of Honour, Freedom and Safety.

2. Whether His acknowledgement of the Blood that hath been ſpilt in the late Warres (nothing being as yet abſolutely concluded or binding) could be urged ſo farre as to be made uſe of by way of Evidence againſt Him or any of His Party.

3. Whether the Arguments that He hath uſed in a free and Perſonal Treaty, to leſſen or extenuate, and avoid the exactneſs of any of the Conditions, though in manner and form onely, might be charged againſt Him as an act of Obſtinacy, or wilfull perſiſtence in what is alleged againſt Him, in that He goes on in a deſtructive courſe of Enmity againſt the People and the Laws of the Land, when He hath declared, that His Conſcience was ſatisfied concerning divers particulars in the Propoſitions.

4. Whereas by the Letter of the Law all perſons charged to offend againſt the Law ought to be tried by their Peers or Equals, what the Law is, if the Perſon queſtioned is without a Peer; and if the Law (which of it ſelf is but a dead Letter) ſeems to condemn him, by what power

power ſhall Judgement be given, and who ſhall give it? or from whence ſhall the adminiſtrators of ſuch Judgement derive their power, which may (by the ſame Law) be deemed the ſupreme Power or Authority of Magiſtracy in the Kingdom?

His MAJESTIES *Declaration concerning the Treaty, and His diſlike of the Armies Proceedings.*

Delivered to one of His Servants at His Departure from the Iſle of Wight, *and commanded to be publiſhed for the ſatisfaction of all His Subjects.*

WHen large pretences prove but the ſhadows of weak performance, then the greateſt labours produce the ſmalleſt effects; and when a period is put to a work of great concernment, all mens ears do (as it were) hunger till they are ſatisfied in their expectations. Hath not this diſtracted Nation groaned a long time under the burden of tyranny and oppreſſion? and hath not all the blood that hath been ſpilt theſe ſeven years been caſt upon My Head, Who am the greateſt Sufferer, though the leaſt guilty? And was it not requiſite to endeavour the ſtopping of that flux, which, if not ſtopt, will bring an abſolute Deſtruction to this Nation? And what more ſpeedy way was there to conſummate thoſe Diſtractions then by a *Perſonall Treaty*, being agreed upon by My two Houſes of Parliament, and condeſcended to by Me? And I might declare, that I conceive it had been the beſt Phyſick, had not the operation been hindred by the interpoſition of this imperious Army, who were ſo audacious as to ſtyle Me in their unparallel'd *Remonſtrance*, their *Capital Enemy*. But let the world judge whether Mine endeavours have not been attended with reality in this late Treaty; and whether I was not as ready to grant as they were to ask: and yet all this is not ſatisfaction to them that purſue their own ambitious ends more then the welfare of a miſerable Land. Were not the dying hearts of My poor diſtreſſed People much revived with the hopes of a Happineſs from this Treaty? and how ſuddenly are they fruſtrated in their expectations! Have not I formerly been condemned for yielding too little to My two Houſes of Parliament; and ſhall I now be condemned for yielding too much? Have I not formerly been Impriſoned for

making

making War; and ſhall I now be condemned for making Peace? Have I not formerly ruled like a KING; and ſhall I now be ruled like a Slave? Have I not formerly enjoyed the ſociety of My dear Wife and Children in peace and quietneſs; and ſhall I now neither enjoy them nor Peace? Have not My Subjects formerly obeyed Me; and ſhall I now be obedient to My Subjects? Have I not been condemned for Evil Counſellours; and ſhall I now be condemned for having no Counſel but God? Theſe are unutterable Miſeries; that the more I endeavour for Peace, the leſs My endeavours are reſpected; and how ſhall I know hereafter what to grant, when your ſelves know not what to ask? I referre it to your conſciences, whether I have not ſatisfied your deſires in every particular ſince this Treaty: if you find I have not, then let Me bear the burthen of the fault; but if I have given you ample ſatisfaction (as I am ſure I have) then you are bound to vindicate Me from the fury of thoſe whoſe thoughts are filled with blood: though they pretend zeal, yet they are but Wolves in Sheeps cloathing.

I muſt further declare, that I conceive there is nothing can more obſtruct the long-hoped-for peace of this Nation, then the illegall proceedings of them that preſume from Servants to become Maſters, and labour to bring in Democracy, and to aboliſh Monarchy. Needs muſt the total alteration of Fundamentals be not only deſtructive to others, but in concluſion to themſelves; for they that endeavour to Rule by the Sword, ſhall at laſt fall by it; for Faction is the Mother of Ruine: and it is the humour of thoſe that are of this weather-cock-like diſpoſition to love nothing but mutabilities, neither will that pleaſe them but onely *pro tempore*; for too much variety doth but confound the ſenſes, and makes them ſtill hate one folly, and fall in love with another.

Time is the beſt cure for Faction: for it will at length (like a ſpreading leproſie) infect the whole body of the Kingdom, and make it ſo odious, that at laſt they will hate themſelves for love of that, and, like the Fiſh, for love of the bait be catch'd with the hook.

I once more declare to all My loving Subjects, and God knows whether or no this may be My laſt, that I have earneſtly laboured for Peace, and that My thoughts were ſincere and abſolute, without any ſiniſter ends; and there was nothing leſt undone by Me that

My Conſcience would permit me to doe. And I call God to witneſs that I do firmly conceive that the interpoſition of the Army (that cloud of Malice) hath altogether eclips'd the glory of that Peace which began again to ſhine in this Land. And let the world judge whether it be expedient for an Army to contradict the Votes of a Kingdom, endeavouring, by pretending for Laws and Liberties, to ſubvert both. Such actions as theſe muſt produce ſtrange conſequences, and ſet open the floud-gates of Ruine to overflow this Kingdom in a moment. Had this Treaty been onely Mine own ſeeking, then they might have had fairer pretences to have ſtopt the courſe of it: but I being importun'd by My two Houſes, and they by moſt part of the Kingdom, could not but with a great deal of alacrity concurre with them in their deſires for the performance of ſo commodious a work: and I hope by this time that the hearts and eyes of My People are opened ſo much, that they plainly diſcover who are the Underminers of this Treaty.

For Mine own part, I here proteſt before the face of Heaven, that Mine own Afflictions (though they need no addition) afflict Me not ſo much as My Peoples Sufferings; for I know what to truſt to already, and they know not: God comfort both them and Me, and proportion our Patience to our Sufferings.

And when the Malice of Mine Enemies is ſpun out to the ſmalleſt thred, let them know, that I will, by the grace of God, be as contented to ſuffer as they are active to advance My Sufferings: and Mine own Soul tells Me, that the time will come when the very clouds ſhall drop down vengeance upon the heads of thoſe that barricado themſelves againſt the proceedings of Peace: for if God hath proclaimed a bleſsing to the Peace-makers, needs muſt the Peace-breakers draw down curſes upon their heads.

I thank My God, I have armed My ſelf againſt their Fury: and now let the arrows of their Envie fly at Me, I have a breaſt to receive them, and a heart poſſeſt with Patience to ſuſtain them: for *God is My Rock and My ſhield*; therefore *I will not fear what man can doe unto Me.* I will expect the worſt; and if any thing happen beyond My expectation, I will give God the glory: for vain is the help of man.

C. R.

THE END.

AN

APPENDIX:

CONTAINING THE PAPERS WHICH PASSED

BETWIXT

HIS MAJESTY

AND THE DIVINES WHICH ATTENDED THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE TWO HOUSES AT THE TREATY AT *NEWPORT*,

CONCERNING

CHURCH-GOVERNMENT.

In this APPENDIX are contained

I. *His* MAJESTIES *Reaſon why He cannot in Conſcience conſent to aboliſh the* Epiſcopal *Government.* October 2. 1648. *p.* 677

II. *The Anſwer of the Divines to His* MAJESTIES *Reaſon,* Octob. 3. *p.* 678.

III. *His* MAJESTIES *Reply to their Paper,* October 6. *p.* 682

IV. *The Rejoynder of the Divines to His* MAJESTIES *Reply,* Octob. 17. *p.* 692

V. *His* MAJESTIES *Final Anſwer concerning Epiſcopacy,* Nov. 1. 1648. *p.* 707

runs through the whole file of Your Majesties Discourse: for though there be a Succession in the *Work* of Teaching and Governing, yet there is no Succession in the *Commission* or *Office* by which the Apostles performed them; for the Office of *Christ*, of *Apostles*, of *Evangelists* or *Prophets*, is thence also concluded ordinary, as to *Teaching* and *Governing*, and the distinction of Offices Extraordinary and Ordinary *eatenus* destroyed. The Succession may be into the same *Work*, not into the same *Commission* and *Office:* the Ordinary Officers, which are to manage the work of Teaching and Government, are constituted, settled and limited by warrant of Scripture, as by another Commission then that which the Apostles had. And if Your Majesty had shewn us some Record out of Scripture, warranting the division of the office of Teaching and Governing into two hands, and the appropriation of Teaching to Presbyters, of Governing to Bishops, the question had been determined; otherwise we must look upon the dissolving of the Apostolical Office, and distribution of it into these two hands, as the dictate of men who have a minde, by such a precarious Argument, to challenge to themselves the *Keyes of Authority*, and leave the *Word* to the Presbyters.

In our answer to the instances of *Timothy* and *Titus* (which Doctor *Bilson* acknowledgeth to be the main erection of Episcopal power, if the proof of their being Bishops do stand; or subversion, if the answer that they were Evangelists be good) Your Majesty *finds very little satisfaction, though all that is said therein could be proved.* 10.

First, because the *Scriptures no where imply any such thing at all*, that *Titus* was an *Evangelist, neither doth the text clearly prove that* Timothy *was so.*

1. The name of *Bishop the Scripture neither expressly nor by implication gives to either*; the work which they are injoyned to doe is common to Apostles, Evangelists, Pastors and Teachers, and cannot of it self make a character of one distinct and proper Office: But that there was such an Order of *Officers* in the Church as *Evangelists* reckoned amongst the *extraordinary* and temporary Offices, and that *Timothy* was one of that Order, and that both *Timothy* and *Titus* were not ordained to one particular Church, but were companions and fellow-Labourers with the Apostles, sent abroad to several Churches as occasion did require; it is (as we humbly conceive) clear enough in Scripture, and not denied by the learned defenders of Episcopal Government, nor (as we remember) by *Scultetus* himself, during the time of their travails.

2. To that which Your Majesty secondly saith, That we *cannot make it appear by any Text of Scripture that the Office of Evangelist is such as we have described, his work seeming,* 11 Tim. VIII. 4, 5. *to be nothing else but diligence in preaching the word, notwithstanding all impediments and oppositions*; we humbly answer, that *exact definitions* of these or other Church-Officers are hard to be found in any Text of Scripture, but by comparing one place of Scripture with another, it may be proved as well what they were, as what the *Apostles* and *Presbyters* were, the description by us given being a Character made up by *collation* of Scriptures; from which Mr *Hooker* doth not much vary, saying, that *Evangelists were Presbyters of principal sufficiency, whom the Apostles sent abroad and used as Agents in Ecclesiastical Affairs, whersoever they saw need.* And that *Pastors* and *Teachers* were settled in some certain charge, and *thereby* differed from *Evangelists*, whose work that it should be nothing but diligence in preaching, *&c.* which is common to Apostles, Evangelists, Pastors and Teachers, and so not distinctive of this particular Office, argueth to us, that as the Apostles Office was divided into Episcopal and Apostolical, so this also is to be divided into Episcopal and Evangelistical, Ordination and Censures belonging to *Timothy* as to a *Bishop*, and diligence in Preaching only being left to the *Evangelist:* which division (as we humbly conceive) is not warranted by the Scripture. 11.

Thirdly, Your Majesty saith, that *that which we so confidently affirm of* Timothy *and* Titus *their acting as Evangelists, is by some* denied *and* refuted, *yea even with scorn* rejected *by some rigid Presbyterians*; *and that which we so confidently deny, that* they *were Bishops, is* confirmed *by the consentient testimony of all antiquity, recorded* 12.

by Jerome *himself that they were Bishops of* Paul's *ordination*, acknowledged *by very many late Divines*, and that a *Catalogue of* 27 Bishops of Ephesus *lineally succeeding from* Timothy, *out of good Record, is vouched by Dr.* Reynolds *and other Writers.*

Our confidence (as Your Majesty is pleased to call it) was in our Answer expreſt in these words, *We cannot say that* Timothy *and* Titus *were Bishops in the sense of Your Majesty, but extraordinary Officers or Evangelists:* in which opinion we were then clear, not out of a total ignorance of those Testimonies which might be alleged against it, but from intrinsick arguments out of Scripture, from which Your Majesty hath not produced any one to the contrary. Nor is our confidence weakned by such replies as these, The *Scripture* never calls them Bishops, but the *Fathers* do; The *Scripture* calls *Timothy* an *Evangelist*, some of late have refuted it and rejected it with scorn; The *Scripture* relates their motions from Church to Church, but *some affirm* them to be fixed at *Ephesus* & in *Crete*; The *Scripture* makes distinction of Evangelists and Pastors, but *some* say that *Timothy* & *Titus* were both. We cannot give Your Majesty a present account of *Scultetus* and *Gerard*'s Arguments, but do believe that Mr. *Gillespy* and *Rutherford* are able with greater strength to refute that opinion of *Timothy* and *Titus* their being *Bishops*, then they do (if they do) with scorn reject this of their being *Evangelists*. As for *Testimonies* and *Catalogues*, though we undervalue them not, yet Your Majesty will be pleased to allow us the use of our Reason, so far as not to erect an Office in the Church which is not found in Scripture, upon *general appellations* or *titles*, and *allusions* frequently found in the Fathers, especially when they speak *vulgarly*, and not as to a point in debate; for even *Jerome*, who, as Your Majesty saith, doth record that *Timothy* and *Titus* were made *Bishops*, and that of St. *Paul*'s Ordination, doth, when he speaks to the point between Your Majesty and us, give the Bishops to understand that they are superior to Presbyters *consuetudine magis quam Dominicæ veritatis dispositione*. For *Catalogues*, their credit rests upon the first witnesses, from whom they are reported by *tradition* from hand to hand, whose writings are many times *supposititious*, *dubious*, or not *extant*: besides that these *Catalogues* do resolve themselves into some *Apostle* or *Evangelist* as the first *Bishop*, as the catalogue of *Jerusalem* into the *Apostle James*, that of *Antioch* into *Peter*, that of *Rome* into *Peter* and *Paul*, that of *Alexandria* into *Mark*, that of *Ephesus* into *Timothy*; which Apostles and Evangelists can neither themselves be degraded by being made Bishops, nor be succeeded in their proper Calling or Office: and it is easie for us to proceed the same way, and to finde many ancient rites and customes generally received in the Church (counted by the ancients *Apostolical traditions*) as near the Apostles times as Bishops, which yet are confessedly not of *Divine institution*. And further, if *Timothy* and the rest that are *first* in the *catalogue* were Bishops with such sole Power of Ordination and Censures as is asserted, how came their pretended Successors, who were but *primi Presbyterorum* (as the Fathers themselves call them) to lose so much Episcopal power as was in their Predecessors, and as was not recovered in 300 years? And therefore we cannot upon any thing yet said recede from that of our Saviour, *Ab initio non fuit sic*, from the beginning it was not so.

13. 4. Your Majesty saith, that we *affirm, but upon very weak proofs, that they were from* Ephesus *and* Crete *removed to other places*, the *contrary* whereunto hath been *demonstrated by some, who have exactly out of Scripture compared the times and order of the several Journeys and Stations of* Paul *and* Timothy.

It is confessed that our assertion, that *Timothy* and *Titus* were *Evangelists*, lies with some stress upon this, that they *removed from place to place*, as they were *sent by* or *accompanied* the Apostles; the proof whereof appears to us to be of greater strength then can be taken off by the comparison which Your Majesty makes of the *Divines of the Assembly at Westminster*. We begin with the *travails* of *Timothy*, as we finde them in order recorded in the Scripture-places cited in the Margin, and we *set forth* from (*a*) *Beræa*, where we finde *Timothy*; then next at (*b*) *Athens*, from whence *Paul* sends him to (*c*) *Thessalonica*; afterward having been in *Macedonia*, he came to *Paul* at (*d*) *Corinth*; and after that he is with *Paul* at *Ephesus*, and thence sent by him into

a Act. xvii. 14.
b 15. c 1 Thes. iii. 1, 2.
d Act. xviii. 5.

into (*a*) *Macedonia*, whither *Paul* went after him, and was by *Timothy* accompanied into (*b*) *Asia*, who was with him at (*c*) *Troas* and (*d*) *Miletus*, to which place S. *Paul* sent for the *Presbyters* of the Church in *Ephesus*, and gave them that solemn charge to take heed unto *themselves*, and to all the *flock* over which the Holy Ghost had made them *Bishops*, not speaking a word of recommendation of that Church to *Timothy*, or of him to the Elders. And if *Timothy* was *Bishop of Ephesus*, he must needs be so when the *first Epistle* was sent to him, in which he is pretended to receive the charge of exercising his *Episcopal* power in Ordination and Government: but it is manifest that after this Epistle sent to him he was in continual Journeys, or absent from *Ephesus*. For *Paul* left him at *Ephesus* when he went into (*e*) *Macedonia*, and he left him there to exercise his Office, in regulating and ordering that Church and in ordaining: but it was after this time that *Timothy* is found with *Paul* at *Miletus*; for after *Paul* had been at *Miletus*, he went to *Jerusalem*, whence he was sent prisoner to *Rome*, and never came more into *Macedonia*, and at (*f*) *Rome* we finde *Timothy a prisoner* with him, and those * Epistles which *Paul* wrote while he was prisoner at *Rome*, namely, the Epistle to the *Philippians*, to *Philemon*, to the *Colossians*, to the *Hebrews*, do make mention of *Timothy* as his companion at these times; nor do we ever finde him again at *Ephesus*, for we finde that *after all this*, towards the end of St. *Paul*'s life, after his first answering before *Nero*, and when he said his departure was at hand, he sent for *Timothy* to *Rome*, not from *Ephesus*: for it seems that *Timothy* was not there, because *Paul* giving *Timothy* an account of the absence of most of his companions sent into divers parts, he saith, *Tychicus* have I sent to *Ephesus*. Now if Your Majesty shall be pleased to cast up into one total that which is said, the several journeys and stations of *Timothy*, the order of them, the time spent in them, the nature of his employment, to *negotiate the affairs of Christ in several Churches and places*, the silence of the Scriptures as touching his being Bishop of any one Church, you will acknowledge that such a man was not a Bishop fixed to one Church or Precinct; and then by assuming that *Timothy* was such a man, you will conclude that he was not Bishop of *Ephesus*.

a Act. xix. 22.
b Act. xx. 4.
c ver. 5, 6.
d ver. 17.
e 1 Tim. i. 3.
f Heb xiii. 23.
* Phil. i. 1. Philem. ver. 1. Col. i. 1. Heb. xiii. 23.
11 Tim. iv. 6, 10, 11, 12, 16.

14. The like conclusion may be inferred from the like premisses from the instance of *Titus*, whom we find at (*g*) *Jerusalem* before he came to *Crete*, from whence he is sent for to (*h*) *Nicopolis*, and after that he is sent to *Corinth*, from whence he is expected at (*i*) *Troas*, and met with *Paul* in (*k*) *Macedonia*, whence he is sent again to (*l*) *Corinth*, and after all this is near the time of *Paul*'s death at *Rome*, from whence he went not into *Crete*, but into (*m*) *Dalmatia*, and after this is not heard of in the Scripture. And so we hope Your Majesty doth conceive, that we affirm not upon very *weak proofs* that *Timothy* and *Titus* were from *Ephesus* and *Crete* removed to other places.

g Gal. i. 2.
h Tit. iii. 12.
i 1 Cor. ii. 12.
k 2 Cor. v. 6.
l 2 Cor. viii. 6.
m 2 Tim. iv. 10.

15. In the fifth exception Your Majesty takes notice of two places of Scripture cited by us, to prove that they were called away from those places of *Ephesus* and *Crete*, which they do not conclude much of themselves, yet being accompanied by *two other places* which Your Majesty takes no notice of, may seem to conclude more, and these 1 *Tim.* i. 3. *Titus* i. 5. as, *I besought thee to abide still at Ephesus*; *for this cause left I thee in Crete*: in both which is specified the *occasional employment* for which they made stay in those places: and the expressions used, *I besought thee to abide still at Ephesus*, *I left thee in Crete*, do not sound like words of *instalment* of a man into a Bishoprick, but of an *intendment* to call them away again; and if the first and last be put together, his *actual revocation* of them both, the *intimation* of his intention that they should not stay there for continuance, and the *reason* of his beseeching the one to stay, and of his leaving the other behind him, which was some present defects and distempers in those Churches, they will put fair to prove that the Apostle *intended not* to establish them Bishops of those places, and therefore *did not*.

For the *Postscripts*; because Your Majesty *layes no great weight upon them*, we shall not be solicitous in producing evidence against them, though they do bear witness in a matter of fact which in our opinion *never was*, and in Your Majesties Judgement *was long before they were born*. And so we conclude this discourse about *Timothy* and *Titus* with this observation, that in the same very Epistle of *Paul* to *Timothy*, out of which

Your Majesty hath endeavoured to prove that he was a Bishop, and did exercise Episcopal Government, there is clear evidence both for Presbyters *imposing hands* in Ordination, and for their *Ruling*.

16. In the next point, concerning the Angels of the Churches, though Your Majesty saith that *you lay no weight upon the* Allegory *or* Mystery *of the denomination*, yet you assert that the persons bearing that name were *personæ singulares*, and, in a word, *Bishops*; who yet are never so called in Scripture: and the allegorical denomination of Angels or Stars, which in the Judgement of ancient and modern Writers doth belong to the faithful Ministers and Preachers of the Word in general, is appropriate (as we may so say) to the *Mitre* and *Crosier-staffe*, and so opposed to many expres testimonies of Scripture. And if Your Majesty had been particular in that, wherein You say the *strength of Your instance lies*, *viz. the Judgement of all ancient and of the best modern Writers, and many probabilities in the Text it self*, we hope to have made it apparent, that many ancient and eminent modern Writers, many probabilities out of the Text it self, do give evidence to the contrary. To that which is asserted, That these singular persons were Bishops in distinct sense, whether we brought any thing of moment to infirm this, we humbly submit to Your Majesties Judgement, and shall only present to You, that in Your Reply You have not taken notice of that which in our Answer seems to us of moment, which is this, That in *Mysterious* and *prophetick writings*, or *visional representations* (such as this of the Stars and golden Candlesticks is) a *number* of *things* and *persons* is usually expres in *singulars*: and this in Visions is the usual way of Representation of things; *a thousand persons* making up one Church, is represented by one *Candlestick*; *many Ministers* making up one *Presbytery*, by one *Angel*. And because Your Majesty seems to call upon us to be particular, though we cannot name the *Angels*, nor are satisfied in our judgement, that those whom some do undertake to name were intended by the name of *Angels* in those Epistles; yet we say, First, that these Epistles were sent unto the Churches, and that under the expression of *this thou dost*, or *this thou hast*, and *the like*, the *Churches* are respectively intended; for the *Sins reproved*, the *Repentance commanded*, the *Punishments threatned*, are to be referred to the Churches, and not to the singular *Angels* onely: and yet we do not think that *Salmasius* did intend, nor do we, that in formal denomination the *Angels* and *Candlesticks* were the same.

Secondly, The *Angels* of these Churches or *Rulers* were a *Collective body*, which we endeavoured to prove by such probabilities as Your Majestie takes no notice of, namely, the instance of the Church of *Ephesus*, where there were many *Bishops*, to whom the charge of that Church was by St. *Paul* at his *final departure* from them committed; as also by that expression, *Rev.* 11. 24. *To you and to the rest in Thyatira:* Which distinction makes it very probable that the *Angel* is explained under that *plurality*, *to you*. The like to which many expressions may be found in these *Epistles*, which to interpret according to the consentient Evidence of other Scriptures of the New Testament is not Safe onely, but Solid and Evidential.

Thirdly, These Writings are directed as Epistolary Letters to *Collective Bodies* usually are, (that is) to *One*, but intended to *the Body*: which Your Majesty illustrateth by Your sending a Message to Your Two Houses, and directing it to the *Speaker of the House of Peers*: which as it doth not hinder (we confess) but that the *Speaker is one single person*; so it doth not prove at all that the Speaker is *alwaies the same person*; or if he were, that therefore because Your Message is directed to him, he is the *Governour* or *Ruler* of the Two Houses in the least. And so Your Majesty hath given clear instance, that though these Letters be directed to the *Angels*, yet that notwithstanding they might neither be *Bishops*, nor yet *perpetual Moderators*. For the several opinions specified in Your Majesties Paper, *three* of them, by easie and fair accommodation (as we declared before) are soon reduced and united amongst themselves, and may be holden without *receß* from the received Judgment of the Christian Church, by such as are far from meriting that Aspersion which is cast upon the *Reformed Divines* by Popish Writers, that they have divided themselves from the Common and received Judgement of the *Christian Church*: which Imputation, we hope,

hope, was not in Your Majesties intention to lay upon us, until it be made clear that it is the common and received Judgement of the *Christian Church* that *now is*, or of that in *former Ages*, that the *Angels* of the Churches were Bishops, having Prelacy as well over Pastors as People within their Churches.

17. In the following Discourse we did deny that the Apostles were to have any Successors in their Office, and affirmed onely *Two Orders* of *ordinary* and *standing Officers* in the Church, *viz. Presbyters* and *Deacons*. Concerning the former of which Your Majesty refers to what you had in part already declared; That in *those things which were extraordinary* in the Apostles, *as namely the Measure of their Gifts*, &c. They *had no Successors* in eundem gradum; *but in those things which were not extraordinary, as the Office of Teaching* and *Power of Governing (which are necessary for the Service of the Church in all times) they were to have, and had, Successors.* Where Your Majesty delivers a Doctrine *new* to us; namely, that the Apostles had Successors into their *offices*, not into their *Abilities*: For (besides that *Succession* is not properly into *Abilities*, but into *Office*, we cannot say that one succeeds another in his Learning, or Wit, or Parts, but into his Room and Function) we conceive that the Office Apostolical was extraordinary *in whole*, because their *Mission* and *Commission* was so, and the service or work of Teaching and Governing being to continue in all times doth not render their Office *Ordinary*; as the Office of *Moses* was not rendred Ordinary, because many works of Government exercised by him were re-committed to the *standing Elders* of *Israel*. And if they have Successors, it must be either into their *whole Office*, or into some *parts*. Their Successors into the *whole* (however differing from them in measure of Gifts and peculiar Qualifications) must be called *Apostles*, the *same Office* gives the *same Denomination*; and then we shall confess that Bishops, if they be their Successors in Office, are of *Divine Institution*, because the Apostolical Office *was so*. If their Successors come into part of their Office onely, the *Presbyters* may as well be called their *Successors* as the Bishops, and so indeed they are called by some of the ancient Fathers, *Irenæus*, *Origen*, *Hierome*, and others. Whereas in truth the Apostles have not properly Successors into Office, but the ordinary Power of Teaching and Governing (which is settled in the Church for continuance) is instituted and settled in the hands of ordinary Officers by a *New Warrant* and Commission, according to the rules of *Ordination* and Calling in the Word, which the Bishop hath not yet produced for himself, and without which he cannot challenge it upon the general allusive Speeches used by the Fathers without scruple.

18. And whereas Your Majesty numbers the *extent* of their work amongst those things which were *extraordinary* in the Apostles; we could wish that You had declared whether it belong to their *Mission* or *Unction*: for we humbly conceive, that their Authoritative Power to doe their Work in *all places* of the World did properly belong to their *Mission*, and consequently that their *Office* as well as their *Abilities* was extraordinary; and so by Your *Majesties own Concession* not to be succeeded into by the Bishops.

19. As to the Orders of standing Officers of the Church, Your Majesty doth reply, That *although in the places cited*, Phil.1.1. 1 Tim.III.8. *there be no mention but of the two Orders onely of Bishops or Presbyters, and Deacons, yet it is not thereby proved that there is no other standing Office in the Church besides*: Which we humbly conceive is justly proved, not onely because there are no other named, but because there is no rule of Ordaining any *third*, no Warrant or *way of Mission*; and so the Argument is as good as can be made, *à non causa ad non effectum*: for we do not yet apprehend that the Bishops pretending to the Apostolick Office do also pretend to the same manner of *Mission*; nor do we know that those very many Divines that have asserted *two Orders onely*, have concluded it from any other grounds then the Scriptures cited.

20. *There appear* (as Your Majesty saith) *two other manifest Reasons why* the Office of *Bishops might not be so proper to be mentioned in those places.* And we humbly conceive there is a third more manifest then those two, *viz.* because *it was not.*

21. The *one* Reason given by Your Majesty is, *because in the Churches which the Apostles themselves planted, they placed* Presbyters *under them for the Office of* Teaching, but *reserved in their* own hands *the Power of* Governing *those Churches, for a* longer *or* shorter *time, before they set Bishops over them.* Which, under Your Majesties favour, is not so much a reason why *Bishops are not mentioned* to be in those places, as that they indeed were not. The variety of Reasons (may we say? or Conjectures) rendred why Bishops were not set up *at first*, as namely because *fit men* could not be so soon found out, which is *Epiphanius* his reason; or for remedy of *Schisme*, which is *Jerome*'s reason; or because the Apostles saw it not *expedient*, which is Your Majesties reason; doth shew that this Cause labours under a manifest weakness. For the Apostles reserving in their own hands the power of Governing, we grant it, they could no more devest themselves of power of Governing then (as Dr *Bilson* saith) they could lose their Apostleship: had they set no Bishops in all Churches, they had no more parted with their power of Governing then they did in setting up the Presbyters; for we have proved that Presbyters, being called *Rulers*, *Governours*, *Bishops*, had the power of Governing in *Ordinary* committed to them, as well as the Office of *Teaching*, and that *both the Keyes* (as they are called) being by our Saviour committed into *one hand*, were not by the Apostle divided *into two.* Nor do we see how the Apostle could reasonably commit the Government of the Church to the *Presbyters of Ephesus*, *Acts* 20. and yet reserve the power of Governing (*viz.* in Ordinary) in his own hands, who took *his solemn leave of them, as never to see their faces more.* As concerning that part of the power of Government which, for distinction sake, may be called *Legislative*, and which is one of the three fore-mentioned things challenged by the Bishops, *viz. giving Rules*, the reserving of it in the Apostles hands hindred not but that, in Your Majesties Judgement, *Timothy* and *Titus* were Bishops of *Ephesus* and *Crete*, to whom the Apostle gives *Rules* for *Ordering* and *Governing* of the *Church*: Nor is there any more reason that the Apostles reserving that part of the Power of Governing which is called *Executive*, in such cases and upon such occasions as they thought meet, should hinder the setting up of Bishops, if they had intended it; and therefore the reserving of Power in their *hands* can be no greater reason why they did not set up Bishops *at the first*, then that *they never did.* And since (by Your Majesties Concession) the Presbyters were placed by the Apostles *first*, in the Churches by them planted, and that with Power of Governing, as we prove by Scripture; You must prove the *super-institution* of a Bishop over the Presbyters by the Apostles in some after-times, or else we must conclude that the Bishop got both his Name and Power of Government out of the Presbyters hand, as the *Tree in the wall* roots out the stones by little and little as it self grows.

As touching *Philippi*, where Your Majesty saith *it may be probable there was yet no Bishop*, it is certain there *were many* like them, who were also at *Ephesus*, to whom if onely the Office of Teaching did belong, they had the most *laborious* and *honorable* part, that which was less honorable being reserved in the Apostles hands, and the Churches left in the mean time without ordinary Government.

The other Reason given why onely two Orders are mentioned in those places is, *because he wrote in the Epistles to* Timothy *and* Titus *to them that were Bishops*, so *there was no need to write any thing concerning the Choice or Qualification of any other sort of Officers then such as belonged to their Ordination or Inspection*; *which were* Presbyters *and* Deacons *onely, and no* Bishops.

22. The former Reason why onely two Orders are mentioned in the Epistle to the *Philippians*, was, because *there was yet no Bishop*; this latter Reason why the same two onely are mentioned in these Epistles, is, because there was *no Bishop to be Ordained.* We might own the reason for good, if there may be found any rule for the Ordination of the other Order of Bishops in some other place of Scripture: but if the

Ordination

Ordination cannot be found, how ſhould we *find the Order?* And it is reaſonable to think, that the Apoſtle in the Chapter formerly alleged, 1 *Tim.* III. where he paſſes immediately from the Biſhop to the Deacon, would have diſtinctly expreſt, or at leaſt hinted, what ſort of Biſhops he meant, whether the *Biſhop over Presbyters*, or the *Presbyter-Biſhop*, to have avoided the confuſion of the Name, and to have ſet as it were ſome mark of difference in the *Eſcocheon* of the *Presbyter-Biſhop*, if there had been ſome other Biſhop *of a higher houſe*. And whereas Your Majeſtie ſaith, there was no need to write to them about a Biſhop in a diſtinct ſenſe, who belonged not to their Ordination and Inſpection: we conceive that in Your Majeſties judgement, Biſhops might then have Ordained Biſhops like themſelves; for there was then no *Canon* forbidding one ſingle Biſhop to ordain another of his own rank: and there being *many Cities* in *Crete*, *Titus* might have found it expedient (as thoſe ancient Fathers that call him Arch-biſhop think he did) to have ſet up Biſhops in ſome of thoſe Cities. So that this Reaſon fights againſt the Principles of thoſe that hold *Timothy* and *Titus* to have been Biſhops. For our part, we believe that theſe Rules belonged not to *Timothy* and *Titus* with ſtrict limitation to *Epheſus* and *Crete*, but reſpectively to all the places or Churches where they might come, and to all that ſhall at any time have the Office of Ordaining and Governing; as it is written in the ſame Chapter, 1 *Tim.* III. 14, 15. *Theſe things I have written unto thee*, &c. *that thou mayſt know how to behave thy ſelf in the Houſe of God, which is the Church.* And therefore if there had been any proper Character or Qualification of a Biſhop diſtinct from a Presbyter, if any *Ordination* or *Office*, we think the Apoſtle would have ſignified it; but becauſe he did not, we conclude (and the more ſtrongly from the inſufficiency of Your Majeſties two Reaſons) that there are *onely two Orders of Officers*, and conſequently that a Biſhop is not ſuperiour to a Presbyter: for we find not (as we ſaid in our Anſwer) that one Officer is ſuperiour to another who is of the ſame Order.

Concerning the Ages ſucceeding the Apoſtles. 23.

Your Majeſty having in Your firſt Paper ſaid, that You *could not in Conſcience conſent to Aboliſh* Epiſcopal Government, becauſe You did *conceive it to be of* Apoſtolical Inſtitution, *practiſed by the Apoſtles themſelves, and by them* committed *and* derived *to particular perſons as their* Succeſſors, *and hath ever ſince till theſe laſt times been* exerciſed *by Biſhops in all the Churches of Chriſt:* we thought it neceſſary in our Anſwer, to ſubjoyn to that we had ſaid out of the Scriptures, the Judgement of divers ancient *Writers* and *Fathers*, by whom Biſhops were not acknowledged as a *Divine*, but as an *Eccleſiaſtical Inſtitution*, as that which might very much conduce both to the eaſing of Your Majeſties Scruple, to conſider that howſoever Epiſcopal Government was generally current, yet the ſuperſcription was not judged Divine by ſome of thoſe that either were themſelves Biſhops, or lived under that Government; and to the vindication of the opinion which we hold from the prejudice of *Novelliſme*, or of *Receſs* from the Judgement of all Antiquity.

We do as firmly believe (as to matter of fact) that *Chryſoſtome* and *Auſtin* were *Biſhops*, as that *Ariſtotle* was a *Philoſopher*, *Cicero* an *Orator*; though we ſhould rather call our Faith and belief thereof *certain* in matter of fact, upon humane Teſtimonies uncontroll'd, then *infallible*, in reſpect of the Teſtimonies themſelves. But whereas Your Majeſty ſaith, That *the darkneſs of the Hiſtory of the Church* in the times ſucceeding the Apoſtles *is a ſtrong Argument for* Epiſcopacy, *which notwithſtanding* that *darkneſs hath found ſo full proof by* unqueſtioned Catalogues, *as ſcarce any other matter of fact hath found the like:* we humbly conceive, that thoſe fore-mentioned times were dark to the *Catalogue-makers*, who muſt derive the *ſeries* of *Succeſſion* from and through thoſe Hiſtorical darkneſſes, and ſo make up their *Catalogues* very much from *Traditions* and *Reports*, which can give no great Evidence, becauſe they agree not amongſt themſelves: and that which is the great blemiſh of their Evidence is, that the *nearer* they come to the Apoſtles times (wherein they ſhould be moſt of all clear, to eſtabliſh the Succeſſion firm and clear *at firſt*) the more *doubtful*, *uncertain*, and indeed *contradictory* to one another, are the Teſtimonies. Some ſay that *Clemens* was *firſt Bi-* 24.

ſhop of *Rome* after *Peter*; ſome ſay the *third:* and intricacies about the Order of Succeſſion in *Linus*, *Anacletus*, *Clemens*, and another called *Cletus* (as ſome affirm) are inextricable. Some ſay that *Titus* was *Biſhop of Crete*; ſome ſay, *Arch-biſhop*; and ſome, *Biſhop* of *Dalmatia*. Some ſay that *Timothy* was *Biſhop* of *Epheſus*; and ſome ſay that *John* was *Biſhop* of *Epheſus* at the ſame time. Some ſay that *Polycarpus* was the firſt *Biſhop* of *Smyrna*; another ſaith that he ſucceeded one *Bucolus*; and another, that *Ariſto* was firſt. Some ſay that *Alexandria* had but *one Biſhop*, and other Cities *two*; and others, that there was but *one Biſhop* of *one City* at the ſame time. And how ſhould thoſe *Catalogues* be unqueſtionable, which muſt be made up out of Teſtimonies that fight one with another? We confeſs that the Ancient Fathers, *Tertullian*, *Irenæus*, &c. made uſe of Succeſſion as an Argument againſt *Hereticks* or Innovators, to prove that they had the *traduces Apoſtolici ſeminis*, and that the Godly and Orthodox Fathers were on their ſide. But that which we now have in hand is *Succeſſion* in *Office*; which, according to the *Catalogues*, reſolves it ſelf into ſome *Apoſtle* or *Evangeliſt*, as the firſt *Biſhop* of ſuch a *City* or *Place*, who (as we conceive) could not be *Biſhops* of thoſe *places*, being of higher *Office*; though, according to the language of after-times, they might by them that drew up the *Catalogues* be ſo called, becauſe they *planted and founded*, or *watered* thoſe Churches to which they are entitled, and had their *greateſt reſidence* in them. Or elſe the *Catalogues* are drawn from ſome eminent men that were of great *veneration* and *reverence* in the times and places where they lived, and *Preſidents* or *Moderators* of the *Presbyteries* whereof themſelves were Members: from whom to pretend the Succeſſion of after-*Biſhops*, is as if it ſhould be ſaid that *Cæſar* was *Succeſſor* to the *Roman Conſuls*. And we humbly conceive that there are ſome *Rites* and *Ceremonies* uſed continually in the Church of old, which are aſſerted to be found in the Apoſtolical and Primitive times, and yet have no colour of Divine Inſtitution; and, which is Argument above all other, the *Fathers*, whoſe Names we exhibited to Your Majeſty in our Anſwer, were doubtleſs acquainted with the *Catalogues* of *Biſhops* who had been before them, and yet did hold them to be of *Eccleſiaſtical Inſtitution*.

25. And leſt Your Majeſty might reply, That however the Teſtimonies and Catalogues may vary, or be miſtaken, in the order, or times, or names of thoſe perſons that ſucceeded the Apoſtles, yet all agree that there was a Succeſſion of *ſome* perſons; and ſo, though the credit of the Catalogues be *infirmed*, yet the thing intended is *confirmed* thereby. We grant that a *Succeſſion* of men to feed and govern thoſe Churches, while they continued Churches, cannot be denied, and that the *Apoſtles* and *Evangeliſts*, that planted and watered thoſe Churches (though extraordinary and temporary Officers) were by Eccleſiaſtical Writers, in *compliance with the Language and uſage of their own times*, called *Biſhops*; and ſo were other eminent men, of *chief* note, *preſiding* in the *Presbyteries* of the Cities or Churches, called by ſuch Writers as wrote after the *diviſion* or *diſtinction* of the names of *Presbyters* and *Biſhops*. But that thoſe *firſt* and *ancienteſt Presbyters* were *Biſhops* in proper ſenſe, according to Your Majeſties deſcription, inveſted *with* power *over* Presbyters *and* people, *to whom (as diſtinct from* Presbyters) *did belong the* power *of Ordaining*, *giving Rules*, and *Cenſures*, we humbly conceive can never be proved by authentick or competent Teſtimonies. And granting that Your Majeſty ſhould prove the Succeſſion of Biſhops from the Primitive times *ſeriatim*; yet if theſe from whom You draw, and through whom You derive it, be found either *more then* Biſhops, as Apoſtles, and extraordinary perſons, or *leſs then* Biſhops, as merely *firſt Presbyters*, having not one of the *three Eſſentials to Epiſcopal Government* (mentioned by Your Majeſty) in their own hand; it will follow, that all that Your Majeſty hath proved by this Succeſſion is the *Homonymy* and equivocal acceptation of the word *Epiſcopus*.

26. For *Clemens* his Teſtimony, which Your Majeſty conceiveth to be made uſe of as *our old fallacy*, *from the* promiſcuous *uſe of the words to inferre the indiſtinction of the things*; we referre our ſelves to *himſelf* in his *Epiſtle*, now in all mens hands, whoſe Teſtimony we think cannot be eluded but by the old Artifice, of *hiding the Biſhop under*

under the Presbyters name: for they that have read his whole Epistle, and have considered that himself is called a Bishop, *may doubt of Clement's* opinion concerning the distinct Offices of *Bishops* and *Presbyters*, or rather *not doubt* of it, if onely his own Epistle may be impanel'd upon the Inquest. Concerning *Ignatius* his Epistles, Your Majestie is pleased to use some *earnestness* of *expression*, charging some of late, without any regard of *ingenuity* or *truth*, out of their partial disaffection to Bishops, to have endeavoured to discredit his Writings. One of those cited by us cannot (as we conceive) be suspected of *disaffection* to *Bishops*; and there are great Arguments drawn out of those Epistles themselves, betraying their *insincerity*, adulterate *mixtures* and *interpolations*; so that *Ignatius* cannot be distinctly known in *Ignatius*. And if we take him *in gross*, we make him the *Patron* (as *Baronius* and the rest of the Popish Writers do) of such rites and observations as the Church in his time cannot be thought to have owned. He doth indeed give testimony to the *Prelacy* of a *Bishop* above a *Presbyter*; that which may justly render him suspected is, that he *gives too much Honour* (saith he) *the Bishop*, as God's high Priest, and *after him* you must honour the *King*. He was indeed a holy *Martyr*, and his writings have suffered *Martyrdome* as well as he: *Corruptions could not goe current but under the credit of worthy Names.*

That which Your Majesty saith in Your fourth Paragraph, that *we might have added, (if we had pleased) That* James, Timothy, Titus, &c. were *constituted and ordained Bishops of the* forementioned places respectively, and that *all* the Bishops of those times were reputed *Successors to the Apostles in their Episcopal Office*; we could not have added it without prejudice (as we humbly conceive) to the truth: for the Apostles did not ordain *any of themselves Bishops*, nor could they doe it, for even by Your Majesties Concession they were Bishops *before*, *viz.* as they were *Apostles*; nor could any Apostle his choice of *a certain Region* or place to exercise his function in, whilest he pleased, render him a Bishop any more then *Paul* was Bishop of the *Gentiles*, *Peter* of the *Circumcision*. Neither did the *Apostles* ordain the *Evangelists* Bishops of those places unto which they sent them; nor were the Bishops of those times any more then, as Your Majesty saith, *reputed Successors to the Apostles in their Episcopal Office*; they *came after* the Apostles in the Churches by them planted, so might *Presbyters* doe. But that's not properly *succession*, at least not succession *into Office*; and this we say with a *Salvo* to our Assertion, That in those times there were no such Bishops distinct from Presbyters. Neither do we understand, whether the *words Episcopal Office* in this Section refer to the *Bishops* or *Apostles:* for in reference to *Apostles*, it insinuates a distinction of the Apostles Office into *Apostolical* and *Episcopal*, or that the Office Apostolical was *wholly* Episcopal; unto neither of which we can give our consent for reasons forementioned. To the testimonies by us recited in proof of *two onely Orders*, Your Majesty answers, first, that the *promiscuous use* of the *names of Bishops* and *Presbyters* is imported. That which Your Majesty not long ago called *our old fallacy*, is now Your Answer, onely with this *difference:* we under *promiscuous names* hold the *same Office*; Your Majesty under *promiscuous names* supposes *two*, which if, as it is often *asserted*, was but once *proved*, we should take it for a *determination* of this Controversie. Secondly, that *they relate to a Schoolpoint*, or a nicety, *utrum Episcopatus sit ordo vel gradus*; *both sides* of the *questionists* or disputants *in the mean time acknowledging the right of Church-government in the Bishops alone.* It is confest by us, that that question as it is stated by *Popish Authors* is a *curious nicety*, to which we have no eye or reference; for though the same Officers may *differ* from and *excell* others of the *same order* in *Gifts* or Qualifications, yet the *Office it self* is *one* and the *same*, without *difference* or *degrees*, as one Apostle or Presbyter is not superiour to another in the degree of Office; they that are of the same Order are of the same *degree* in respect of *Office*, as having Power and Authority to the same Acts. Nor doth the Scripture warrant or allow any Superiority of *one over another* of the *same Order*; and therefore the proving of *two Orders onely* in the Church is a *demonstration* that Presbyters and Bishops are the same. In which point the Scripture will counter-balance the testimonies of those that assert *three degrees* or *orders*, though *ten* for *one*. But, for easing of Your Majesty of 27.

the

the trouble of producing teſtimonies againſt thoſe cited by us, we make this *humble motion*, that the *Regiments* on both ſides may be diſcharged out of the *field*, and the Point diſputed by *Dint of holy Scripture. Id verum quod primum.*

28. Having paſſed through the Argumentative parts of Your Majeſties Reply, wherein we ſhould account it a great happineſs to have given Your Majeſty *any ſatisfaction*, in order whereunto You pleaſed to honour us with this imployment, we ſhall contract our ſelves in the remainder, craving Your Majeſties pardon, if You ſhall conceive us to have been *too much* in the former, and *too little* in that which follows. We honour the pious intentions and munificence of Your Royal Progenitors; and do acknowledge that *Ornamental* Acceſſions granted to the Perſon do not make any ſubſtantial change in the *Office:* the real difference betwixt that Epiſcopal Government which firſt obtained in the Church, and the preſent *Hierarchy*, conſiſts *in ipſo regimine & modo regiminis*; which cannot be clearly demonſtrated in particulars, untill it be agreed on both ſides what that Epiſcopacy *was then*, and what the Hierarchy *is now*; and then it would appear whether theſe three forementioned *Eſſentials* of Epiſcopal Government were the ſame in both. For the *Power* under *Chriſtian* Princes and under *Pagan* is one and the ſame, though the *Exerciſe* be not. And we humbly receive Your Majeſties pious Advertiſement, (not unlike that of *Conſtantine*'s) ſtirring us up, as men unbiaſſed with private intereſts, to ſtudy the neareſt *Accommodation* and *beſt Reſemblance* to the *Apoſtolicall* and *Primitive times*. But for Your Majeſties *Salvo* to the Biſhops *ſole power* of *Ordination* and *Juriſdiction*, and that *diſtinction* of *Ordination*, *Authoritative* in the *Biſhop*, and *Concomitant* in the *Presbytery*, which You ſeem to found upon theſe two Texts, 11 *Tim.* 1. 6. 1 *Tim.* 1v. 14. and which is uſed by Dr *Bilſon*, and other Defenders of Epiſcopacy, in explication of that Canon of the fourth *Council* of *Carthage*, *which enjoyns the joynt impoſition* of the *Biſhops* and *Presbyters* hands, we ſhall give Your Majeſty an accompt when we ſhall be called to the inquiſition thereof: Albeit that we do not for the preſent ſee, but that this *Proviſo of Your Majeſty* renders our accommodation to the Apoſtolical and Primitive times (whereunto You did exhort us) unfeiſible. We notwithſtanding do fully profeſs our acknowledgement of *ſubordination* of the *outward exerciſe* of *Juriſdiction* to the Sovereign *power*, and our accomptableneſs to the *Laws* of the Land.

29. As for Your Majeſties *three Queſtions* of great importance, *Whether* there be a *certain form of Government left by Chriſt and his Apoſtles to be obſerved by all Chriſtian Churches*; *Whether it binde perpetually*, or be *upon occaſion alterable in whole or in part*; *Whether* that *certain form of Government be the* Epiſcopal, Presbyterian, *or ſome* other *differing from them both:* The whole *Volume* of Eccleſiaſtical *Policy* is contained in them; and we hope that neither Your Majeſty expected of us a particular Anſwer to them at this time, nor will take offence at us, if we hold onely to that which is the queſtion in order to the Bill of *Abolition*. For we humbly profeſs our readineſs to ſerve Your Majeſtie, in anſwering theſe or any other queſtions within our proper *cogniſance*, according to the proportion of our mean abilities.

30. For Your Majeſties Condeſcenſion, in vouchſafing us the liberty and honour of examining Your *learned* Reply *cloathed* in ſuch *Excellency of Style*, and for Your exceeding *Candour* ſhewed to ſuch men as we are, and for the acceptation of our humble duty, we render to Your Majeſty moſt *humble Thanks*, and ſhall *pray*,

That ſuch a *Pen* in the hand of ſuch *Abilities* may ever be employed in a Subject worthy of it.

That Your Majeſty would pleaſe to conſider, that in this point under debate *Succeſſion* is not the beſt *Clue*, and moſt *certain* and *ready* way to find out the *Original*; for to go that way, is to go the furtheſt way about, yea, *to go backward:* and when You are at the *Spring*, *viz.* the *Scripture* it ſelf, You go to the *Rivers end*, that You may ſeek the *Spring*.

And that the Lord would guide Your Majeſty, and the two Houſes of Parliament, by the *right hand* of his Counſel, and ſhew You a happy way of healing our unhappy Differences, and of ſettling the *Commonwealth* of *Jeſus Chriſt*, which is the *Church*; ſo as all the members thereof may live under You in all Godlineſs, Peace and Honeſty.

His

V.

His MAJESTIES *Final Answer concerning Episcopacy,* NOV. 1. 1648.

WHat you have offered by way of Reply to His Majesties Second Paper of *October* 6. in yours of *October* 17. in order to the further satisfaction of His Conscience in the point of Episcopacy, His Majesty heard, when it was publickly read by you, with diligent attention, and hath since (so far as His leisure would permit) taken the same into His private and serious Consideration: Wherein His Majesty not onely acknowledgeth your great Pains and Endeavours to inform His Judgement, according to such perswasions as your selves have in the matter in debate; but also taketh special notice of the Civility of your applications to Him both in the Body and Conclusion of your Reply: yet He cannot but observe withall, that in very many things you either mistake His meaning and purpose in that Paper, or at least come not up fully enough thereunto in this Reply. Which to have shown, will sufficiently remonstrate your present Reply to be unsatisfactory in that behalf, without making a particular Answer to every passage in it, which to a Paper of that length would require more time then His Majesty can think fit (amidst the present weighty affairs) to allow unto a debate of this nature: Especially since His Majesty hath often found mutual returns of long Answers and Replies, to have rather multiplied disputes by starting new Questions, then informed the Conscience by removing former Scruples.

As to the Scriptures cited in the Margin of His Majesties first Paper. I. Reply, Sect. 1, 2.

It being granted by you, that those Scriptures did prove the Apostles, and others being single Persons, to have exercised respectively the several powers in the Paper specified, which powers (by your own confession in this Reply, *Sect.* 7.) a single Person who is but a mere Presbyter hath no right to exercise: and it being withall evident that a Bishop in the Ecclesiastical sense, and as distinct from a Presbyter, layeth claim to no more then to a peculiar right in the exercise of some or all of the said Powers, which a mere Presbyter hath not; the Conclusion seemeth natural and evident, that such a

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Power of Church-Government as we usually call *Episcopal* is sufficiently proved by those Scriptures.

2. Reply, Sect. 3. 4. 5. *As to the Bishops Challenge.* First, when you speak of a Writ of partition, you seem to take His Majesties words, as if He had shared and cantoned out the Episcopal Office, one part to the Bishops alone, another to the Presbyters alone; and you fall upon the same again afterwards (*Sect.* 6.) Whereas His Majesties meaning was, and by His words appeareth so to have been, that one part of the Office (that of *Teaching*, &c.) was to be common to both alike; but the other part (that of *Governing Churches*) peculiar to the Bishop alone.

Secondly, you infer from His Majesties words, That the *Bishops Challenge appeareth to be grown to more then was formerly pretended to.* Which inference His Majesties words by you truly cited, if rightly understood, will not bear. For having proved from Scripture the power of Church-Government in all the three mentioned Particulars to have been exercised by the Apostles and others; His Majesty said but this onely, That *the Bishops challenge no more or other power to belong unto them, in respect of their Episcopal Office, then what properly falleth under one of these three.* The words are true; for he that believeth they challenge not so much, might safely say they challenge no more. But the Inference is not good. For he that saith they challenge no more, doth not necessarily imply they challenge all that. In the power of Ordination, which is purely spiritual, His Majesty conceiveth the Bishops challenge to have been much-what the same in all times of the Church; and therefore it is that the matter of *Ordination* is most insisted on, as the most constant and most evident difference between Bishops and Presbyters, especially after the times of *Constantine*, which His Majesty by your relating to *Chrysostom* and *Hierome* taketh to be the same you call the times of *Grown Episcopacy*. But His Majesty seeth no necessity that the Bishops challenge to the power of Jurisdiction should be at all times as large as the Exercise thereof appeareth at some times to have been; the exercise thereof being variable according to the various conditions of the Church in different times. And therefore His Majesty doth not believe that the Bishops under Christian Princes do challenge

lenge ſuch an amplitude of Juriſdiction to belong unto them in reſpect of their Epiſcopal Office preciſely, as was exerciſed in the Primitive times by Biſhops before the dayes of *Conſtantine*. The reaſon of the difference being evident, That in thoſe former times under Pagan Princes the Church was a diſtinct Body of it ſelf, divided from the Commonwealth, and ſo was to be governed by its own Rules and Rulers; the Biſhops therefore of thoſe times, though they had no outward coercive power over mens Perſons or Eſtates, yet inaſmuch as every Chriſtian man, when he became a Member of the Church, did *ipſo facto*, and by that his own voluntary act, put himſelf under their Government, they exerciſed a very large power of Juriſdiction in *Spiritualibus*, in making Eccleſiaſtical Canons, receiving Accuſations, conventing the Accuſed, examining Witneſſes, judging of Crimes, excluding ſuch as they found guilty of ſcandalous offences from the Lord's Supper, enjoyning Penances upon them, caſting them out of the Church, receiving them again upon their Repentance, &c. And all this they exerciſed as well over Presbyters as others. But after that the Church under Chriſtian Princes began to be incorporated into the Commonwealth, whereupon there muſt of neceſsity follow a complication of the Civil and Eccleſiaſtical Powers, the Juriſdiction of Biſhops (in the outward exerciſe of it) was ſubordinate unto and limitable by the ſupreme Civil power, and hath been, and is at this day, ſo acknowledged by the Biſhops of this Realm.

Thirdly, you ſeem to affirm in a Parentheſis, as if nothing were *confeſſed to have been extraordinary in the Apoſtles but their Gifts and Enablements* onely; whereas His Majeſty in that Paper hath in expreſs words named as Extraordinaries alſo, the Extent of their Charge, and the Infallibility of their Doctrine, without any meaning to exclude thoſe not named, as their immediate Calling, and if there be any other of like reaſon.

Fourthly, for the Claim to a *jus Divinum*, His Majeſty was willing to decline both the Term (as being by reaſon of the different acception of it ſubject to miſconſtruction) and the diſpute, whether by Chriſt, or his Apoſtles. Nevertheleſs, although His Majeſty ſees no cauſe to diſlike their opinion who derive the Epiſcopal power originally from Chriſt himſelf, without whoſe warrant the Apoſtles

would not either have exercised it themselves, or derived it to others; Yet for that the practice in them is so clear and evident, and the warrant from him expreſt but in general Terms (*As my Father sent me, so send I you*, and the like) He chose rather (as others have done) to fix the claim of the power upon that practice, as the more evidential way, then upon the warrant, which by reason of the generality of expression would bear more dispute.

3. Reply, Sect. 6. *As to the Definition of Episcopacy.* First, whereas you except against it, for that it is competent to Archiepiscopal and Patriarchal Government as well as Episcopal, His Majesty thinketh you might have excepted more justly against it if it had been otherwise.

Secondly, His Majesty believeth that even in the persons by you named (*Timothy*, *Titus*, and the Angels) the definition in all the parts of it is to be found, *viz.* that they were all single persons; that they had their several peculiar Charges; and that within their several precincts they had authority over Presbyters as well as others.

Neither, thirdly, doth His Majesty think it needful that any word be added to the *Genus* in the definition, or that the Scripture should any where put all the parts of the definition together. It would be a hard matter to give such a definition of an Apostle, or a Prophet, or an Evangelist, or a Presbyter, or a Deacon, or indeed almost of any thing, as that the parts thereof should be found in any place of Scripture put altogether.

Fourthly, His Majesty consenteth with you, that the point in issue is not the Name or Work merely, but the Office, and that it were a Fallacy to argue a particular Office from a General or Common work: But judgeth withall, that it can be no Fallacy to argue a Particular Office from such a work as is peculiar to that Office, and is as it were the *formalis ratio* thereof; and therefore no Fallacy from a work done by a single person which a single Presbyter hath no right to doe, to infer an Office in that person distinct from the Office of a Presbyter.

4. Reply, Sect. 7. *As to the Scriptures cited by you, viz.* Titus 1. Acts xx. 11 Peter v. First, when you say you *take His Majesties Concession, That in those times of the Church and places of Scripture there was no distinct Office of Bishops and*

and Presbyters; if you take it so, truly you take it *gratis*, (His Majesty never gave it you:) and you mistake it too more wayes then one; for, to speak properly, His Majesty made no Concession at all. It was rather a preterition in order to the present business, and to avoid unnecessary disputes, which ought not to be interpreted as an acknowledgement of the Truth of your Expositions of those places. For his own expres words are, [*Although His Majesty be not sure that the Proof will reach so far in each of those Places.*] Which words plainly evidence, that which you call His Majesties Concession to be indeed no Concession, but to have been meant according to that form of Speech very usual in disputations, *Dato, non Concesso*. But in that Concession, such as it is, His Majesty is not yet able to imagine what you could finde whereon to ground those words, *That in those times of the Church there was no distinct*, &c. there being not any thing in the whole passage that carrieth the least sound that way, or that hath relation to any particular times of the Church. Neither is the Concession such as you take it, as it relateth to those places of Scripture. What His Majesty said was *confessed on all sides* (which are the words you take for a Concession) was but this, That supposing (but not granting) the word *Bishop* to be used in all those places *to signifie a Presbyter, the Office and Work in those places mentioned as the Office and Work of a Bishop, are* (upon that supposal) *the Office and Work of a Presbyter*; which is so manifest a Truth, that no man without admitting Contradictions can say the contrary. But how wide or short that is from what you make to be His Majesties Concession, your selves by comparing His words with yours may easily judge. But your selves a little after make a Concession which His Majesty (warned by your example how soon anothers meaning may be mistaken when his words are altered) is willing to take in the same words you give it, *viz.* When you say, and you bring reasons also to prove it, *That it seemeth manifest that Ordination and Censures are not to be exercised by a single Presbyter.*

Secondly, you repeat your Arguments formerly drawn from those places, and press the same from the force of the words πρεσβυτέριον and ἐπισκοπεῖν, and from the Circumstances of the Text, and otherwise; adding withall, that His Majesty hath waved the notice or answer of something by you alleged therein. Hereunto His

Majeſty ſaith, that He waved not any thing in your former Paper for any great difficulty He conceived of anſwering it; but being deſirous to contract His Anſwer, and knowing to what frailties Arguments drawn from Names and Words and Conjectural Expoſitions of Scripture are ſubject, He paſſed by ſuch things as He deemed to be of leaſt Conſideration in order to the end of the whole Debate, to wit, the ſatisfaction of His Judgement and Conſcience in the main buſineſs. Otherwiſe His Majeſty could have then told you, That there are who, by the like Conjectures, grounded (as ſeemeth to them,) upon ſome Probabilities in the Text, interpret thoſe places in the *Acts* and in St *Peter*, of *Biſhops* properly ſo called, and in the reſtrained Eccleſiaſtical ſenſe, rather then of ordinary Presbyters: That ſuppoſing them both meant of Ordinary Presbyters, the words ποιμαίνειν and ἐπισκοπεῖν (which ſignifie to *feed* and *overſee*) might not unfitly be applied to them as inferiour Paſtors, in relation to their Flocks under their charge and overſight (the Flock being in both the places expreſly mentioned) which hindreth not, but that the ſame words may in a more peculiar manner be appropriated to Biſhops in reſpect of that Authority and overſight they have even over Presbyters themſelves alſo: That ſtill granting your own interpretation of the word *Biſhop* in that place to *Titus*, it can prove no more then that the two names in that place are given to the ſame Function: That from all the Premiſſes in your Paper there laid together, and ſuppoſed true, His Majeſty doth not conceive it juſtly proved, That the Office of a Biſhop and Presbyter is wholly the ſame, but at the moſt, That the Offices were not in thoſe places diſtinguiſhed by thoſe Names.

Thirdly, if the *Aſſignment of any particular Qualification, work, or duty, unto a Biſhop, diſtinct from a Presbyter, by the Scripture, would* (as you ſay) *put this queſtion near to an iſſue*; His Majeſty ſhould well have hoped that it might ſoon be brought to a near point, and that from the evidence of the Epiſtles onely of St. *Paul* to *Timothy*, wherein as he particularly expreſſeth the qualification, work, and duty of Presbyters and Deacons, that *Timothy* might know what perſons were fit to be ordained unto thoſe Offices; ſo in the directions given to *Timothy* throughout thoſe Epiſtles, he ſufficiently deſcribeth the qualificati-

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on, work, and duty of a Biſhop, that *Timothy* might know how to behave himſelf in the exerciſe of his Epiſcopal Office, as well in Ordaining as in Governing the Church.

As to the ſignification of the word *Epiſcopus*, the primary ſignification thereof, and the application of it to Church-Officers, you acknowledge; and that the ſame was after by Eccleſiaſtical uſage appropriated to Biſhops you deny not: But the diſtinction of *Epiſcopus Gregis* and *Epiſcopus Paſtorum* you do not allow. If you diſallow it for the unfitneſs of the word, as may ſeem by that paſſage, where you ſay that His Majeſty hath ſaid that *Epiſcopus* ſignifieth a *Keeper of Shepherds*, His Majeſty thinketh you might very well have ſpared that exception: For if there be a perſon that hath the overſight of many Shepherds under him, there is no more impropriety in giving ſuch a perſon the ſtyle of *Epiſcopus Paſtorum*, then there is in uſing the word ἀρχιποιμὴν, or in calling *Doeg* the Maſter of *Saul*'s Herdſmen. And for the thing it ſelf, it cannot be denied but that the Apoſtles, and *Timothy* and *Titus*, (by what claim, ordinary or extraordinary, as to the preſent buſineſs it matters not) had the *overſight* and authority over many Paſtors, and were therefore truly and really *Epiſcopi Paſtorum*. 5. Reply, Sect. 8.

The appropriation of the names of *Epiſcopus* and *Presbyter* to theſe diſtinct Offices, conſidering that it was done ſo early, and received ſo univerſally in the Church, as by the writings of *Clemens*, *Ignatius*, the Canons commonly called of the Apoſtles, and other ancient evidences doth appear, His Majeſty hath great reaſon to believe that it was done by conſent of the Primitive Biſhops, merely in honour of the Apoſtles, out of their reſpect and reverence to whoſe perſons and perſonal Prerogatives, they choſe to call themſelves Biſhops rather then Apoſtles in common uſage; although they made no ſcruple to maintain their ſucceſsion from the Apoſtles, when they ſpake of things proper to their Epiſcopal Function, nor to uſe upon occaſion the terms of Apoſtle and Apoſtolical in that ſenſe. The truth of all which is to be ſeen frequently in the writings of the Ancients.

The Teſtimonies of ſo many Writers, ancient and modern, as have been produced for the Scripture-original of Biſhops, His Majeſty conceiveth to be of ſo great importance in a Queſtion of this

nature, that He thinketh Himſelf bound both in Charity and Reaſon to believe, that ſo many men of ſuch quality would not have aſſerted the ſame with ſo much confidence, but upon very good ground. The Men reſpectively of high eſtimation and reverend authority in the Church, worthily renowned for their Learning and Piety, of moderate and even Paſſions, of Orthodox belief, ſundry of them unintereſſed in the Quarrel, and ſome of them of later times by intereſt and education byaſſed the other way. Their Aſſertions poſitive, peremptory and full of aſſurances (*Conſtat, & nemo ignorat*, it is clear, none can be ignorant, and other ſuch like expreſſions;) namely That Chriſt conſtituted Biſhops in the Apoſtles, That it was founded upon a divine Law, That Epiſcopacy is διάταξις θεοῦ the Ordinance of God, That it ſeemed good to the Holy Ghoſt ſo to order it, &c. Inſomuch as they accounted *Aërius* an Heretick for holding the contrary. And this their Judgement they delivered as led thereunto by evidence of Scripture (θεῖος λόγος διδάσκει, God's Word teacheth it; *apertis Scripturæ teſtimoniis*, it appeareth by plain teſtimonies of Scripture; *diſcimus ex hoc loco*, from this place we learn, and the like.) Which teſtimonies ſhould they be encountred (as His Majeſty doth not yet believe they can be) with a cloud of Witneſſes to the contrary, for number, and in every other reſpect, equal thereunto; yet ſhould not the Authority of their evidence in reaſon be much leſſened thereby; inaſmuch as one Witneſs for the Affirmative ought to be of more value then ten for the Negative, and the teſtimony of one perſon that is not intereſſed, then of an hundred that are.

And whereas you ſeem in this Queſtion to decline this kinde of trial, becauſe *matter of Right is properly triable by Scripture*; His Majeſty conceiveth this preſent Queſtion, in what terms ſoever propoſed, to be yet in the true ſtating of it, and in the laſt Reſolution, clearly a Queſtion of Fact, and not of Right: For what Right ſoever the Biſhops have, or pretend to have, muſt be derived from the Fact of Chriſt or his Apoſtles. Which matter of Fact, if it be not in the moſt plain Hiſtorical manner that may be, related in the Scriptures, but is to be deduced thence by topical remote inferences and probability of Conjectures, the moſt rational and proper expedient for the finding out of the Right is to have recourſe to the Judge-

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ment, but eſpecially to the Practice, of the neareſt and ſubſequent times, according to the received Maximes, *Lex currit cum Praxi, & Conſuetudo optimus interpres Legum.* Now he that ſhall finde by all the beſt Records extant, that the diſtinction of Biſhops from, and the Superiority over, Presbyters was ſo univerſally and ſpeedily ſpread over the face of the whole World, and their Government ſubmitted unto ſo unanimouſly by the Presbyters, that there never was any conſiderable oppoſition made there-againſt before *Aërius*, (and that cryed down as an Hereſie) nor ſince, till this laſt Age; and ſhall duly conſider withall, that if Epiſcopal Government had not then been conceived to have had its inſtitution from the Authority of Chriſt or his Apoſtles, or if any other form of Church-Government could have pretended to ſuch inſtitution, it had been the moſt impoſſible thing in the world, when there neither was any outward coercive power to inforce it, nor could be any General Council to eſtabliſh it, to have introduced ſuch a Form of Government ſo ſuddenly and quietly into all Chriſtian Churches, and not the Spirit of any one Presbyter, for ought that appeareth, for above Three Hundred years, to have been provoked either through Zeal, Ambition, or other motive, to ſtand up in the juſt defence of their own and the Churches liberty againſt ſuch an Uſurpation; His Majeſty believeth that whoſoever ſhall conſider the premiſſes, together with the Scripture-evidences that are brought for that Government, will ſee reaſon enough to conclude the ſame to have ſomething of Divine Inſtitution in it, notwithſtanding all the evaſions and objections that the ſubtil wit of man can deviſe to perſwade the contrary. And therefore His Majeſty thinketh it fit plainly to tell you, that ſuch Conjectural Interpretations of Scripture as He hath yet met with in this Argument, how handſomely ſoever ſet off, are not Engines of ſtrength enough to remove Him from that Judgement wherein He hath been ſettled from His Childhood, and findeth ſo conſonant to the Judgement of Antiquity, and to the conſtant Practice of the Chriſtian Church for ſo many hundred years; which in a matter of this nature ought to weigh more then mere Conjectural Inferences from Scripture-Texts that are not ſo atteſted. Which having now once told you, His Majeſty thinketh Himſelf diſcharged from the neceſſity of making ſo large and particular an Anſwer to every Allegation in

the sequel of your Reply, as hitherto He hath done.

6. Reply, Sect. 9. *As to the Apostles Mission and Succession*; To make His Answer the shorter to so long a discourse, His Majesty declareth, that His meaning was not by distinguishing the *Mission* and *Unction* of the Apostles, so to confine them as if they should relate precisely and exclusively, the one to the Office, the other to the Abilities; but that they did more especially and eminently so relate: For the Apostles after their last Mission, (*Matth.* 28. 19, 20.) whereby they were further warranted to their Office and Work, were yet to wait for that promised *anointing*, (*Luke* 24. 49. *Acts* 1. 4.) the special effect whereof was the enduing them with Gifts of the Holy Ghost, for the better and more effectual performing of that their Work and Office. Nor was it His Majesties meaning to restrain the Extraordinaries in the Apostolical Office to those Gifts onely: (for His Majesty afterwards in the same Paper mentioneth other Extraordinaries also, as before is said) but onely to instance in those Gifts, as one sort of Extraordinaries, wherein the Apostles were to have no Successors. But His Majesties full meaning was, that the whole Apostolical Office (setting aside all and onely what was personal and extraordinary in them) consisted in the work of Teaching and Governing; which being both of necessary and perpetual use in the Church to the worlds end, the Office therefore was also to continue, and consequently, the persons of the Apostles being mortal, to be transmitted and derived to others in succession: And that the Ordinary Successors of the Apostles immediately, and into the whole Office both of Teaching and Governing, are properly the Bishops; the Presbyters succeeding them also, but in part, and into the Office of Teaching only, and that mediately and subordinately to the Bishops, by whom they are to be ordained and authorised thereunto, which His Majesty taketh not to be, as you call it, a *dissolving* of the Apostolical Office.

Now the ground of what His Majesty hath said concerning the manner of Succession to the Apostles, that it may appear not to have been said *gratis*, is this; The things which the Scriptures record to have been done by Christ or his Apostles, or by others at their appointment, are of three sorts, some acts of Power merely extra-

extraordinary; others acts of an ordinary power, but of neceſſary and perpetual uſe; otherſome, laſtly, and thoſe not a few, Occaſional and Prudential, fitted to the preſent condition of the Church in ſeveral times. To the Apoſtles in matters of the firſt ſort none pretend ſucceſsion; nor are either the Examples of what the Apoſtles themſelves did, or the directions that they gave to others what they ſhould doe, in matters of the third ſort, to be drawn into conſequence ſo far as to be made neceſſary Rules, binding all ſucceeding Church-officers in all Times to perpetual obſervation. So that there remain the things of the middle ſort onely, which we may call *Subſtantials*, into which the Apoſtles are to have ordinary and ſtanding Succeſſors. But then the difficulty will be, by what certain marks Extraordinaries, Subſtantials and Prudentials may be known and diſtinguiſhed each from other. Evident it is, the Scriptures do not afford any particular diſcriminating Characters whereby to diſcern them; the Acts of all the three ſorts being related in the like narrative forms, and the directions of all the three ſorts expreſſed in the like preceptive forms. Recourſe therefore muſt of neceſsity be had to thoſe two more general *Criterions* [the Laws of all humane actions] Reaſon and Common Uſage. Our own Reaſon will tell us, that inſtructing the People of God in the Chriſtian Faith, exhorting them to Piety and good Works, adminiſtring the Sacraments, &c. which belong to the Office of Teaching; that Ordaining of Miniſters, Inſpection over their Lives and Doctrines, and other Adminiſtrations of Eccleſiaſtical Affairs belonging to the Office of Governing, are matters of great importance, and neceſſary concernment to the Church in all ages and times; and therefore were to be concredited to ſtanding Officers in a Line of ſucceſsion, and accordingly were judged, and the continuance of them preſerved in the conſtant uſage of the Churches of Chriſt: But that, on the other ſide, the decrees concerning Abſtinence from Blood and Strangled, *Acts* xv. the Directions given for the ordering ſome things in the Church-Aſſemblies, 1 *Cor.* xiv. for making Proviſions for the Poor, 1 *Cor.* xvi. 1. for the choice and maintenance of Widows, 1 *Tim.* v. for the enoiling of the ſick, *James* v. 14. and other like, were but Occaſional, Prudential and Temporary, and were ſo eſteemed by the Churches, and the practice of them accordingly

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laid aside. So for the Succession into the Apostolical Office, we find in the Scriptures Evidence clear enough, that the Apostles committed to others, as namely to *Timothy* and *Titus*, the Power both of Teaching and Governing the Churches. And common Reason and Prudence dictating to us, that it is good for the edifying of the Church, that there should be many Teachers within a competent precinct, but not so that there should be many Governours; and the difference of Bishops and Presbyters to the purposes aforesaid having been by continual usage received and preserved in the Christian Church, down from the Apostles to the present times; His Majesty conceiveth the succession of Bishops to the Apostles into so much of their Office as was ordinary and perpetual, and such a distinction of Bishops and Presbyters as His Majesty hath formerly expressed, needeth no further Confirmation from Scripture (to such as are willing to make use of their Reason also, which in interpreting Scripture upon all other occasions they are inforced to doe) nor any thing by you produced in this Paragraph any further Answer: only that distinction of Eminently and Formally, because you illustrate it by instancing in Himself, His Majesty could not but take notice of, which He either understandeth not, or thinketh your Illustration thereof not to be very apposite: for Actions and Operations flow from the Forms of things, and demonstrate the same, as Effects do their Causes. The Apostles therefore acting in the ordinary exercise of Church-Government, did act not Eminently only, but Formally also, as Bishops rather then Apostles.

7. *As Concerning* Timothy *and* Titus.

Reply, Sect. 10, -15. First, whether they were Evangelists or no, His Majesty never meant to dispute: Onely, because you often call for Scripture-proof, His Majesty thought fit to admonish you, that in your Answer you take two things for granted (*viz.* that *Timothy* and *Titus* were Evangelists, and that Evangelists were such Officers as you described) neither of which, if it should be denied, you could clearly prove from Scripture alone, without calling in the help of other Writers to attest it, as in your Reply you have now done Master *Hooker*'s: neither have you indeed brought any thing in this Reply out of Scripture to prove either of both, sufficient to convince him that were of a contrary minde.

Secondly,

Secondly, you ſeem (*Sect.* 12.) to miſtake that which was the Third Point in that part of His Majeſties Paper, which was not, Whether *Timothy* and *Titus* were *Evangeliſts* or no; (concerning which His Majeſty neither did, nor doth contend) but Whether in the Church-Government they exerciſed they acted as Evangeliſts (as you affirm) and ſo onely as extraordinary Officers, or not. *Zuinglius* having ſaid that the Name of a Biſhop and Evangeliſt is the ſame thing, proveth it from 2 *Tim.* IV. and concludeth, *Conſtat idem fuiſſe officium utriuſque*, Biſhop and Evangeliſt the ſame Office both. *Gerard* ſaith, the word *Evangeliſt* in that place is taken generally, and not in the ſpecial ſenſe, that is to ſay, for a Miniſter of the Goſpel at large, (and the Context there indeed ſeemeth to import no more) and not for an Evangeliſt by peculiar Office. And *Scultetus* not only affirmeth, that Saint *Paul* appointed *Timothy* and *Titus* to *Epheſus* and *Crete*, not as Evangeliſts, but as Church-Governours; but ſaith further, that the Epiſtles written to them both do evince it, and alſo bringeth Reaſons to prove it. Upon what particular Reaſons *Gilleſpy*, &c. reject the conceit of their acting as Evangeliſts, His Majeſty certainly knows not: But if this be one of their Arguments (as, to their beſt remembrance from whom His Majeſty had the Information, it is) That *if whatſoever is alleged from the Scripture to have been done by the Apoſtles, and by* Timothy *and* Titus, *in point of Ordination, Diſcipline and Government, may be eluded by this, that they acted therein as extraordinary Officers; there will be no proof at all from Scripture of any power left in any ordinary Church-Officer to the purpoſes aforeſaid:* His Majeſty then recommendeth to your moſt ſober thoughts to conſider, Firſt, how this Conceit of their acting as extraordinary Miniſters onely tends to the ſubverſion of all Miniſters, as well as of the Biſhops, (ſince upon this very ground eſpecially the *Socinians* deny all Miſſion and Ordination of Miniſters in the Church;) and Secondly, if the contrary be proved by *Gilleſpy*, &c. by good Arguments, that they acted as ordinary Officers in the Church, then, whether they have not thereby laid a better foundation for the claim of the Biſhops, (*viz.* of Governing the Churches as ſingle perſons in Ordinary Office) then either they or you are willing to acknowlege.

Thirdly, His Majeſty thinketh it a great liberty which you take in rendring the ſenſe of His Reply as you have done; viz. *The Scriptures*

ptures never call them Bishops, but the Fathers do, &c. Whereas if you had followed His sense in that Paper, you might rather have delivered thus, The Scripture describeth them as Bishops, and the Fathers call them so. For that of yours, *The Scripture calls* Timothy *an Evangelist; some of late have refuted it, and rejected it with scorn:* you should have said rather, The Scripture doth not any where affirm of *Titus*, nor clearly prove of *Timothy*, that they were (by peculiar Office) Evangelists; but that in governing the Churches they acted as Evangelists, or extraordinary Officers, is by sundry late Writers (the Evasion it self having been but of late time minted) refuted and rejected. For that of yours, *The Scripture relates their motion from Church to Church; but some affirm them to be fixed at* Ephesus *and in* Crete; It should have been, Neither doth their motion from Church to Church hinder but that they might afterward be fixed at *Ephesus* and in *Crete*: neither doth their being Bishops of *Ephesus* and *Crete* hinder but that they might afterwards, for propagation of the Gospel, be by the Apostles appointment often imployed other-where. For that of yours, *The Scripture makes distinction of Evangelists and Pastors, but some say that* Timothy *and* Titus *were both;* It should have been, The Scripture maketh no such distinction of Evangelists and Pastors, but that the same persons might not only successively be both, but even at the same time also be called by both Names.

Fourthly, Though you say, *You do not undervalue the Testimonies and Catalogues mentioned*, yet you endeavour (which cometh not far short of undervaluing) to lessen the reputation of both but too much. Of those Testimonies, by putting them off, as if, when they report *Timothy* and *Titus* and others to have been Bishops, they speak but vulgarly, or by way of allusion, and not exactly as to the point in Debate. But of *Hierom*, upon whom you chiefly rely in this cause, the contrary is evident, who, in his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers, wherein he was to deliver things *Fide Historicâ*, and to describe the persons of such as are Registred in that Catalogue by their proper and known distinctive Titles and Styles, expresly styleth *Timothy*, *Titus*, *Mark*, *Polycarp* and others, *Bishops* of such and such places; and such on the other side as were but mere Presbyters, *Ecclesiæ Antiochenæ* or *Alexandrinæ Presbyteri*, &c. observing the difference so constantly and exactly throughout the whole Book, that nothing

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can be more clear, then that he underſtood the word *Epiſcopus* no otherwiſe then in the ordinary Eccleſiaſtical ſenſe, and as a Biſhop is diſtinct from a Presbyter. As for that paſſage you allege out of him, by *cuſtome*, in the judgement of Learned men, he muſt mean the *practice* of the *Apoſtolick* times; and by *Dominica diſpoſitio*, the expreſs *Precept* of *Chriſt*: unleſs you will have himſelf contradict what himſelf hath written in ſundry other places; whoſe Teſtimonies in the behalf of Epiſcopal Superiority are ſo clear and frequent in his Writings, that (although he of all the Ancients be leaſt ſuſpected to favour that Function overmuch, yet) the Biſhops would not refuſe to make him Arbitrator in the whole buſineſs. As for the Catalogues, there will be more convenient place to ſpeak of them afterwards.

Fifthly, your long Diſcourſe concerning the ſeveral ſtations and removes of *Timothy* and *Titus* (*Sect.* 13, 14.) and their being called away from *Epheſus* and *Crete* (*Sect.* 15.) His Majeſty neither hath time to examine, nor thinketh it much needful (in reſpect of what He hath ſaid already) ſo to doe. It is ſufficient to make His Majeſty at leaſt ſuſpend His Aſſent to your Conjectures and Inferences, Firſt, that He findeth other Learned men, from the like Conjectures, to have made other Inferences; as namely, that *Timothy* and *Titus* having accompanied *Paul* in many journeys, *poſtea & tandem* were by him conſtituted Biſhops of *Epheſus* and *Crete*. Secondly, that ſuppoſing they were, after the times of the ſeveral Epiſtles written to them, ſent by the Apoſtles to other places, or did accompany them in ſome of their journeys, even for a long time together, it cannot be concluded thence that they were not then Biſhops of thoſe Churches, or that the Government of thoſe Churches was not committed to their peculiar charge: If it be ſuppoſed withall (which is but reaſonable) that their abſence was commanded by the Apoſtle, and that they left their Churches *cum animo revertendi*. Thirdly, that the places which you preſs again of 1 *Tim.* 1. 3. and *Titus* 1. 5. weigh ſo little to the purpoſe intended by you, even in your own judgements (for you ſay onely, *They put fair to prove it*) that you cannot expect they ſhould weigh ſo much in His as to need any further Anſwer; ſave only that His Majeſty knoweth not what great need or uſe there ſhould be of leaving *Timothy* at *Epheſus*, or

Titus in *Crete*, for ordaining Presbyters and Deacons, with such directions and admonitions to them for their care therein, if they were not sent thither as Bishops. For either there were Colledges of Presbyters in those places before their coming thither, or there were not: if there were, and that such Colledges had power to ordain Presbyters and Deacons without a Bishop, then was there little need of sending *Timothy* and *Titus* so solemnly thither about the work; if there were none, then had *Timothy* and *Titus* power of sole Ordination, which is a thing by you very much disliked. Those inconveniences His Majesty thinketh it will be hard wholly to avoid upon your Principles.

That Discourse you conclude with this Observation, *That in the very same Epistle to* Timothy, *out of which he is endeavoured to be proved a Bishop, there is clear evidence both for Presbyters imposing hands in Ordination, and for their Ruling*: Yet His Majesty presumeth you cannot be ignorant, that the evidence is not so clear in either particular, but that in the former very many, of the Latine Fathers especially, and sundry later Writers, as *Calvin* and others, refer the word πρεσβυτερίου to the remoter Substantive Grace or Gift, and not to that of Imposition of Hands; and so understand it as meant of the Office of Presbytery, or, as we were wont to call it in English, by derivation from that Greek word, of *Priesthood*, in *Timothy* himself, and not of a Colledge or Company of Presbyters collectively imposing hands on him: and that the Greek Fathers, who take the word collectively, do yet understand by πρεσβυτέριον there a Company of Apostles or Bishops who laid hands on *Timothy* in his Ordination to the Office of a Bishop, (as was ordinarily done by three joyning in that act in the Primitive and succeeding times) and not of a Colledge of mere Presbyters: and that in the latter particular, to wit, that of *Ruling*, the place whereon His Majesty conceiveth your Observation to be grounded, hath been by the Adversaries of Episcopal Government generally and mainly insisted upon, as the onely clear proof for the establishing of *Ruling-Lay-Elders*, which interpretation His Majesty knoweth not how far you will admit of.

8. Reply 16. *As to the Angels of the Churches.*

His Majesties purpose in naming these Angels in His first Paper, suf-

ſufficiently declared in His ſecond, required no more to be granted for the proving of what He intended, but theſe Two Things only: Firſt, That they were *Perſonæ ſingulares*; and then, That they had a Superiority in their reſpective Churches, as well over Presbyters as others: which two being the *Periphraſis* or Definition of a Biſhop, His Majeſty conceived it would follow of it ſelf, That they were Biſhops. That the Epiſtles directed to them in their reſpective Reproofs, Precepts, Threatnings, and other the contents thereof, did concern their fellow-Presbyters alſo, and indeed the whole Churches (which in your laſt you again remember) His Majeſty did then and doth ſtill believe, finding it agreeable both to the tenor of the Epiſtles themſelves, and to the conſentient judgement of Interpreters: Onely His Majeſty ſaid, and ſtill doth, That that hindreth not but that the Angels to whom the Epiſtles were directed were *Perſonæ ſingulares* ſtill. This His Majeſty illuſtrated by a Similitude, which though it do not hold in ſome other reſpects, and namely thoſe you obſerve, (for His Majeſty never dreamt of a four-footed Similitude) yet it perfectly illuſtrates the thing it was then intended for, as is evident enough, ſo that there needeth no more to be ſaid about it.

That which you inſiſt upon to prove the contrary from *Revel.* II. 24. *But I ſay to you* (ὑμῖν plurally) *and the reſt in Thyatira*, is plainly of no force, if thoſe Copies in which the copulative conjunction is wanting be true; for then the Reading would be this, *But I ſay to you the reſt in Thyatira.* But following the ordinary Copies, the difficulty is not great, ſuch manner of Apoſtrophes by changing the number, or turning the ſpeech to another perſon, being very uſual both in Prophetick Writings, ſuch as this Book of *Revelation* is, and in Epiſtles of this nature written to one, but with reference to many others therein concerned. *Beza* expoundeth it, ὑμῖν *to you*, (that is, the *Angel* as Preſident, and his Collegues the other Presbyters) *and to the reſt*, that is, to the whole flock or people: which manner of ſpeaking might be illuſtrated by the like forms of ſpeech to be uſed in a Letter written to a Corporation, wherein the Mayor and Aldermen eſpecially, but yet the whole Town generally, were concerned, but directed to the Mayor alone; or from a Lord, containing ſome Orders for his own houſhold eſpecially, and generally for

the whole Townſhip, but by the Inſcription directed to his Steward onely, or the like.

The Conſent of ancient and later Writers was produced by His Majeſty for the proof of the two things before named onely, but eſpecially of the firſt, *viz.* That the Angels were *Perſonæ ſingulares*: (for the latter, *viz.* That they were ſuperiour to Presbyters alſo, had been confeſſed by your ſelves in your firſt Grant before) but was not produced to prove the Concluſion it ſelf immediately, *viz.* That they were Biſhops in diſtinct ſenſe, although ſundry of their Teſtimonies come up even to that alſo. But to the firſt point, That they were *Single* perſons, the concurrence is ſo general, that His Majeſty remembreth not to have heard of any one ſingle Interpreter, before *Brightman*, that ever expounded them otherwiſe: And yet the ſame man (as His Majeſty is informed) in his whole Commentary upon the *Revelation* doth ſcarce, if at all, any where elſe, ſave in theſe Seven Epiſtles, expound the word *Angel* collectively, but ſtill of one ſingle perſon or other, inſomuch as he maketh one Angel to be *Gregory* the Great, another Queen *Elizabeth*, another *Cranmer*, another *Chemnitius*, and the like. But generally both the Fathers and Proteſtant Divines agree in this, That the Angel was a Single perſon: ſome affirming plainly, and that *in terminis*, he was the Biſhop; ſome naming the very perſons of ſome of them, as of *Polycarp* Biſhop of *Smyrna*, and others; ſome calling him the chief Paſtor or Superintendent of that Church; and thoſe that ſpeak leaſt, and were more or leſs diſaffected to Biſhops, as *Beza*, Doctor *Reynolds*, the *Geneva Notes*, and even *Cartwright* himſelf, the προεστῶτα, *Preſident* or chief among the Presbyters. And this they doe ſundry of them, not crudely delivering their Opinions onely, and then no more, but they give Reaſons for it, and after examination of the ſeveral Opinions, preferre this before the reſt, affirming, That *Doctiſſimi quique interpretes, all the beſt learned Interpreters* ſo underſtand it, and that they cannot underſtand it otherwiſe *vim niſi facere Textui velint, unleſs they will offer violence to the Text.*

That which His Majeſty ſaid concerning the Subdiviſion of thoſe that had divided themſelves from the common received judgement of the Church, was meant by His Majeſty, as to the Subdiviſion, in reſpect of this particular of the Angels, wherein they differ one from

from another ; as to the Diviſion, in reſpect of their diſlike of Biſhops, wherein they all agree. And truly His Majeſty doth not yet ſee, how either their Differences can be poſſibly reconciled in the former (no accommodation in the world being able to make all the people of the whole Church, nor yet a Colledge conſiſting of many Presbyters, to be one *Single* perſon ;) or their receſs wholly excuſed in the latter, their diſſenting from the common and received Judgement and Practice of the Chriſtian Church in the matter of Epiſcopacy, and the evil conſequents thereof, having, in His Majeſties Opinion, brought a greater reproach upon the Proteſtant Religion, and given more advantage (or colour at leaſt) to the *Romiſh* party to aſperſe the Reformed Churches in ſuch ſort as we ſee they do, then their diſagreement from the Church of *Rome* in any one controverted Point whatſoever beſides hath done.

As to the Apoſtles Succeſſors.

Here little is ſaid, the ſubſtance whereof hath not been Anſwered before. His Majeſty therefore briefly declares His meaning herein, That the Apoſtles were to have no neceſſary Succeſſors in any thing that was extraordinary, either in their Miſſion or Unction ; That His Majeſty ſpake not of Succeſſion into Abilities otherwiſe then by inſtance, mentioning other particulars withall, which thing, He thinketh, needeth not to have been now the third time by you mentioned ; That in the Apoſtles Miſſion or Commiſſion (for His Majeſty under the name of Miſſion comprehended both) and conſequently in the Apoſtolical Office, as there was ſomething extraordinary, ſo there was ſomething ordinary, wherein they were to have Succeſſors ; That Biſhops are properly their Succeſſors in the whole Apoſtolical Office, ſo far as it was ordinary, and to have Succeſſors ; That therefore the Biſhops Office may in regard of that Succeſſion be ſaid to be Apoſtolical ; That yet it doth not follow that they muſt needs be called Apoſtles, taking the Denomination from the Office, inaſmuch as the Denomination of the Apoſtles, peculiarly ſo called, was not given them from the Office whereunto they were ſent, but (as the word it ſelf rather importeth) from the immediateneſs of their Miſſion, being ſent immediately by Chriſt himſelf, in reſpect whereof, for diſtinction ſake, and in

9. Reply 17, 18.

Honour to their Persons, it was thought fitter by those that succeeded, in common usage to abstain from that Denomination, and to be styled rather by the Name of Bishops; That if the Apostles had no Successors, the Presbyters (who are their Successors in part, mediately and subordinately to the Bishops) will be very hard set to prove the Warrant of their own Office and Mission; which if not derived from the Apostles (who onely received power of Mission from Christ) by a continued line of Succession, His Majesty seeth not upon what other bottom it can stand.

10. *As to the standing Officers of the Church.*

Reply, 19, --- 23. You insisted upon Two Places of Scripture, *Phil.* 1. 1. and 1 *Tim.* III. to prove that there were to be no more standing Officers in the Church then the two in those places mentioned (*viz.*) Presbyters (who are there called Bishops) and Deacons; whereunto His Majesties Answer was, *That there might be other, though not mentioned in those places:* which Answer though it were alone sufficient, yet, *ex abundanti*, His Majesty shewed withall, that supposing your interpretation of the word *Bishop* in both the places (*viz.* to denote the Office of Presbyter onely) there might yet be given some probable conjectures, which (likewise supposed true) might satisfie us, why that of Bishop in the distinct sense should not be needful or proper to be named in those places.

His Majesties former Reason, though in *Hypothesi* and as applied to the Church of *Philippi* it be but conjectural, yet upon the credit of all Ecclesiastical Histories and consideration of the Condition of those times, as it is set forth in the Scriptures also, it will appear in *Thesi* to be undoubtedly true (*viz.*) That the Apostles themselves first planted Churches; That they were perpetual Governours, and, in chief, of all the Churches whilst they lived; That as the burthen grew greater by the propagation of the Gospel, they assumed others in *partem curæ*, committing to their charge the peculiar oversight of the Churches in some principal Cities, and the Towns and Villages adjacent, as *James* at *Jerusalem*, and others in other places, sooner or later, as they saw it expedient for the service of the Church; That the persons so by them appointed to such peculiar charges did exercise the powers of Ordination, and other Government,

ment, under the Apoſtles, and are therefore in the Church Stories called Biſhops of thoſe places in a diſtinct ſenſe; That in ſome places, where the Apoſtles were themſelves more frequently converſant, they did for ſome while govern the Churches immediately by themſelves, before they ſet Biſhops there; and that after the Apoſtles times, Biſhops onely were the ordinary Governours of the Churches of Chriſt: And His Majeſty believeth it cannot be proved, either from clear evidence of Scripture, or credible teſtimonies of Antiquity, that ever any Presbyter or Presbytery exerciſed the power either of Ordination at all without a Biſhop, or of that which they call Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction in ordinary, and by their own ſole Authority, or otherwiſe then as it was delegated unto them upon occaſion, and for the time, by Apoſtles or Biſhops.

For that place of *Phil.* 1. 1. in particular, His Majeſties purpoſe being, not to interpret the place, (a work fitter for Divines) but to manifeſt the inconſequence of the Argument whereby you would conclude but two ſtanding Officers onely, becauſe but two there named, He gave this as one probable conjecture why there might be no Biſhop in diſtinct ſenſe there mentioned, becauſe poſsibly the Apoſtles had not as yet ſet any Biſhop over that Church; which His Majeſty did not propoſe as the onely, no, nor yet as the moſt probable conjecture, (for which cauſe He delivered it ſo cautiouſly, ſaying onely, *It might be probable*) but as that which for the preſent came firſt into His thoughts, and was ſufficient for His purpoſe, without the leaſt meaning thereby to prejudice other interpretations; as, namely, of thoſe Expoſitors who take the words (*with the Biſhops and Deacons*) as belonging to the perſons ſaluting, and not to the perſons ſaluted, to this ſenſe, *Paul and Timotheus, the ſervants of Jeſus Chriſt, with the Biſhops and Deacons, to the Saints at Philippi, &c.* or of thoſe who affirm, and that with great probability too, that *Epaphroditus* was then actually Biſhop of *Philippi*, but not to be mentioned in the Inſcription of the Epiſtle, becauſe he was not then at *Philippi*, but with Saint *Paul* at *Rome* when that Epiſtle was written. Any of which conjectures if they be true, (as there is none of them utterly improbable) that place of *Phil.* 1. 1. will not doe you much ſervice in this Queſtion.

In the Epiſtles to *Timothy* and *Titus*, the Apoſtle directeth and admoniſheth

moniſheth them as *Biſhops*, particularly concerning Ordination of Miniſters, that they doe it adviſedly, and ordain none but ſuch as are meetly qualified for the Service of the Church; which Directions and Admonitions His Majeſty believeth for the ſubſtance to belong to all Biſhops of after-times as well as unto them: But His Majeſty ſeeth no neceſſity why in thoſe Epiſtles there ſhould be any particular directions given concerning the Ordination of Biſhops, at leaſt unleſs it could be made appear that they were to ordain ſome ſuch in thoſe places, nor perhaps if that could be made to appear, inaſmuch as in thoſe Epiſtles there is not the leaſt ſignification of any difference at all between Presbyters and Deacons in the manner of their Ordination, both being to be performed by the Biſhop, and by Impoſition of Hands, and ſo both comprehended under that general Rule (*Lay hands ſuddenly on no man*) but onely, and that very little, and ſcarce conſiderable (as to the making of diſtinct Offices) in the qualification of their perſons.

The Ordination therefore of Biſhops, Presbyters and Deacons, being to be performed in the ſame manner, and the ſame Qualifications after a ſort, ſaving ſuch differences as the importance of their ſeveral Offices make, (which is more in the degree then in the things) being required in both, it had been ſufficient if in thoſe Epiſtles there had been direction given concerning the Ordination and Qualification of but one ſort of Church-Officers onely; as in the Epiſtle to *Titus* we ſee there are of Presbyters onely, and no mention made of Deacons in the whole Epiſtle: whence it may be as well concluded, That there was to be no other ſtanding Officer in the Church of *Crete* but Presbyters onely, becauſe Saint *Paul* giveth no directions to *Titus* concerning any other, as it can be concluded, That there were to be no other Officers in the Church of *Epheſus* but Presbyters and Deacons onely, becauſe Saint *Paul* giveth no direction to *Timothy* concerning any other.

II. *As to the Ages ſucceeding the Apoſtles.*

Reply, 23,---27. Concerning the Judgement of Eccleſiaſtical Writers about the Divine Right of Epiſcopacy, His Majeſty conceiveth the difference to be more in their Expreſſions then in their Meaning, ſome calling it *Divine*, others *Apoſtolical*, and ſome (but not many) *Eccleſiaſtical*.

But

But that the Superiority of Biſhops above Presbyters began in the Apoſtles times, and had its foundation in the Inſtitution either of Chriſt himſelf or of his Apoſtles, His Majeſty hath not heard (*Aërius* excepted) that any till theſe latter Ages have denied.

For that which you touch upon concerning the word *Infallible*, His Majeſty ſuppoſeth you knew His meaning, and He delighteth not to contend about words.

As for the *Catalogues*, ſome uncertainties in a few (a frailty which all humane Hiſtories are ſubject to) His Majeſty taketh to be inſufficient to diſcredit all. Differences there are in Hiſtoriographers, in reciting the Succeſſion of the *Babylonian*, *Perſian*, and *Macedonian* Kings, and of the *Saxon* Kings in *England*. And we find far more inextricable intricacies in the *Faſti Conſulares*, the Catalogues of the *Roman* Conſuls (notwithſtanding their great care in keeping the publick Records, and the exactneſs of the *Roman* Hiſtories) then are to be found in Epiſcopal Catalogues, thoſe eſpecially of the chiefeſt Cities, as *Jeruſalem*, *Rome*, *Antioch*, *Alexandria*, *Epheſus*, &c. Yet as all men believe there were Kings in thoſe Countries, and Conſuls in *Rome* in thoſe times; ſo (as you might well foreſee would be anſwered) the diſcrediting of the Catalogues of Biſhops in reſpect of ſome uncertainties, (although His Majeſty doubteth not but many of the differences you inſtance in may be fairly reconciled) tendeth rather to the confirming of the thing it ſelf.

That which you ſay in Anſwer hereunto, that the Eccleſiaſtical Writers called them *Biſhops* in compliance to the Language of their own Times, after the names of Presbyters and Biſhops were diſtinguiſhed, but that they were not indeed Biſhops in the proper ſenſe now in Queſtion; His Majeſty, Who believeth the diſtinction of thoſe names to have begun preſently after the Apoſtles times (if not rather whileſt ſome of them were living) doth conſequently believe, that as they were called, ſo they were indeed, Biſhops in that proper ſenſe. It appeareth by *Ignatius* his Epiſtles every where, how wide the difference was in his time between a Biſhop and a mere Preſbyter. If *Hierome* onely and ſome a little ancienter then he had applied the name Biſhop to perſons that lived ſome Ages before them, there might have been the more colour to have attributed it to ſuch a compliance as you ſpeak of; but that they received both the Name

and

and the truth of their relations from unquestionable Testimonies and Records, His Majesty thinketh it may be made good by many instances. For example, to instance in one onely, *Polycarp* Bishop of *Smyrna*, who is thought to be the *Angel* of that Church in the *Revelations*, *Ignatius*, who was contemporary with him, wrote one Epistle to him, and sends salutation to him in another, as Bishop of *Smyrna*. Many years after, *Irenæus*, Bishop of *Lyons* in *France*, (whose Writings were never yet called in question by any) not onely affirms him to have been constituted Bishop of *Smyrna* by the Apostles, but saith, *That he himself when he was a Boy had seen him a very old man*. *Tertullian* next, a very ancient Writer, affirmeth *That he was Bishop of* Smyrna, *there placed by Saint* John. After cometh *Eusebius*, who in his Ecclesiastical History not onely Historically reporteth of his being Bishop there, as he doth of other Bishops; but citeth also for it the Testimonies both of *Ignatius* and *Irenæus* (which, by the way, giveth good credit to *Ignatius* his Epistles too.) Then *Hierom* also and others, lastly, attest the same. And it cannot be doubted but *Eusebius* and *Hierom* had in their times the like certain Testimonies and Grounds for sundry others, whom they report to have been Bishops; which Testimonies and Records are not all come to our hands.

For the Testimonies of *Clemens* and *Ignatius*, His Majesty saith, First, That though it be not reasonable that the Testimony of one single Epistle should be so made the adequate measure of *Clemens* his Opinion, as to exclude all other proof from his Example, or otherwise; yet His Majesty, since *Clemens* was first named by you, and the weight of the main Cause lieth not much upon it, is content also for that matter to refer Himself to that Epistle. Secondly, That His Majesty could not but use some earnestness of expression in the cause of *Ignatius* against some who have rejected the whole volume of his Epistles, but upon such Arguments as have more lessened the Reputation of their own Learning, then the Authority of those Epistles, in the opinion of moderate and judicious men: And yet *Blondellus*, a very Learned man, though he reject those Epistles, confesseth notwithstanding the Ancient Fathers gave full Credence thereunto.

The Apostles, you say, *did not ordain themselves Bishops of any particular*

lar places; and yet the Biſhops of ſome particular places are reported in the Catalogues to have been Succeſſors to ſuch or ſuch of the Apoſtles, and even the Names of ſuch Apoſtles are entred into the Catalogues. To this His Majeſty ſaith, That the Apoſtles were formerly Biſhops by virtue of their Miſſion from Chriſt, as hath been already declared, but did neither ordain themſelves, nor could be ordained of others, Biſhops of ſuch or ſuch particular Cities: Although His Majeſty knoweth not but that they might, without prejudice to their Apoſtleſhip, and by mutual conſent, make choice of their ſeveral quarters wherein to exerciſe that Function, as well as Saint *Peter* and Saint *Paul* by conſent went, the one to the Circumciſion, the other to the Gentiles. But ſuch apportionments did not intitle them to be properly called Biſhops of thoſe places, unleſs any of them by ſuch agreement did fixedly reſide in ſome City; of which there is not in the Hiſtory of the Church any clear unqueſtionable Example. If *James* the Lord's Brother (who was certainly Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*) were not one of the twelve Apoſtles, as the more general opinion is that he was not; yet did the Churches of ſucceeding times, for the greater honour of their Sees, and the memory of ſo great Benefactors, enter in the Head of the Liſts or Catalogues of their Biſhops the Names of ſuch of the Apoſtles as had either firſt planted the Faith, or placed Biſhops, or made any long abode and continuance, or ended their daies among them: yet doth not the true Title of being Succeſſors to the Apoſtles thereby accrue to the Biſhops of thoſe places more then to other Biſhops, but all Biſhops are equally Succeſſors to the Apoſtles in two other reſpects; the one, for that they derive their Ordination by a continued Line of Succeſſion from the Apoſtles; the other, for that they ſucceed into the ſame Apoſtolical power and Function which the Apoſtles as ordinary Paſtors had.

Your motion, to reduce this whole Diſpute to Scripture alone, were the more reaſonable, if the matter in queſtion were properly a Point of Faith: And yet even in points of Faith (as the Doctrine of the *Trinity*, the *Canon* of Scripture, and ſundry other) the uniform judgement of the Church hath been ever held of very conſiderable regard. But being a matter of Fact, as before was ſaid, which the Scriptures do not deliver entirely and perſpicu-

perſpicuouſly in any one place together, but obſcurely and by parts, ſo that the underſtanding thereof dependeth merely upon conjectural Interpretations and uncertain probabilities, nor aſſure any certain diſtinguiſhing Characters whereby to diſcern what therein is extraordinary, what prudential, and what of neceſſary and perpetual Obligation, there ſeemeth to His Majeſty to be a neceſſity of admitting the ſubſequent Judgement and Practice of the Chriſtian Churches into the Trial.

12. *As to the Three Queſtions propoſed by His Majeſty.*

Reply 19, &c. His Majeſty reſteth very much unſatisfied, that you have now again wholly declined the anſwering of thoſe three Queſtions ſo clearly propoſed by Him, which your ſelves alſo confeſs to be of great importance, upon this onely pretence, *That the whole volume of Eccleſiaſtical Policy is contained in them:* Whereas His Majeſty did neither expect nor require from you any large or Polemical Diſcourſe concerning thoſe Queſtions; but yet did conceive you were (in order to His Satisfaction in your own Undertaking) in ſome ſort obliged to have declared in few words what your Judgement was therein, with the grounds thereof, that ſo His Majeſty might have taken the ſame into His further Conſideration, then which nothing could have more conduced to the informing of His Judgement, and the ſatisfaction of His Conſcience: which His Majeſtie alſo further conceives you might have done with the tenth part of that pains you have hitherto beſtowed to other purpoſe, and therein have given full as much ſatisfaction to His deſires as He expected, and in all likelihood better ſatisfaction to His Judgement then He yet findeth, or can hope to find from you, ſo long as you hold off from declaring your opinions concerning thoſe Queſtions. For certainly untill one of theſe three things can be clearly evidenced unto His Majeſtie, (*viz.*) Either that there is no certain Form of Church-Government at all preſcribed in the Word; or if there be, that the Civil power may change the ſame as they ſee cauſe; or if it be unchangeable, that it was not Epiſcopal, but ſome other; His Majeſtie thinks himſelf excuſable in the judgement of all reaſonable men, if He cannot as yet be induced to give His Aſſent to the utter Abolition of

that

that Government in the Church which He found here ſettled to His hands, which hath continued all over the Chriſtian world from the times of the Apoſtles untill this laſt Age, and in this Realm ever ſince the firſt plantation of Chriſtianity, as well ſince the Reformation as before, which hath been confirmed by ſo many Acts of Parliament, approved as conſonant to the holy Word of God in the Articles of our Religion, and by all the Miniſters of the Church of *England*, as well by their perſonal Subſcriptions as otherwiſe, ſo atteſted and declared, and which Himſelf in His Judgement and Conſcience hath for ſo many years been, and yet is, perſwaded to be at leaſt of Apoſtolical Inſtitution and Practice. Truly, His Majeſty cannot but wonder what ſhould be the reaſon of your great ſhineſs and unwillingneſs to diſcover your minds in a matter of ſo great and neceſſary conſequence: and for a final concluſion of this whole Diſpute (which His Majeſty thinketh fit to ſhut up with this Paper) He muſt plainly tell you, That your endeavours to have given Him ſatisfaction in the Queſtions propoſed would have added much, in His opinion, to the reputation of your Ingenuity in the whole undertaking; it being not probable you ſhould work much upon His Judgement, whilſt you are fearful to declare your own; nor poſſible to relieve His Conſcience, but by a free diſcharge of yours.

Nevertheleſs, His Majeſty liketh well of your Prayer in the cloſe of your Paper, and thinketh you ſhould doe very well to joyn therewith your utmoſt poſſible endeavours towards the ſettling of Truth and a happy Peace in this unſettled Church and Kingdom.

FINIS.